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THE

Annals of the English Bible

IN TWO VOLUMES

VOL. II.

MDXXXVIII—MDCCCXLIV.

"Thou haſt magnified thy word above all thy name."
The Psalmist.

"Oh how unlike the complex works of man,
Heaven's eaſy, artleſs, unincumber'd plan!
No meretricious graces to beguile,
No cluſtering ornaments to clog the pile;
From oſtentation as from weakneſs free,
It ſtands like the cærulean arch we ſee,
Majeſtic in its own ſimplicity." Cowper.

THE ANNALS OF

The English Bible

BY

CHRISTOPHER ANDERSON

VOL. II.

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THE SECOND VOLUME.

THE ANNALS

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THE HISTORY OF

THE ENGLISH BIBLE.

BOOK II.—ENGLAND.

Reign of Henry the Eighth.

SECTION I.

INTRODUCTORY PARAGRAPH—CRUMWELL'S POLICY WITH HENRY—MATRIMONIAL ALLIANCES—NEGOCIATIONS WITH FRANCE AND SPAIN—GARDINER RECALLED—BONNER SENT TO FRANCE—THE GERMAN STATES—GARDINER, NORFOLK, AND TUNSTAL MET—THE FIRST ARTICLES, IN THEIR NATURAL CONSEQUENCES—PERSECUTION RESUMED.

THE SECOND YEAR OF TRIUMPH—THE ENGLISH BIBLE PRINTING IN PARIS—PRESS INTERRUPTED—INQUISITION OVERMATCHED—THE BIBLE FINISHED IN LONDON—FIRST INJUNCTIONS FOR TYNDALE'S BIBLE—NEW TESTAMENTS, FRESH EDITIONS—COVERDALE'S TESTAMENTS—THE DESTITUTE STATE OF ENGLAND—JOY OVER THE SCRIPTURES—RETROSPECT.

HROUGHOUT the preceding volume, the reader found himself obliged to travel for years, contentedly, by the margin of what might be compared only to a rivulet, patiently fighting its way with the rocks and obstructions of every description which lay right before it, and seeming to forbid, by a sort of authority, all passage or progress. Still no returning season passed away, without bringing fresh tokens that all opposition was not only vain, but actually helpful; and the event of last year must have rewarded the expectation of all who had waited for it. Nor ever let the long and well-sustained conflict be forgotten. It must be measured by its consequences; for though but too

true a description of the past, it was the positive forerunner of all that is to come. In the following pages, if we continue to abide by the self-same stream, not omitting to observe as we pass on, whatever scenes may open to view on either side of the current; it will bring us ere long to a river, broad and deep, which no man can pass over. At last should it rise, and overflowing its banks, baffle every attempt at any adequate description, it will then at least be evident, that, in point of magnitude, the mind of England in our own day can be directed to no greater object; while with reference to the stability and vital interests of this kingdom, it will bow to no other.

In resuming this history, notwithstanding what occurred last year, it would be a great mistake to imagine, because Henry the Eighth and all around him had been overruled, that any visible change of character had taken place, either in him, or in them. On the contrary, they will go on in such a manner, and to such an extent, as to render the interposition already described, only the more striking. It must ever stand out in bold *relief*, among the current events of the time. Men overruled, in any rank, occupy very humble ground; but the higher their station, or the greater their influence, the ground is lower still; and the King himself will immediately satisfy us that there was no change upon him. Nor will this be less apparent in the servants of the crown.[1]

The Sacred Scriptures, however, in the English tongue, had now been introduced, and in a manner so remarkable as to excite curiosity with regard to the sequel. The victory already recorded, great as it was, would not yet suffice. If there was any spot on the Continent, where opposition to Divine Truth had been most of all virulent, that will be the proper place in which to complete the triumph of the English

[1] Trivial incidents often strongly mark the character. The very next month after the arrival of the Bible, though the *plague* was raging still, his Majesty presents us with one incident characteristic of his own ideas respecting that Body of which he was now the determined Head. Sir William Fitzwilliam, on the point of being created Earl of Southampton, is writing to Crumwell, and among other passages, there is the following—"My Lord, one thing there is, that the King's Highness, at my last resort unto your Lordship, willed me to speak to your Lordship in; and at my return to his Grace, his Highness asked, whether I had remembered the same or not: which is—His Grace hath a *Priest*, that yearly maketh his *hawks*, and this year hath made him *two*, which fly, and kill their game very well, to his Highness' *singlier pleasure and contentation*. And for the pain which the said Priest taketh abouts the same, his Majesty would that he should have one of Mr. Bedell's *benefices*, if there be any ungiven, besides that which his Grace hath already given. And if there be none of the said benefices ungiven, that then your Lordship should have him *in remembrance*, that he may have *some other*, when it shall fall void!—At Hampton Court, this Wednesday, the 12th day of September—Your own, WYLLM FITZWYLLM."

Bible. Before the printing of the Sacred Oracles is to become by far the most conspicuous or distinguishing feature of our own country, another conquest had been determined. Tyndale had toiled and died on the Continent, and that must be the seat of this second achievement. It comes like a double testimony to the work of his hands; but the story will appear in its proper colours, after we have glanced over other national, though to us now, subordinate affairs.

In the various transactions of the present year, there is such an intricacy, that without taking a three-fold view of them, it seems to be impossible for any one to arrive at the truth: one connected with the *King* personally, another associated with *Crumwell and Cranmer*, and the third having reference only to the *Scriptures*. In a history such as the present, the year derives all its importance from its being that which immediately followed the public sanction of the Sacred Volume in England. In order, therefore, to ascertain the relative position of the reigning authorities, it becomes necessary to observe first, the general procedure of the King himself on the one hand, and then that of Crumwell and Cranmer on the other. After such a memorable event as that of last August, should the reader be anticipating any decided change of character, he will thus be able to judge for himself.

With regard to the leading sovereigns of Europe, Henry, Charles, and Francis, they come before us precisely the same men they have ever been. The two latter, whether as rulers or as men, had been chastised and humbled in succession, by their endless conflicts; and Henry, too, since the rebellions of Lincoln and Yorkshires, had by no means sat so easy on his throne. As for his being now a widower, we shall find that this, in no sense, lay heavy on his spirits. The Emperor and the King of France were still at war; and being as nearly balanced in point of power as ever, the King of England, by throwing his influence into either scale, might still change the current of European affairs; but the steps he had already taken, rendered him an awkward or ticklish ally for either party. This, of course, was owing to a fourth power, once the most formidable in the world, that of the Pontiff, to whose temporal sovereignty at least, Henry was as much opposed as ever; but whom neither Charles nor Francis would disregard, whenever it seemed likely to *serve* their respective political purposes.

The same outrageously crooked policy was, therefore, still keenly pursued by all these men, every one of them being engaged more or less, in playing a double game; while, situated as Henry was, he ran

great hazard of being befooled. Turner, who is sufficiently measured in his terms of censure, has said, in reference to the days of Wolsey—"The only extraordinary fact is, that great and able men should then have habitually acted like scoundrels, without suspecting that they were so; and with their sword ready for any man's throat, that should link the term for a moment to their names." Whether the same remark be equally applicable to the councils and policy of England, France, and Spain, at the present period, will become apparent as we proceed.

About ten years ago, we have seen that the overthrow of Cardinal Wolsey was owing, in no small degree, to his interference with Henry's passion for a second Queen. So now, the third having died suddenly, the critical period of Crumwell's life was come. It will be remembered, that he had acquiesced in Henry's determination to get rid of Anne Boleyn, though by that base step he incurred no risk whatever, as the passion of his imperious master was then already fixed; but now, the King was in a new and unwonted situation. The policy of Crumwell, therefore, when dealing with his Sovereign throughout the whole year, will serve to illustrate his character as a man. Cautious of any suggestion, he will leave the Monarch to the full freedom of his own caprice, and for some time to come go in, or seem to do so, most cordially, with all his whimsical proposals for a fourth Queen. Never will he venture even to whisper a choice, till his Majesty has literally wearied himself out, in search of a wife; and they will only be pressing, or, in his apprehension, desperate circumstances, which shall urge him into a different course; but not till next year.

By the death of Jane Seymour, the King had been stunned for the moment. Turner represents him as shutting himself up in his palace, lamenting the unexpected blow. Unexpected it certainly was; for only the day before, Henry was entertaining thoughts of leaving the spot where the Queen lay, and not till the morning of the 24th of October, was death certainly anticipated.[2] In the evening of that day she expired. The Court was ordered into mourning till Candlemas this year—the Christmas holidays were dispensed with; but his Majesty had already been busy enough. The truth is, that the mournings were worn but a few *days*, when Henry's spirits were recovering; and before they were put off, he had been in pursuit of more than *one* successor to the mother of his only son. Jane, it is true, has been represented as the most beloved of all his Queens, chiefly from the circumstance of its being above two years before the King was married again; but certainly this was not his intention; and whether there was affection shewn, or even common respect, for her memory, can only be gathered from the procedure of his Majesty.

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[2] Gov. State Papers, i., p. 572.

Last year, while the Emperor and Francis were meditating a truce, as Katherine and Anne Boleyn no more stood in the way, Charles seemed much disposed to court friendship with England. Sir Thomas Wyatt had, therefore, been sent to Spain, to succeed Richard Pate as ambassador, and certain communications had passed between the two Courts.[3] The truce referred to, was concluded in July ; but the month before that, Mendoza, the Spanish ambassador, had arrived in England, with proposals for the marriage of Henry's eldest daughter Mary, with Prince Louis of Portugal ; and in July Crumwell informs Wyatt that " there are hopes of good success as to the marriage."[4] By the beginning of October, however, the French Government had insinuated charges against the Emperor's sincerity ;[5] so that by the 10th of that month, while Henry offers his mediation for peace between these two powers, Wyatt is instructed by the King himself, as well as Crumwell, to " fish out the truth, whether the Emperor do indeed love him (Henry) so well as he pretends to do."[6]

Meanwhile, Henry lost his Queen on the 24th of that month, and his first offer for another was made to Francis. " Queen Jane," says Carte, " had scarce been buried, (8th November,) when the King entertained thoughts of another marriage ; and being more inclined to cultivate a friendship with the King of France than with the Emperor, proposed to take a French lady." According to Le Grand, the King's first proposal was made in *November* to Francis, for Marie, the Dowager Duchess of Longueville, or Mary of Guise ; but she had been pre-engaged to James V. of Scotland, who had lost his Queen in July. Not at all fond of such an alliance as might another day be turned against himself, Henry was also piqued at the idea of James being preferred to him, after he had made the proposal ; but there was no remedy. Mary of Guise, indeed, had two sisters, and Henry might have had either ; but Francis would not bow to the humiliation of sending them to Calais for Henry's inspection. He behoved now to turn to the Emperor, or rival of the King of France, and in order to secure him in his favour, so early as the 23d of December, Henry was writing to Spain.

Thus matters stood at the close of last year. The truce between the two rival powers had been renewed in November, but the Emperor and Francis were still but too equal, and therefore mutually afraid. The latter had counted falsely upon Henry and the German States being with him, and found himself left to wage war alone. Charles was in apprehension of Francis uniting with the Turk, and so invading Germany ; while the Pontiff, in like fear, imagined the coasts of Italy might thus be invaded by the Turkish unbelievers. In his letter of December, therefore, Henry had offered to assist Charles in his war with the Turk,

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3 Harleian MS., No. 282, fol. 7. 4 Idem, fol. 203-205. 5 Idem, fol. 208. 6 Idem, fol. 34.

on condition that he would accept of his aid in mediating peace with France, and "so join him as a principal contrahent in the treaty."[7] The Emperor certainly sighed for peace with France, though it was chiefly in order that he might have leisure to chastise the refractory States of Germany; but, to understand this urgency of the King of England, it is only necessary to observe, that the Pontiff and Henry had started in the *same* race; each of them, in order to serve his own ends, alike eager to be the mediator. In writing to Charles, therefore, Henry objects to the Pontiff's Council summoned to meet at Vicenza, and uses many arguments with him to oppose it.

Proceeding in the same course, by the commencement of this year, so far from weeping over his lost Queen, matrimonial alliances had become, with Henry, the order of the day. Thus, on the 22d of January, and before the mournings for Queen Jane were laid aside, he commands his ambassador, Wyatt, in conference with the Spanish ministers, "to let fall some speech, *as from himself*, touching his wishes that he (the King) would marry, so that the Imperial Court may be thereby induced to *offer* him the Duchess of Milan, whom percase, he, the King, may honour by marriage, her virtue, qualities, and behaviour, being reported to be such as is worthy to be much advanced."[8]

This suggestion served for himself, but his Majesty had a child by each of his deceased Queens; and, in the frenzy of the moment, they are now to be treated as so many chattels, for political purposes; a degradation from which the children of the humblest peasant are happily exempt. In this part of the strange procedure, however, the King's *Council* must now go along with him; though not one of them dared even to whisper about a *Queen*. We have spoken of Crumwell, as chiming in with his Master's movements; and as one of the first proofs of this we have a very curious document, in his own hand-writing, applicable to the present moment. It is entitled "*Things* to be treated of in *Council*."

"Item, Specially to note in what state the King's affairs stand in, and to provide so that his Grace may at the least have *one* friend, and now the case standing as it doth, to accelerate that matter, so that it may be done in time.

"*Which* be the ways and means for the King to acquire this friendship, and upon what grounds. First, his Highness hath two daughters, *though not lawful*, yet *King's* daughters, and forasmuch as princes commonly conclude amities, and things of great importance, by alliances, it is thought necessary that these two daughters shall be made of *some* estimation, without the which no man will have any great respect unto them.

"And forasmuch as the one of them is of more age than the other, and more apt to make a present alliance than the other for want of age is, if it might please the King's Highness to declare her according to his laws, which to her estima-

[7] Harleian MS., No. 282, fol. 37.

[8] Idem, fol. 15.

tion is thought will be a great thing, or else otherwise to advance her to some certain living, decent for such an estate, whereby she may be the better had in reputation; it is thought the more acceleration would be made for her: and then a like direction to be taken for my Lady Elizabeth, whereby as his Grace by the *one*, may provide him with a present friend, so he may have the other in store hereafter, at his pleasure, to get also *another* friend, as the commodity of his affairs shall require; for as we think the only sheet-anchor the French King hath, is to compass the marriage between the Duke of Orleans and the Duchess of Milan, which in estate were not to be compared with any of the King's daughters, if she wanted that endowment of Milan, which the French King thinketh by that means to get into his hands,—and if that should happen, then shall not only the French King and the bishop of Rome *wyve* together, by all likelihood against us, so that the King's Highness shall be destitute of friendship on all sides; but also his daughters shall as well remain unprovided for, as be left in such case as no prince of honour shall be left to desire the King's amity, by mean of either of the same."[9]

Royal blood has been often mentioned as a subject worthy of great veneration, but it certainly was treated here, with no enviable distinction; nor does there appear to have been any hesitation, for a single day, before the wild counsel was, at least, attempted to be put in practice. By the 22d of February, Henry himself is writing, in cypher, to his ambassador Wyatt, and the old amity was supposed to be renewed, and confirmed. The Spanish ambassadors seemed to accept of the overture for his Majesty's *three* children, including the infant Edward of four months old! Mary to be given in marriage to Don Louis of Portugal, Elizabeth to one of King Ferdinand's sons, and the infant Prince to one of the Emperor's daughters, born or to be born![10]

It was but a few days after this, when Francis advanced once more, and professed to agree that Henry should *be* the mediator between himself and Charles; sending at the same time his ambassador, the Bishop of Tarbes, with his commission to the English monarch. He farther promised that he would make *no peace* otherwise, and that as to the Pontiff's Council now called, he would show all friendship to Henry. The ambassador and his attendants made no scruple in affirming boldly, that "all the Emperor's promises had no good faith or meaning in them, but were full of fraud and deceit." To all this, Henry informs Wyatt, he had replied greatly to the Emperor's honour, though at the same moment he charges his ambassador to "use all his dexterity that the crafty dealing of which the Frenchmen spake, might be discovered in themselves."[11]

Before the 10th of March, however, and as if the Frenchmen had spoken truth, Wriothsley, the English ambassador at Brussels, intimated a sudden change in the Lady Regent's deportment, immediately after the arrival of two couriers from Spain;[12] and by the 4th of April, Crum-

[9] Cotton MS., Titus, B. i., fol. 481. [10] Harleian MS., No. 282, fol. i., and fol. 17 *Original.*
[11] Harleian MS., No. 282, fol. 175, 182. [12] Idem, fol. 187.

well, in writing to Spain, informs Sir T. Wyatt, that in treating with the Spanish ambassadors, "they found many fair words, but attended with very small effects." He then blames Wyatt for *sending his letters open to the Bishop of Winchester*, (GARDINER, in *Paris*,) and intimates that Dr. T. Heynes and Dr. Edmund Bonner are coming to Barcelona from the King.[13] Next day, or the 5th of April, the King himself writes also to Wyatt, that the Spanish ambassadors in England had no power to treat with him as to the "chiefest point of all,"—*his* marriage with the Duchess of Milan.[14] Bonner and Heynes, on the 7th, were the bearers of these letters, and also fresh instructions, to co-operate with Wyatt, "in searching out the bottom of their hearts in Spain," as Wriothsley had advised;[15] but anxiety being still on the increase, by the 16th Crumwell orders Sir Thomas home, since "he had matters to declare by word of mouth, which he could not do by writing," and Mr. Pate the bearer is to be his successor.[16] On the 4th of May, however, Henry himself writes, informing these ambassadors in Spain that Francis, through *Gardiner* at Paris, had now offered the Duke of Orleans to the Lady Mary of England, in hopes that the Emperor would give the Duchy of Milan with her! But that as the French King had now referred all matters of controversy between him and the Emperor to the Pontiff, Henry could not allow *him* to be a meddler, a mediator, or a principal contrahent, where he himself should be a party.[17]

What then must have been the mortification of the English monarch, when he found that he had been deceived both by France and Spain? For after all this tortuous procedure, the Emperor and Francis actually negociated through the Pontiff, and that by *his* request also, at NICE. There, Charles appeared as though he would not bow to a personal interview with his rival, which was only a secret understanding between the parties; while the Pontiff managed all matters between them so dexterously, that by the 18th of June, a truce of ten years was agreed upon; both powers engaging to send ambassadors to Rome, and there discuss their pretensions at leisure! Upon this Paul recalled his Legates gone to Vicenza, and deferred the Council called, till April next year: boasting, no doubt, in the meanwhile, that he had restored peace to Europe.

In July, the Emperor returning home, had set sail for Barcelona, and drew near to the island of St. Margaret on the coast of Provence. When Francis, who happened to be not far distant, heard of this, he considered it as an office of civility to invite him ashore, and proposed a personal interview at Aigues-Mortes. The Emperor seemed to hesitate for a moment, but then repaired thither. "As soon as he had cast anchor in

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[13] Idem, fol. 189. Gardiner had his nephew, *Germain* Gardiner, with him in France, and he was ever busy in showing the King's letters to strangers. This man, who printed a miserable and false tract against Fryth, dated from Esher 1st August 1534, was afterwards charged with denying Henry's Supremacy, and executed at Tyburn so late as the 7th of March 1544.

[14] Idem, fol. 26. [15] Idem, fol. 32, b. [16] Idem, fol. 197. [17] Idem, fol. 54.

the road, Francis, relying implicitly on the Emperor's honour for his security, visited him on board his galley, and was entertained with the warmest demonstrations of esteem. Next day, the Emperor repaying the confidence which the King had placed in him, landed, and met with a reception equally cordial. He remained on shore during the night. After twenty years of open hostilities, or of secret enmity—after so many injuries reciprocally inflicted or endured—after having formally given the lie, and challenged one another to single combat—after the Emperor had inveighed so publicly (at Rome) against Francis, as a prince void of honour or integrity—and after Francis had accused him of being accessary to the murder of his eldest son—such an interview appears altogether singular and even unnatural. But the history of these monarchs abounds with such surprising transitions. From implacable hatred, they appeared to pass in a moment to the most cordial reconcilement; and after practising all the dark arts of a deceitful policy, they could assume, of a sudden, the liberal and open manners of two gentlemen."[18] At present, however, it is evident that, *as* sovereigns, they were both reduced to a state of comparative exhaustion; or alike wearied "in the multitude of their counsels, and the greatness of their way." These were the first moments of a breathing time, which, after all, so far from extending to ten, was disturbed in two years, and ended in four.

The Emperor has been represented as driven, by stress of weather, to St. Margaret's, but Lord Herbert affirms that this meeting was by private concert between the two sovereigns; as from the number of their *attendants*, and their mutual jealousy of Paul, their seeing each other, whether at their respective Courts, or in the Pontiff's at Nice, was not *safe*. This is most probably correct; for the truth is, that the ambassadors of *England* also, were with both Charles and Francis. Bonner's amusing account of Wyatt, Heynes, and himself, being at Villa Franca, is given by Foxe; while Gardiner also was with the French King. But, besides, Cardinal *Pole* was actually with the Pontiff, only *two* miles distant, at Nice; where he had been most courteously treated and caressed by all parties.[19]

But we are not yet done with the Emperor and his *attendants* during this meeting. It will be remembered that on the 16th of May, Sir T. Wyatt had been recalled, and in returning he proceeded "*from* Villa Franca, in post, into England." In order, therefore, to prolong the delusion, it will scarcely be believed that Charles had made proposals from *this very spot*, to induce the King of England to join him in a friendly league, which might be made effective against Francis!! It was probably this step which led Crumwell to suspect, if not declare,

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18 Robertson's Charles V. 19 See the letter of Theobald, already quoted, page 530, vol. i.

that "the friendship at *Aigues-Mortes would not last*;" but his royal Master, though affecting to be gratified by this overture, did not then pay any attention to it.[20] The fact was, that other parties, from Germany, of whom we shall hear presently, were now in England; and, under the pressure of circumstances just described, Henry, from political motives, was now disposed to turn aside from his matrimonial excursions, and see whether, by some friendly co-operation with the German Princes, he might not improve the security of his kingdom, and be ready to cope with both the Emperor and Francis, set on by the Pontiff, should any attempt be made upon England.

On the 19th of July, the Emperor had re-embarked for Barcelona; and, still steadily carrying on the farce with England, upon reaching home, he immediately despatched a commission, dated the 26th of the same month, to his sister the Princess Regent of Flanders, "to treat with the plenipotentiaries of Henry VIII. about the *renewal* of treaties and marriages."[21] While Francis, who did not arrive in Paris till the beginning of September, found upon the road, that a change must take place in the British embassy at his Court.

All this was, of course, no welcome news, more especially to the King of England, for certainly he had now been out-witted by both Sovereigns; while such an assembly as had now been held at Nice, might well cause Henry to forbode a storm. Marriage with any foreign party must be laid aside for a few months, and another course of policy pursued. Meanwhile, of the two Sovereigns, Henry was most incensed with the King of France, and he had most reason; while Gardiner's procedure as ambassador, had contributed to embarrass the counsels of his own Sovereign. Though living in Paris, he leaned towards the side of the Emperor. He, as well as Thirlby his coadjutor, who had no objections, must be recalled, and the Court of France be furnished with another man. As Bonner, therefore, with Heynes, had returned from Villa Franca to Barcelona, the King's letters were immediately transmitted to the former; ordering him to proceed to France, and succeed Gardiner. The latter, says Lord Herbert, "had soured all things; since being one who both disliked his own King's late proceedings, and secretly favoured

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[20] In four months after this, however, he will. Meanwhile, let it only be observed that Wyatt had arrived in London with the overture on the 17th of June, as it appears by the account of his expenses.—*Vespas.* c. xiv., fol. 19.

[21] Cotton MS., Vespas. c. vii., fol. 89. It certainly would baffle the researches of the most careful observer, to ascertain which of these Sovereigns, or their advisers, exceeded in duplicity. But the reader may remark that while Charles was in the very act of negociating with the King of France, he had sent by Wyatt, in June, proposals to the King of England for a league against him. The proposals reached London by the 17th, but the very *next day* Charles had agreed to a truce with Francis, for ten years; had exchanged civilities with him after this at Aigues-Mortes; and yet here is a mock commission for the renewal of treaties with England! On the other hand, Henry was busy with the German Confederates, and we shall see in October, how *he* acted towards Charles in return.

the Emperor, he did his master little service in that Court."[22] Bonner set off immediately, and meeting with Gardiner not far from Lyon, on the 7th of August, when slowly following the French King, a tremendous explosion took place between the parties. The Bishop of Winchester, who had evidently, by his own showing, lived in great style at Paris, as ambassador, felt like a man that was caught in an evil course, and he was also indignant at the idea of *Archdeacon* Bonner succeeding him. "His disdainful nature," says Foxe, "did stomach him exceedingly," and the quarrel continued so hot between them, as actually to last all the way, like a running fight, from near Lyon, through Tarare, Varennes, Moulins, and Bourges, to Blois.[23] Francis, however, being at the village of Chambord, ten miles eastward, Gardiner behoved then to introduce his successor, and the King having left on the 1st of September, Bonner followed him on the third, in all haste to Paris. But a few days elapsed after his arrival, when, to his overflowing joy, he found by a letter from Crumwell, that he was nominated Bishop of Hereford. His predecessor, Edward Fox, a very different man, of whom we have heard, had died on the 8th of May; and Crumwell as well as Cranmer being now completely deceived by Bonner, they at once elevated this monster in human shape.[24] Gardiner, before leaving Paris, had the mortification to hear of this appointment, and in the end of September, left that city for England, after an absence of exactly three years. He came home, it will be evident, with a heart full of mischievous device, and as full of secret revenge against Crumwell; first for his being sent abroad at the time he was, in 1535, and now for his being recalled.[25]

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22 Herbert, generally very correct, has however by mistake placed Bonner's removal from Spain into France, in 1537; and this may have led Lingard and other historians to *limit* the absence of Gardiner to two years. Gardiner was abroad three years to a day, as will be shown presently.

23 That is, if we can trust Bonner's own words. The scene is drawn with graphic minuteness, and forms a lively picture of both the men. Foxe gives it entire, as sent home to Crumwell. They were dear friends before, when, in January 1536, Bonner published a highly eulogistic preface to Gardiner's book "De vera obedientia;" and they will be cordial friends again, when both of them come to unite in shedding the blood of their countrymen, a few years hence. Bonner was now starting in that deeply hypocritical career, in which he so completely deceived even Crumwell.

24 For some reason, the royal assent was not given till the 27th of November; but so early as the 12th of September, when Gardiner was still in Paris, we shall presently find Coverdale and Grafton referring to Bonner as Bishop elect. This appointment Crumwell regarded as a valuable stroke of policy at the moment, but it turned out to be one of the first steps to his own ruin. Yet what could he possibly do? Gardiner had been counter-working him on the Continent, though his recall was most probably by Henry's desire. *He* might wish to avail himself of this Bishop's counsel, as he had begun to desire that of another—Tunstal.

25 None of the historians furnish any precise date for Gardiner's departure to France, or his return to England; some rating his absence at two, and others at three years. But the uncertainty is happily removed by a curious original document—"the account of his expenses." For his diet alone, he charges "from the 1st October in the 27th, to the 28th September in the 30th year of his Grace's reign," or from 1535 to 1538, viz. 1094 days at £2, 13s. 4d. per day! Then there was posting, &c., and £500 *given*, out of £2000 lent to him by the King. Altogether, his embassy cost England £4274, 6s. 8d. This, according to our present value of money, was equal to about £64,000! No wonder than he was delighted with his appointment, reluctant to give it up, and had boasted of his *style*. For, besides all this, there was the See of Winchester, valued

Such were those negociations of this year, up to the present moment, in which HENRY himself had taken so warm an interest, as to write with his own hand to Sir T. Wyatt, as frequently as Crumwell, or rather more so; but there were others, of a different character, in which CRANMER and CRUMWELL were as deeply interested, and these now demand notice.

To both Crumwell and Cranmer the present year could not fail to be one of great anxiety. Their impetuous and wayward royal Master, relieved from wedlock, was like a vessel that had been loosed from her mooring. We have seen how eagerly he was bent on alliance with a foreign Queen; but such a step could not be anticipated without trembling apprehension. It had been during the brief existence of two *English* Queens in succession, that Crumwell and Cranmer had arrived at their present standing, and though the former had been particularly cautious of any interference with the royal fancy, yet until the King was fixed in his choice, it was impossible to foresee what would happen.

The only path left open to them, however, they did not fail to pursue. While Henry therefore was busy in one direction, with Crumwell obsequiously in attendance; both he and Cranmer were equally active in another. So early as the month of January, we find that the King had been correcting, with his own pen, "the Bishops' Book," of which we heard last year; but not until *after the change* in continental affairs in June, does Henry appear to have regarded with any deep interest, the course of policy and discussion with those German States, in which *Cranmer* especially had been so engaged—States which the Emperor, at the moment, was regarding with an evil eye.

On the first of March, however, or just when Francis had feigned to agree that Henry should be the mediator between himself and the Emperor, and charging the latter with deceit; Christopher Mount, a German frequently employed, and Thomas Paynel, were despatched into Germany, to ascertain precisely who the German Confederates were, then assembled at Brunswick, and whether their league was for "general defence," or for matters of religion only. These States, aware of the Emperor's feeling respecting them, had desired that Henry should unite with them, and own the Augsburg Confession of Faith; Christian III. King of Denmark having just united with them. They now, therefore, despatched three individuals on an Embassy into England, namely, Francis Burghart, Vice-Chancellor to the Elector of Saxony, George a-Boyneburg, and

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at £2400, or equal to more than £30,000 annually, running on all the time! Wyatt, who was then also abroad, received only forty-one shillings per day, for about the half of his time, though afterwards it was raised to Gardiner's charge; but then Sir Thomas had no *see* behind him.—Compare Cotton MS. Vespas. c. xiv., fol. 18 and 19. These three years of Gardiner's absence from England become remarkably significant, the more they are observed, with reference to *Tyndale* and THE SCRIPTURES, as well as the *cessation from persecution, and its vigorous commencement upon his* RETURN.

Frederick Myconius. These men arrived in England, on the 12th of May, the first of them bearing a letter from Melancthon to the King. His Majesty having appointed certain bishops and doctors to converse with them, the conferences and debates had continued for three months.[26] So early as the month of June, however, the King grew impatient for the presence of Tunstal, who was still at a distance, as President of the Council of the North. This was a bad omen, and the *first* token of some approaching change. Crumwell, however, must order him up, and Tunstal, far from reluctant, gladly replies from Newcastle on the 27th of June, that he is coming with all "convenient diligence."[27] The King therefore employed *him* to answer the German Divines; but by the 15th of August their patience being exhausted, they had resolved on returning home. From all that had transpired on the Continent, Henry, by this moment, was suspicious not only of treachery at home, but invasion from abroad. He was himself gone to some distance, "taking special care of the sea coasts, and particularly had an eye to the actions of those who might stir in favour of Cardinal Pole."[28] Cranmer, therefore, implored the Germans to remain at least till the King's return, and they agreed to abide for another month, in the faith of his Majesty writing in excuse of their long delay.[29] The Primate then most earnestly turned to his brethren, the Bishops, but they were not to be moved *now*, by any of *his* solicitations. They had been treated as men of no account, ever since the memorable Convocation in 1536; so that after ten days he must inform Crumwell, that he now saw "they only sought an occasion to break the concord." They affirmed besides, that "they knew that the King's Grace had *taken upon himself* to answer the said orators." In this they were not far from the exact truth; and here was the second omen, to both Cranmer and Crumwell, of declining influence. To the German objections against the half-communion, private masses, and the celibacy of the clergy, Henry would, on no account, bow; and having employed Tunstal to give them a formal reply in Latin, after commending the Envoys for their learning, and the trouble they had taken, to the great disappointment of Cranmer, his Majesty then dismissed them.[30]

Here the historian requires to pause for a moment and look back.

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26 There was no Convocation either in 1537 or 1538. But Strype, in his annals, has misled his readers by speaking of a Convocation as held on the 2d May 1538: and he repeats this, in his life of Cranmer, under 1539; though there he furnishes us with the rectification of his mistake. "The King," says he, "had sent his letters written the 12th of March in the 30th year of his reign, viz. 1538, for summoning a Convocation to meet at St. Paul's the 2d May,"—but this was next year, and the 12th of March in the 30th of Henry, *was* 1539.

27 Gov. State Papers, v., p. 128.

28 Herbert. He was gone as far as Dover, and had not returned on the 8th of September. Gov. State Papers, i., 583.

29 Gov. State Papers, vol. i., p. 579.

30 For the argumentative paper of the German ambassadors, dated 5th August, see Cleop. E. v., fol. 173; and for Henry's reply by Tunstal, *Idem*, fol. 215. Both are given by Burnet, and partly translated by Collier. The Germans had left in September, and most opportunely for GARDINER'S purposes, who had arrived on the 29th of that month.

Many things, it will now be observed had been accomplished during the absence of these men, the Bishop of Winchester, the Bishop of Durham and the Duke of Norfolk, although all this time they were not idle. But now, the first of these has arrived from France, and the others were in waiting for him. All the three were impatient for a change; but for *three* years they had not, in concert, been near the ear of his Majesty. They were so now, and Gardiner especially after acting his part on the Continent, had been all the while nursing his wrath, to keep it warm. It had just burst forth with rude violence upon Bonner in France, but now resuming his wonted dexterity and self-command, we shall soon find how cordially the King of England, notwithstanding his wayward temper, fell under the influence of this old faction. Even in Gardiner's absence, Crumwell and Cranmer had been threading their way in perilous seas, but they were now come within the power and influence of the breakers. Not that Crumwell could, by any means, be yet dispensed with. Far from it. The times were portentous, and more *money* will be required presently; and in procuring this, neither the Duke nor the Bishops could be of any service to his Majesty. During the whole of this year, Crumwell's visitors were abroad throughout the country, in prospect of the dissolution of the larger Monasteries; and even at this very moment he was gratifying the cupidity of his royal Master, by supplies of money.[31] But in other matters, the influence of Crumwell was now upon the decline, and so, like Wolsey, long before he was attainted. This he must have felt deeply, and this *change* forms the *key* to many of his future actions, and even his language.

The reader must have observed, that from January to May at least, the King of England leaned rather towards the Emperor, who was all the while deceiving him; Gardiner, though ambassador to Francis, had long done the same, and now he may help his royal Master, however meanly, to *resume* his strange negociations with Charles.[32]

At all events, so early as the 16th of October, instructions were drawn out for Sir T. Wyatt once more, accompanied by Mr. Philip Hoby, to be declared unto the Emperor; who might well smile at their return.[33]

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[31] Images and Crosses were breaking to pieces, or given to the flames, and he was drying up those sources of wealth which had been superstitiously accumulated at the Shrines. The most celebrated was that of Thomas Becket at Canterbury, where the gold, silver, and jewels, which were conveyed into Henry's coffers, filled two ponderous chests, each of which required eight strong men to carry. The *Royal* of France, a jewel of great value, which had lain there for above three centuries and a-half, the King ever afterwards wore in a ring on his finger. It had been presented with a massy cup of gold, by Lewis VII. of France in 1179; then performing pilgrimage, the year before his own death, to recover from illness his son and successor, Philip II.

[32] Lingard, from Le Grand, has represented, not merely the Duke of Norfolk, but *Gardiner* as returning a year before; and after an honourable exile of *two* years, as repairing to Winchester, without even seeing the King; from whence he recalls him to Court in Lent 1539. But all this has been, and will be disproved. Gardiner will appear presently, in high favour, at Westminster Hall; but he did not preach his sermon till 1540.

[33] Harleian MS., No. 282, fol. 70. But the original, in twelve pages, is preserved in the British Museum; Vespas., c. vii., 71-82; with the interlineations of Henry, in his *own* hand-

On the 25th, both Bonner and Carnes warned Crumwell that the Lady Mary of Brussels and the King of France had met by appointment[34]—certainly a suspicious circumstance. And yet, by the 28th of next month, though the King himself writes to Sir Thomas Wyatt, complaining of the Emperor's proceedings, proposed by himself, for the marriage of his daughter Mary with the "infant" of Portugal, Don Louis—still "he is willing to enter into an alliance with him, by marrying the Duchess of Milan on honourable terms, and conclude a league offensive and defensive." At the same time, Henry now proposes marrying his daughter Mary to the young Duke of *Cleves*, or the Duke of Urbino; craving the Emperor's opinion.[35] But the year closed without the slightest progress, or any satisfaction to the King of England; and therefore here we must leave the subject till next year.

Before the Bishop of Winchester's return, there was one man, who, above all others, had excited Henry's warmest indignation. This, it may be anticipated, was Cardinal Pole. By the month of August, this year, Theobald, as well as others, had afforded information of his very courteous entertainment at Nice;[36] but Gardiner, who cared for no man's life, if he could only rise in royal favour, and undermine all other advisers, could now plentifully furnish farther particulars. He had joined with the King of France, last year, in banishing the Cardinal from Paris; and as he ever considered Pole to be a weak man, so he would not be slow now to assist the King in regarding him as the original author of the present combination on the Continent. Such, at least, was Henry's persuasion; and it must have been greatly strengthened, by the Cardinal being sent in November as Legate into Spain, to stimulate the Emperor to invade England. His relations in England, as suspected of treason, were now to be dealt with. His brother, Sir Geoffrey Pole, being first committed, is said to have made certain disclosures to the Council, when Lord Montacute, another brother, the

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writing. Thus he is personally identified with the contents; and as we have noticed the duplicity of the Emperor, it would be unfair to pass over the King he had been trying to cajole. Henry, it is evident, had been negociating with the German States, but with a more immediate eye to politics than religion, and, their ambassadors once dismissed, he turns to the Emperor once more, and what does he say?—"His Majesty remembering the gentle overtures unto his Highness, by the said Emperor, *made from Villa Franca*, the which overtures, tho' his Grace took very thankfully and embraced them, yet nevertheless, at that time, lest he should be noted to be an *interrupter* of the common quiet of Christendom—his Grace stayed to send his commission to conclude the same, until that assuredly should be passed!"—*though there was nothing he deprecated more, than the union of Francis and Charles*—"intending nevertheless, after the same, to join the Emperor in all reasonable things and conditions"—*although he had been negociating with the German States, mainly with the view of keeping him in check!* But why delay for *four* months to send proposals, or why, for *three*, pay no regard to the Emperor's commission in July? Of course Henry would not tell that he had been courting alliance elsewhere. But—"these things well considered, I report me both to the Emperor and his Council, whether I have not had cause both to be *slack*, and occasion to think that he and his agents did dissemble with us for winning of time, which ways being far from a *sincere* friend's demeanour, we heartily require him to no more put in use with us."—Just as if Charles had not known, by this time, how Henry had been occupied, instead of being *slack*.

[34] Calig., E. iv., fol. 8. Galba, B. x., 89. [35] Harl. MS., fol. 59. [36] See vol. i., page 530.

Countess of Salisbury, their aged mother, the Marquis and Marchioness of Exeter, and Sir Edward Neville, were arrested. On the 31st of December last, the Peers were arraigned, and on the 3d of January, the two Knights. Sir Geoffrey was pardoned, but the other three had suffered at Towerhill on the 9th of that month.[37]

The present year, as connected with CRUMWELL and CRANMER, now demands notice. The influence of Gardiner and Tunstal, they being at last united, and near the King, was far from being confined to foreign politics. It was still more apparent in their taking advantage of what had been done in Gardiner's absence, and now artfully turning it to the disgrace of those they either hated or persecuted.

At that Convocation in 1536, or the *first* of an unprecedented character, where Crumwell had presided as Vicegerent, and with a high hand over the Bishops, Cranmer had introduced certain articles, informing all present that the *Sacraments* must be *first* settled; and as the creed, whether framed by himself or the King, or by both in union, was guarded by sanguinary penalties, it formed a most convenient instrument for any persecutor. After this, it is true, by his zeal for the Bible of 1537, Cranmer would seem as though he had either questioned or undervalued the articles passed and subscribed: but be this as it may, he had been evidently eager to receive the Germans to a conference, and as much so to have retained them in discussion. Probably he thought, that as *they* could defend their own faith, under safe-conduct, and so boldly question or oppose some of the royal dogmas, thus some impression might be made on his obstinate and self-willed master. In this, however, he had now been deeply disappointed, when lo! Stephen Gardiner arrived in London.

Gardiner had been uniformly opposed to all this courting of the German Confederated States. Even when abroad, and two years ago, he had strongly advised the King against it; but he had now an opportunity of renewing his former arguments, and the crisis was particularly favourable to his adding "many like words." He had been living for three years on the Continent; and as his royal Master, in all his movements, was governed solely by political motives, no man was

[37] See vol. i., page 531, note 105.

more able than Gardiner to turn his intimate acquaintance with foreign affairs to some positive account, in favour of his own views. These, of course, were diametrically opposed to the policy of Crumwell and Cranmer. Henry, he had insinuated formerly, was a Sovereign, but these Germans, very inferior princes, the mere subjects of the Emperor; and it was below the King's *dignity* to form any league with them, except as lord of them all. He was "Head of the Church" in his own kingdom; and in all matters of faith, they, of course, ought to bow to him. Besides, he was an author of high renown; and having, by his book against Luther, gained the title of "Defender of the Faith," it was now of more importance than ever, that he should appear the lord and master of all sentiments and opinions within his own dominions, and give distinct intimation to all what his own opinions were. Pole had charged his Majesty with the crime of *changing* his religion; whereas now, through Tunstal, not only private masses, involving auricular confession, had been maintained, but all the wonders of the mass. One of the points in discussion with the Envoys from Germany, had related to the Lord's Supper, and the denial of the cup to the people at large; but in the final reply by Tunstal and Henry, the corporal presence and concomitance had been affirmed to the last degree of incomprehensibility. Should any man in England, therefore, at this moment, presume to question *that* point, a fine opportunity was presented to Gardiner and Tunstal for using all their address and sophistry. The King, it has been said, "valued Gardiner's abilities for business, saw his meanness, and was not aware that he himself was sometimes influenced by the fawning subtilty which he despised." In one word, no moment could be more favourable for bloody purposes. Henry was chafed by the policy of the European Sovereigns, enraged at Pole as well as at his pointed charges, if not also irritated by the obstinate adherence of the Germans to their Augsburg Confession.

The creed of 1536, therefore, (forming the first articles imposed upon England,) as if framed for the occasion, was now to be put in operation. The King had entitled it—"Articles devised to establish Christian *quietness* among us;" and Cranmer, in bringing it before the Convocation, had insisted that the sacraments must be *first* settled; but in doing this, he

probably little dreamt that two of those very articles would prove the first occasion of his embruing his own hands in blood. The first article was baptism, and with it the King began. Henry had decreed that all *his* people "ought, *and must of necessity*, believe certainly, that baptism was instituted as a thing necessary *for the attaining of everlasting life*"—"that by *this* they shall have *remission of sins, and the grace and favour of God*"—"that this promise of grace and life, which is adjoined unto baptism, pertaineth not only to such as have the use of reason, but also to infants, who, by this sacrament, be made *thereby* the very sons and children of God—that infants must needs be christened, because they be born in original sin, which sin *cannot be* remitted, but *by* the sacrament of baptism."

It has been affirmed that there were many in England who denied the gross errors here propounded; and the list of "dogmata" presented to the Convocation in 1536, as prevailing throughout the country, might be referred to as proving this; but the parties seized, at this moment, were *not* Henry's people—*not* his own subjects. They were foreigners, Germans, who had fled from their own country to avoid persecution there. They might therefore have at least been first warned to *leave* the kingdom. But no—the King must speak out, in no unequivocal terms, as to his orthodoxy; and both Cranmer and Crumwell, as well as others, now fall in with the stream of blood.

On the first of October, a commission, in the King's name, was given out to *Cranmer*, Stokesly, and Samson, as Bishops, including Heath, Skip, Thirlby, Gwent, *Robert Barnes*, and Edward Crome, to try these people "lately come into this realm, where they lurk secretly in divers corners and places." There is no evidence of any crime whatever, save the denial of this article, or the doctrine contained in it; and we have no record of their trial. Nor is this surprising; it was not to be expected; as by the commission itself, the commissioners had authority *to execute the premises, notwithstanding part of them might be contrary to the customary course and forms of law!* This most humiliating document for Cranmer, was subscribed by Crumwell.[38] The result was, that three men

[38] These poor people they were to try—"summarie et de plano;" to examine them either

and one woman bore faggots at Paul's cross, and two others, a man and a woman, were consigned to the flames in Smithfield.

But another article of the creed imposed, furnished ground for a far more conspicuous triumph to the Bishop of Winchester; when a more miserable spectacle of a royal tyrant taunting and worrying his victim, Westminster Hall probably never witnessed, before nor since. *John Lambert*, a convert of Bilney's, who is said to have associated with Tyndale and Fryth when abroad, had, in the reign of Sir Thomas More, been brought to England; and before Warham, in 1532, had answered to not fewer than forty-five articles laid against him. Warham, however, died that year, and Lambert was discharged. To avoid the fury of persecution, he then changed his name to Nicholson; and being a man of learning, he had, since that period, earned an honourable subsistence, by teaching Latin and Greek. This year, Dr. John Tailour, afterwards Bishop of Lincoln, had been preaching at St. Peter's, Cornhill, on "transubstantiation." Lambert or Nicholson, after hearing him, had offered civilly to argue the point, but Tailour required him to commit his thoughts to writing; a very dangerous thing in those times, and that which had proved fatal to the immortal Fryth. On showing the paper to Robert *Barnes*, of whom we have just heard, as a member in commission with Cranmer, *he* advised Tailour to lay it before the Archbishop, now so rigidly observed by all his brethren of "the old learning." Lambert once brought into Court, appealed from the Bishops to the *King;* when Gardiner suggested that a fine opportunity was now presented to his Majesty, for putting an end to all insinuations, foreign or domestic, and of vindicating himself before the world, from the charge of favouring *heretics*. The King, in perfect character, taking up the appeal with a high hand, convoked his Nobles and Prelates immediately to repair to London, and assist at the triumph.[39] Upon the day fixed Henry arrived, with a numerous guard, all clothed in *white*, and a cushion of

judicially, or *extra*judicially, as they thought proper; and the words at the close of the commission are these—"Eo non obstante quod Denuntiatio, Detectio sive Indictatio contra eosdem, aut eorum aliquem, in hac parte non præcesserit, aliquibus Statutis vel Statuto in Parliamentis nostris in contrarium editis seu provisis, cæterisque contrariis non obstantibus quibuscunque!"—"In cujus rei testimonium, &c, primo die Octobris 1538. Regni nostri tricesimo.—Thom. Crumwell."

[39] "Gardiner," says Burnet, "laid hold on the appeal, and persuaded the King to proceed solemnly and severely in it."

white cloth of tissue was laid before his Majesty. On his right sat the Bishops, and behind them the lawyers, in purple. On his left the Peers, in their order, with the gentlemen of the Privy Chamber behind. The King, once seated on his throne, Samson, Bishop of Chichester, by command, declared to the people, the cause of this assembly.—

"The King," he said, "had thrown off the usurpations of the See of *Rome*, discharged and disincorporated some idle *Monks*, who lived only like drones in a bee-hive; he had removed the idolatrous regard for *images;* published the *Bible in English* for the instruction of *all* his subjects, and made some lesser alterations in the Church, which nobody could deny were for the public interest. But as for other things, *he* his Majesty was resolved to keep constant to the Catholic faith and customs. That he was very desirous the prisoner would retract his errors, and return to the Catholic communion: That for this purpose, and to prevent the extremities which would otherwise follow, he had ordered the appearance of these grave and learned men, the Bishops; hoping that by the advantage of their character, and force of their reasoning, they would recover him to the Church, and wrest his unfortunate opinion from him. But in case he was not to be removed from his obstinacy, he (the King) was resolved to make him an example; and by a precedent, *of his own setting*, acquaint his judges and the Magistracy, how *they* ought to manage heresy, and behave themselves upon such occasions!"

Henry then commenced, and with "brows bent unto severity;" but Lambert at once denying the corporal presence, he commanded Cranmer to answer him. With his characteristic mildness the Archbishop began; but very soon it appeared as if Lambert would triumph in argument. "The King," says Foxe, "seemed greatly moved—the Bishop himself that disputed to be entangled, and all the people amazed;" when Gardiner, whose cause it truly was, before Cranmer had finished, and who, according to previous arrangement, ought not to have spoken one word, till four others had finished, kneeled down for permission to break silence. Henry assenting, he began—Tunstal, Stokesly, and two others, followed, occupying the solitary prisoner for five hours, or from twelve to five o'clock, when torches were lighted. Lambert maintained his opinions in answer to them all; but observing that there was no hope of being fairly heard, towards the close had become silent. At last, Henry enquired, whether he would *live* or *die?* Lambert threw himself upon the King's mercy —that King who, in his anger, never spared any man. He replied, that he would be no patron of heretics; and then commanded *Crumwell*, as Vicar-General, to read the sentence

of death! Such was the pitiful display on Friday the 16th of November; and on Tuesday following, the 20th, Lambert was burnt to ashes, with circumstances of peculiar barbarity. His last words were—"None but Christ—none but Christ."[40]

On Saturday following, the foreigners suffered; and by Wednesday the 28th we have the following melancholy proof of the basest sycophancy on the part of Crumwell, now striving in vain to retain his influence and power, in the face of Gardiner, the Duke of Norfolk, and others. He is writing to Sir Thomas Wyatt, then ambassador in Spain.

"On the 16th of this present, the King's Majesty, for the reverence of the holy sacrament of the altar, did sit openly in his hall, and there presided at the disputation, process, and judgment of a miserable heretic sacramentary, John Nicholson, alias Lambert, who was burnt the 20th of this same month. It was a *wonder* to see how princely, with how excellent gravity, and inestimable majesty, his Highness exercised there the *very office* of a supreme head of his Church of England! How benignly his Grace assayed to convert the miserable man; how strong and manifest reasons his Highness alleged against him! I wish that the Princes and Potentates of Christendom had had a meet place for them there, to have seen it! Undoubtedly they should have much marvelled at his Majesty's most high wisdom and judgment, and reputed him none otherwise, after the same, than, in manner, the *mirror and light* of all other kings and princes in Christendom!"

Thus, if any man by a single epistle, ever "wrote himself down" in the eye of posterity, which any man may, it was Crumwell upon this occasion. He had not only read the burning sentence, but now justified the execution, and eulogised the royal murderer; so that his having been said to have asked forgiveness of Lambert before death, if not a mere gratuitous assumption, or embellishment of Foxe, was adding

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[40] The day before Lambert was burnt, we have a curious letter from Cranmer to Crumwell:—"This shall be to signify unto you, that this day the King's Highness sent in a commandment to be with him *to-morrow* at *ten* o'clock, which I cannot do if I be *with you* at Stepney before *nine* of the clock. But for so much as his Grace hath appointed me to be at two sundry places about one time, which I cannot accomplish, and I dare not disappoint neither of his commandments without his Grace countermand the same; therefore I will send to his Grace to know his determinate pleasure herein, and I will not fail to wait on you at Stepney, at your hour assigned, unless the King's pleasure be the contrary. From Lamehithe, the 19th day of November."—See *Crumwell's Cor., original holograph.* What could the Vicar-General want with Cranmer *this* morning? Was he at all uneasy as to what he had done at the trial, as well he might? Whatever was involved, it does seem strange that Lambert actually breakfasted in *his* house, before being carried to Smithfield. Foxe states that *this* morning "Lambert was brought out of prison at *eight* o'clock, to the house of Lord Crumwell, and so carried to his inner chamber, where, it is reported of many, that Crumwell desired of him forgiveness for what he had done. There, at last, Lambert being informed that the hour of his death was at hand, was greatly cheered. Being brought out of the chamber into the *hall*, he saluted the gentlemen, and sat down to breakfast with them. When the breakfast was ended, he was carried straightway to the place of execution." For some unknown reason, Crumwell had wished Cranmer to be there at the same moment; but the sequel will show whether there was any such feeling as compunction.

insult to injury. And as for Crumwell's *motive* in so writing to the Continent, at this juncture, if it was the pitiful time-serving idea, that he might thus raise his cruel master in the estimation of the Spanish Court, and so, in some degree, retain his own popularity or power, he entirely failed. With regard to the mock-trial itself; such an array, to brow-beat and overawe a poor solitary schoolmaster, was sufficiently contemptible. The thing was evidently got up to serve some purpose at the moment, while, like many other bloody steps, it proved an entire failure; though, after all, in the page of history, the event is not without its value. Henry had assembled all his authorities round him, and thus fully displayed what was actually *their* existing spirit or character, as well as his *own*. The firm faith and fortitude of Lambert, cleared the moral atmosphere, and served to show the entire assembly in its true colours. The right of private judgment, and the unfettered freedom of religious worship, were not understood, of course, by a single individual there present; but, on the other hand, if the Sacred Scriptures be actually now printing, and at the instance of Crumwell, one of these very courtiers, then their introduction into England, or diffusion there, is a cause just as distinct from these men, except as mere instruments, as it had ever been. And should another edition of the Sacred Volume, and that a larger impression, be thus advancing at press, it becomes doubly interesting to inquire, how such a thing could be accomplished. The Most High is ever ruling, not in the armies of heaven alone, but "in the midst of his enemies;" only at such a time as this, his overruling power becomes evident to demonstration, and demands special praise. We turn therefore to the third, and to us, in one sense, the only important view of the present year.

The two cities in the west of Europe, or indeed any where else, which, *as* cities, had discovered the fiercest opposition to Divine Truth, were London and Paris. The former, after a siege of eleven years' duration, had now been taken. A succession of sappers and miners, by means of the New Testament, had fully prepared the way. The same gracious Providence, which had been so conspicuous from the beginning, at last, and most unexpectedly, brought the Bible entire, when, through the straitness of the siege, and the force of overruling

local circumstances, all at once, Henry, and the men around him, without one breath of hostility, struck their flag of defiance, and received the vilified and long-rejected version. The latter city, Paris, though assailed as long as London had been, was alas! never so to yield. Francis, though the attached brother of a pious sister, would never bow, as Henry had been obliged to do. Of the two cities it might be said—"one was taken, the other left."

By the favour of God, Britain was to become the land of Bibles; and yet the next edition, after the imported one, was not to be commenced in her metropolis. A tribute higher still, must be paid to the disinterested patriotism and Christian pity, of our first Translator. London did not then afford such excellent materials for printing as Paris. It would therefore be a higher display of Almighty power, amidst the burning hatred of the Parisians, of the King himself, and even in the face of that Inquisition, which had obtained no footing in England, if the next English folio Bible should be printed by Frenchmen, and in Paris itself! It will not only be so, but under the eye of the same man who had embarked his all in printing the first edition![41]

Such, in truth, turns out to be the peculiar feature of the year 1538. There the work must now proceed; and not only so, but this shall lead to consequences, very memorable, down to the close of 1541. The Bible commenced at Paris in 1538 and finished in London by April 1539, is a curiosity equally remarkable in its way with that of 1537, if not more so. It was like going forth "from conquering, to conquer."

Such an event indeed might seem impossible, look where we may, at home or abroad. Henry himself, in eager cor-

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41 Since the spring of 1533, the rage of Francis against all new opinions, and his inflicted cruelties, had been alike superlative. By December of that year he had "resolved with all his power and might to suppress," what he styled "the cursed Lutheran heretic sect," then springing up in Paris; and, said he, "we expressly enjoin you, that *all other things set aside*, you direct some among you to enquire *curiously and diligently* into all those who hold this sect and are suspected of it. We wish you to proceed to this by a strong and armed force, if that be necessary." By 1535, the King himself had walked in procession, part of which consisted of literally the *butchers* of Paris, carrying the image of St. Genevieve, when the moment of his Majesty's arrival at the Louvre was distinguished by six men at once being committed to the flames! For some years past all those who remained obstinate were put to death, and the tongues of their noblest victims were actually *cut out*, lest in dying they should give the people an impression of their doctrines! So says even Castelnau, a disciple of the old school.—*Memoirs*, v. i., p. 4. In other instances the same horrid cruelty was inflicted, when the faithful martyr was even on the road to the stake, if he refused to worship any image that *came in the way!* See more particularly Le Grand, or Turner's History of Elizabeth, b. ii., c. 18, *notes*.

respondence with both Spain and France, is observed to have been engrossed with Continental politics, and not only in keen pursuit after a fourth Queen, but busy in proposing matrimonial alliances for his children, or, as after this, in sanctioning bitter persecution. Cranmer, in communication with Germany is employed in discussion for months with Envoys from that country; while Crumwell, between them both, though he might seem to have had enough to do, is also pursuing vigorously his own course, in the visitation of Monasteries and Abbeys, Images, Crosses and Shrines, with a view to their common overthrow. The harvest months are marked by cruel preparations, and those of winter, by the shedding of blood, both foreign and domestic.

Where then was any room left? Where any time for attention to subjects so widely different, or far apart, as that of the printing of the Scriptures, and their diffusion throughout England? Still, both time and attention *must* be given to both. Last year Crumwell had been overruled, Gardiner's return was well fitted to quicken his pace, and this year he has become a determined and energetic agent. His eye had been directed to Paris, where for the last five years especially, the greatest hostility to the Scriptures had been most cruelly displayed; but this will only lend greater singularity to the next edition of the English Bible. The hand of Britain's God will once again be pressed upon our notice, as if to show, that all places, as well as persons, or that Francis I. and Henry VIII., the highest regal opponents, were alike before Him.

Grafton's edition, so singularly introduced last year, was soon found to be but a poor supply, and a second, of 2500 copies, was now intended. Grafton may have suggested Paris as the best place for printing it, as well as for superior paper; and here now stood Coverdale, at Crumwell's command, ready to accompany him, as corrector of the press; but how was it possible for the work to be executed there? In the commencement of the year, owing to the feeling then existing between Henry and Francis, such a proposal was out of the question. The latter had given great offence, by refusing Mary of Guise to the English monarch, and by not bowing to his request as to her sisters. Both the Emperor and Francis, however, in order to gain time, were alike deceiving the King of England; and by the end of February, one of

the French King's strokes of policy was, to *assent* to Henry becoming the mediator between the Emperor and himself; nay, before the end of April, he had offered his son, the Duke of Orleans, to Mary of England. Crumwell's policy, it has been affirmed, was to cultivate friendship with France, and, through that power, link Henry with the German States: but be that as it may, here was now an opening with *Paris*. At this moment, therefore, Crumwell must have succeeded in getting his royal Master to communicate with Francis; as it was expressly in consequence of this that a license was then actually granted by the King of France to Richard Grafton and George Whitchurch, to print the Scriptures.[42] Now, as Francis *left* his capital about the first of June, and considerable progress had been made by the 23d of that month, it may be safely presumed that both Grafton and Coverdale had arrived in Paris sometime in May. It is worthy of remark, that the first step taken, was by a direct communication between these two monarchs, Henry and Francis; for Crumwell would not stoop to any intercourse through *Gardiner*, though the English ambassador there, who was a noted opponent. Granting the request, too, might, and probably did, serve the purpose of Francis in prolonging delusion, who was just then setting off for Nice, where, at last, the mask of friendship was to be thrown off. The French King, therefore, after issuing the license, *leaves* Paris, and Gardiner officially *follows* him; but it was three months before either the one or the other *returned;* and thus the printing of this Bible for England rapidly proceeded during their absence! When the English Scriptures were to be introduced into our native land, the Bishop of Winchester was taken out of the way; and so it happened when they were to be printed in Paris. He may return for a few days in September, but *not* as ambassador: his influence was gone; it was merely to make certain arrangements before taking his departure for England.[43]

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42 "*Franciscus*, &c. Dilectis nobis Richardo Grafton, et Edwardo Whitchurch, Anglis et civibus Londini, Salutem. *Quia* fide digna testimonia accepimus, quod carissimus Frater noster Anglorum Rex, Vobis cujus Subditi estis Sacram Bibliam tam Latinè quam Britannicè sive Anglicè imprimendi, et imprimi curandi, et in suum regnum apportandi et transferendi, libertatem sufficientem, et legitimam concesserit: Et vos," &c.—*See* Cotton MS., Cleop. E. v., fol. 326 b; or the Appendix to Burnet's Life of Cranmer.

43 He had only to dispose of his "mulets," and pack up his "napery and mulet cloths, with his arms embroidered on them," of all which he had made such high boast to Bonner, without giving him anything; not, however, without being paid back plentifully in his own coin. Dur-

Less than two years ago, when the Doctors of Louvain were wrangling with Tyndale, and thirsting for his blood, certainly there was nothing within the range of possibility so improbable, as that *his* translation of the Scriptures should be reprinting at a *Parisian* press, by the request of his *own* Sovereign, and with the sanction of the persecuting French King himself; but so it was! For while the common enemies of such a measure were *all* assembled at Nice, only to make bad worse; Grafton and Coverdale were busily at work! Their letters, without exception, are addressed to Crumwell, and the first is dated the 23d of June—

"After most humble and hearty commendations to your good Lordship. Pleaseth the same to understand, that we be entered into *your* work of the Bible; whereof, according to our most bounden duty, we have here sent unto your Lordship two ensamples; one in parchment, wherein we intend to print one for the King's Grace, and another for your Lordship; and the second, in paper, whereof all the rest shall be made; trusting, that it shall be not only to the glory of God, but a singular pleasure also to your good Lordship, the *causer* thereof, and a general edifying of the King's subjects, according to your Lordship's most godly request. For we follow not only a standing text of the Hebrew, with the interpretation of the Chaldee and the Greek; but we set also in a private (separate) table, the diversity of readings of all texts, with such annotations in another table, as shall doubtless delucidate and clear the same; as well without any singularity of opinions, as all checkings and reproofs. The *print*, no doubt, shall please your good Lordship: the *paper* is of the best sort in France. The charge certainly is great; wherein, as we most humbly require your favourable help at this present, with whatsoever it shall please your Lordship to let us have; so trust we, if need require, in our just business, to be defended from the Papists by your Lordship's favourable letters—which we most humbly desire to have by this bearer, William Grey, either to the Bishop of Winchester, or to *some other*, whom your Lordship shall think most expedient.[44] We be daily threatened, and look ever to be spoken withal, as this bearer can farther inform your Lordship; but how they will use us, as yet we know not. Nevertheless, for our farther assurance, wherethrough we may be the abler to perform this your Lordship's work, we are so much the bolder of your good Lordship; for other refuge have we none, under God and our King, whom, with noble Prince Edward, and all of you their most honourable Council, God Almighty preserve, both now and ever, Amen.—Written at Paris, the 23d day of June, by your Lordship's assured and daily orators—MYLES COVERDALE—RYCHARD GRAFTON, Grocer."[45]

They must have already been a month or more in Paris;

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ing Gardiner's brief stay at Paris, Bonner is careful to inform Crumwell that they were not living together—"in very deed we had *several* lodgings." In the judgment of Bonner, hostility to the Bishop of Winchester was at present the road to preferment by the Vicar-General.

[44] Their hint as to *some other*, is significant of their acquaintance with the feeling existing between Crumwell and this Bishop.

[45] MS., once in the Chapter-house, now in the State Paper Office. Gov. State Papers, i., p. 575.

but notwithstanding those fears expressed they were *not* impeded, nor will they be for nearly six months to come. Meanwhile, Grey went into England, but soon returned. After him a servant of Crumwell's, named Sebastian, (elsewhere styled his *cook*,) who had been sent over, most probably with money and letters, upon his return brought farther sheets, in proof of their progress; and their next epistle is one chiefly of explanation.

"After most humble and due salutation to your good Lordship. Pleaseth the same to understand that your work *going forward*, we thought it our most bounden duty to send unto your Lordship certain leaves thereof, specially seeing we had so good occasion, by the returning of your beloved servant Sebastian; and *as* they are done, so will we send your Lordship the residue, from *time to time*.

"As touching the manner and order that we keep in the same work, pleaseth it your good Lordship to be advertised, that the mark ☞ in the text, that upon the same, *in the latter end of the book*, there is some notable annotation; which we have written without any private opinion, only after the best interpreters of the Hebrews, for the more clearness of the text. This mark ♆ betokeneth that upon the same text there is diversity of reading, among the Hebrews, Chaldees, and Greeks and Latinists, as in a table at the *end of the book* shall be declared. This mark ∝ sheweth that the sentence, written in small letters, is not in the Hebrew or Chaldee, but in the Latin and seldom in the Greek, and that we nevertheless, would not have it extinct, but highly accept it, for the more explanation of the text. This token † in the Old Testament giveth to understand that the same text that followeth it, is also alleged of Christ, or of some Apostle in the New Testament. This, among other necessary labours, is the way that we take in this work; trusting verily that as Almighty God moved your Lordship to set us unto it, so shall it be to his glory, and right welcome to all them that love to serve Him, and their Prince, in true faithful obedience,—at Paris the 9th day of August 1538. By your faithful orators—Miles Cov"dale. Richard Grafton. Willm Grey.—Superscribed to the Lord Privy Seal, Crumwell."[46]

It is curious enough, that Francis Regnault, the Paris printer, in whose house both Coverdale and Grafton were now lodging, had for many years printed English primers and missals for the use of the English Churches. But the times were changing; he was overstocked; having had no such sale as in former years, and more especially as the London booksellers had now interdicted him. To get rid of those on hand, he implored the kind offices of his guests and present

[46] Gov. State Papers, i., p. 578. *Grey*, as appears by the proceedings of the Privy Council, was a layman attached to Crumwell's household, and his name being affixed, is a farther proof of the *personal* interest which his Master was taking in the work. Should any thing happen, therefore, the Lord Privy Seal will be able to notice it as a *personal* affront, and considering his Sovereign's *direct* application to the French King, something more.

employers; and on the 12th of September they address Crumwell, concluding in the following terms—

"He is also contented, and hath promised before my Lord *elect* of Hereford,[47] that if there be found any notable fault in his books, he will put the same out, and print the leaf again. Thus are we bold to write to your Lordship, in his cause, as doth also my Lord elect of Hereford, beseeching your Lordship to pardon our boldness, and to be good lord to this honest man, whose servant shall give attendance upon your Lordship's most favourable answer. If your Lordship show him this benefit, we shall not fare the worse, in the readiness of this your Lordship's work of the *Bible*, which goeth *well forward*, and within few months, will *draw to an end* by the grace of Almighty God."[48]

Whether this suit was successful does not appear; but most providentially, three months more were allowed to pass away, before any serious apprehension was felt as to the safety of the Scriptures already printed. By this period, too, the impression was so far advanced, that Coverdale was applying earnestly to Crumwell respecting the printing of the annotations. Now these, it will be remembered, were to be put at the *end* of the book; so that the Bible itself must have been very nearly *finished*. Thus, the hand of the enemy had been restrained from touching the work, for more than six months; but what was better still, though not observed by any historian before, anticipating what soon happened, Coverdale, and through *Bonner* also, conveyed "this much of the Bible" beyond the reach of danger. The letter to Crumwell, with this intelligence, is "written somewhat hastily, at Paris the 13th day of December."

"Right honourable and my singular good Lord, after all due salutations, I humbly beseech your Lordship, that by my Lord elect of Hereford, I may know your pleasure concerning the annotations of this Bible, whether I shall proceed therein or no. Pity it were that the dark places of the text, upon which I have always set a hand ☞, should so pass undeclared. As for any private opinion or contentious words, as I will utterly avoid all such, so will I offer the annotations first to my said Lord of Hereford! to the intent that he shall so examine the same, afore they be put in print, if it be your Lordship's good pleasure that I shall so do.

"As concerning the New Testaments in English and Latin, whereof your good Lordship received lately a book by your servant, Sebastian the cook, I beseech your Lordship to consider the greenness thereof, which for lack of time, cannot as yet be so apt to be bound as it should be.

"And whereas my said Lord of Hereford is so good unto us *as to convey this much of the Bible to your good Lordship*, I humbly beseech the same, to be

[47] Bonner, now playing the hypocrite towards Crumwell and the cause itself.
[48] State Papers, i., 589.

the defender and keeper thereof: to the intent, that if these men proceed in their cruelness against us, and confiscate the *rest*, yet this at the least may be *safe* by the means of your Lordship, whom God, the Almighty, evermore preserve to his good pleasure."[49]

The Bible itself, however, was to be *its own* interpreter; and of *annotations* there were to be *none;* a circumstance far too remarkable to pass unnoticed, for they were never added. But there stand the pointing hands, both in the text and in the margin, by which the edition may be easily distinguished.[50]

It was only four days after this letter, that the press was arrested in its progress. An order from the Inquisition, dated the 17th of December 1538, and subscribed "Le Tellier," was the instrument; citing "Regnault, and all other that it might concern," to appear and answer—inhibiting at once the printing of the Bible, and concealment of the sheets already finished.[51] As this body acted under *royal* authority, as well as that of the Pontiff, some change must have taken place in the mind of Francis, before such a proceeding could have been winked at; and for this change it is not difficult to account. Bonner's appointment was far from an acceptable one to the French King. Coming as he did, it was impossible to regard him in any other light than that of a spy, and *as* a spy he had been acting most vigilantly. In October he was at St. Quentin, near Cambray, watching and reporting a suspicious interview of Francis with the reigning Princess of the Netherlands, the sister of Charles; and at Paris, so recently as the last day of November, he writes to Crumwell—"I shall, by God's grace, give vigilant eye to their doings here, and advertise you. Hitherto I have been strangely and very unkindly used in my lodging, having no kind of friendship shewed me in manner that was worthy—how it will be hereafter I cannot tell."[52] Among other points which Bonner had in charge, there was an annual pension by Francis to Henry, in terms of a treaty between them, which was now in arrear for four years; and the zealous Envoy had begun to press payment in a style which finally occasioned his recall, next year.

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[49] Harleian MS., No. 604, p. 98; dated 1539 in the Catalogue, instead of 1538.

[50] Having himself pointed out this mark of distinction, it must have been from inadvertency that Dr. Cotton has said in his introduction—"I am yet to learn whether we now possess *any* copy of the edition of the Great Bible which Grafton and Whitchurch began to print at Paris about 1538." But more than this. By observing a Paris initial letter to the Epistles, and where it ceases to be used, perhaps we are informed how much was indicated as being *safe*.

[51] Cleop., E. v., fol. 326.

[52] Cotton MS., Calig. E. iv., fol. 8, 10.

But happily, after all, the Inquisitor seems to have been more than a day too late. The entire impression of the Bible, amounting to 2500 copies, could not have fallen into his hands. We have read Coverdale's information of the 13th of December, and as the present citation was the *second*, and is dated the 17th, there can be no doubt, that, impelled by the *first*, he was then conveying away "so much of the Bible," as had been ready for removal.[53] Even with regard to the sheets seized, there was considerable recovery; for having been condemned to be burnt in Maubert Place,[54] "four great dry-fats of them" were regained by purchase. This was owing to the cupidity of the Lieutenant Criminal of the Inquisition, who, instead of obeying orders, had sold them to a haberdasher.

Old John Foxe, therefore, though others have followed him, was mistaken in supposing that these books were lost, and so was Lewis. The evidence now presented looks quite the other way, and the copies even still remaining in existence, confirms it. "I am inclined to think," says Todd, "that the proprietors lost *few* copies of the impression." And who were these proprietors? For the affair was by no means to end here. Henry VIII. himself, by Crumwell's request, and Crumwell much more deeply, were parties concerned. Whether, therefore, the alarm soon subsided or not, or any means were taken to appease the Inquisitors, it must have been dangerous and impolitic at the moment to thwart even the Vicegerent, still in possession of great power, to say nothing of his imperious master. Crumwell had been assisting the undertaking by pecuniary supplies; the King himself had written to Francis, and *he* had fully committed himself before leaving Paris for Nice. Since then the Inquisitors had chosen to interfere in his absence—the King of France, nay, and the Inquisition to boot, must now be overruled to *help*, instead of hindering the work. Persons commissioned by Crumwell, soon returned to Paris, and they brought away with them the printing *presses*, *the types*, and even the *workmen*. In short, scarcely six weeks could have been lost, and

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[53] The copy of the citation now quoted, and which is in the British Museum, (Cleop. E. v., 326,) is thus entitled by Bonner, *in his own hand*—"The copie of the *second* citation and inhibition, agaynst the Prynter of the Englishe Bible."

[54] Place de Maubert, immediately adjoining to Rue des *Anglais*.

scarcely a sheet could have been missing, as in two months more, the Bible entire was completed in *London*. On the last leaf they printed, " The ende of the New Testament, and of the whole Byble, fynished in Apryll anno 1539. A Dño factū est istud"—emphatically acknowledging Him, whose cause it was; they did well to add, *A Domino factum est istud.*

It will certainly be very observable, if this interruption actually promoted the design, and to a *far greater extent* than if there had been none whatever. Had there been none, Coverdale and Grafton had finished their task in Paris, leaving the types and workmen on the spot. Meanwhile, a hint had thus been given that they had better let all *annotations* alone, for they were *never* printed; leaving the Sacred text to speak for itself. But above all, it will appear that the Parisian *types* had come in far larger quantity, and even the French *workmen* in greater number, than has ever been before observed. In the editions of the Bible from this time to the close of 1541, we wait to discover the proof of this. At this crisis, certainly no gift, or *God-send*, to old England, could have been of more value than these types and printers. Very different employment must have awaited both, had they remained in Paris. Tunstal had been jocularly advised to buy the press and types out of Tyndale's way, to *prevent* the New Testament from coming into England! Now, the authorities are importing both men and types, to *print* the version; and by and bye, Henry himself will command Tunstal, to sanction the translation he had so denounced. This too will be after Crumwell is dead, and the influence of Cranmer was on the decline.

Grafton, as we have seen, had laid down at the press two copies of this Bible in *vellum*, one for the King and another for Crumwell. The sheets of both, had been saved, as both are understood to be in preservation. The copy once belonging to Crumwell is in St. John's College, Cambridge, and has been described long ago.

" We have such a Bible printed on *vellum*, and embellished with cuts, illuminated, the leaves gilt, and the cover embossed with brass, ' fynished in Apryll anno 1539.' The frontispiece is the same with that of 1540, only Crumwell's arms are left *there* a *blank*; left out I presume upon his fall, which in our copy has his bearing like the rest, in colours. It might probably be the same book that was presented to Crumwell, there being only one other that we

can hear of, that is the King's. But how it came to us does not appear, unless from the late Earl of Southampton, who gave us most of those manuscripts we now enjoy."[55]

The only mistake here is that of supposing the *Royal* vellum copy to be of this edition. It is 1540, but the second vellum copy of 1539 is still understood to be in existence, though not in Peter College, as Lowndes has supposed, yet in the possession of a private individual. Of the copies printed on paper, there are not fewer than twelve to be found in different collections.

Such is the edition, which, on the authority of Coverdale's and Grafton's own words, ought to have been all along associated with the name of CRUMWELL, and *never* with that of *Cranmer*, as it has too frequently been. It was Crumwell's undertaking from beginning to end, and without HIS *importation of types and men*, Cranmer afterwards had never been able to have proceeded as he did. Throughout 1538, Cranmer was otherwise engrossed with the German commissioners, besides other business; in the whole of his correspondence with Crumwell, throughout 1538, there is not one allusion to the Bible; and although Cranmer's future prologue or preface has been bound up with some copies of this Bible, it does *not* belong to the book. The first Bible in which Cranmer took an interest personally, was the next which will come before us; but still, the materials and men now imported, and the *impetus* now given by Crumwell, will be found to prevail throughout the Bibles of 1540, and extend to those of 1541, after his death. To the Vicegerent must be conceded his own place in history, whatever afterwards may become of his general character. But for Crumwell's exertions at this period, it is next to certain that no *such* Bibles could have appeared in 1540 and 1541.

We have now returned to England, and ever after this decisive triumph, shall have much less occasion to look abroad. Ever since Tyndale left London the undertaking has been a foreign one; but after a noble and uninterrupted struggle of fifteen years' duration, the English Bible may be considered as having now taken up its settled abode in our native land. The cause in-

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[55] Letter from Thomas Baker to Thomas Hearne. The Earl of Southampton of the day succeeded Crumwell, as Lord Privy Seal.

deed will be thwarted still, even at home, and by Henry himself as well as his eldest daughter; though ultimately, even she will be found to have advanced it. At subsequent periods too, thousands of Bibles will be printed on the Continent for English use, but all this will only serve to keep us in remembrance, that, as from the beginning, so ever afterwards, this undertaking had been conducted, not by human authority but by the gracious hand of the Almighty.

Meanwhile, we have had one Bible, wholly imported in 1537, and a second, redeemed from destruction, finished in London; and notwithstanding the political frenzy, as well as all the cruelties perpetrating at home, the cause of Truth throughout the year had been steadily advancing. Grafton, on proceeding to Paris, had left his first impression of 1537 to be disposed of, without any risk of loss or delay; and Crumwell in September put forth his first injunctions, in immediate reference to that Bible. This he did, as "Vicegerent unto the King's Highness,"—"for the discharge of the King's Majesty," and most providentially, he had issued his orders *before* the arrival of Gardiner from France. What a mighty advance had been made, since he left for Paris in October 1535! Or, more properly speaking, since he had been *sent out of the way*, as Tunstal had been before, and Bonner will be, after him. Gardiner might depart, rejoicing that Tyndale was at last in prison, and then, as perhaps he anticipated, to be put to death. But now, Gardiner had been removed once more out of the way, even from *Paris;* the Bible had been there printed before Bonner's own eye, and it was no other than Tyndale's long-traduced version of the Sacred Volume, which was held up to public view, by injunctions, to be "observed and kept, upon pain of deprivation."

"*Item*—That ye shall provide, on this side of the feast of N. (Natalis, Nativity of our Lord, 25th December,) next coming, one book of the whole Bible, of the *largest* volume in English, and the same set up in some convenient place within the said church, that ye have cure of, where your parishioners may most commodiously resort to the same and read it; the charges of which book shall be rateably borne between you, the parson and parishioners aforesaid, that is to say, the one half by you, and the other half by them.[56]

"*Item*—That ye shall discourage *no man*, privily or apertly, from the read-

[56] There is now before the writer an exact copy of the *original broad sheet*, entitled,—"Injunctions for the Clerge—Anno dni. MCCCCCXXXVIII. In the name of God, Amen,"—with the blanks unfilled up. The feast of *N.* Natalis is marked in others.

ing, or the hearing of the said Bible, but shall expressly provoke, stir, and exhort, *every person* to read the same, as that which is the very lively word of God, that every Christian person is bound to embrace, believe, and follow, if they look to be saved; admonishing them, nevertheless, to avoid all contention and altercation therein, but to use an honest sobriety in their inquisition of the true sense of the same, and to refer the explication of the obscure places to men of higher judgment in Scripture."[57]

These pointed injunctions to the country at large, bore solely upon the Bible of *the largest volume*, the very first time this phrase was employed, and as yet there was but *one* such edition, so that there could be no mistake.[58] They may have been rendered more imperative from the rumour of which Grafton had forewarned Crumwell, viz. that they would reprint Matthew's Bible of 1537 in the Low Countries, so early as 1538. But this was only a rumour; they never did; as the Bible marked 1538 in our lists, from Lewis down to Cotton and Lowndes, is a mistake.[59]

At home however now, Tyndale was not forgotten. There were two editions of his New Testament in quarto; one printed in Southwark by Peter Treveres; the other, which seems to have been finished by the beginning of summer, was printed by Robert Redman, next-door to St. Dunstan's, where Tyndale used to preach, "set forth under the King's most gracious license,—cum privilegio ad imprimendum solum." It is in parallel columns of Latin and English; the former, be it observed, *not* the Vulgate, but the Latin of *Erasmus*, and the

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57 Wilkin's Conc., Mag. Brit., p. 815.

58 It may here be remarked, once for all, that "the great Bible" or "the largest volume," and "Cranmer's Bible," are phrases which have been long and frequently misunderstood, or used indiscriminately; but the two former were distinctive epithets employed before the *first* of Cranmer's, or that of May 1540 was published. Here, "*the largest volume*" was first employed by authority, and for what reason could it be but to distinguish the Bible of Matthew or Tyndale from that of Coverdale, which was two inches less in height; as well as from the quarto editions of Coverdale, reprinted by Nycolson, even though they had the words,—"Set forth with the King's license," printed on the title? These injunctions were, in fact, another step in favour of the predominant translation.

59 However pointed Lewis was in describing it, there never was any such book. "The Bible of 1537," says he, "had been reprinted this year in the Low Countries. It is a small thick folio, in which Tyndale's prefaces to the Pentateuch, Jonas and the Romans are included," &c. But more strangely he goes on, till he adds—"among the curators therefore of this edition, I reckon Archbishop *Cranmer!*" As if Cranmer, though so fully engrossed with the German visitants, and his official business, had been patronising a *surreptitious* edition in the Netherlands, as Grafton had deprecated, and to rival that of Crumwell his Vicar-General, now printing in Paris! The truth is, Lewis's book must have had *no* title-page, and he may have been misled by the Colophon,—"To the honour and praise of God was this Bible printed in the year of our Lord 1537, and now again reprinted." The very copy, we believe, from which Lewis took his description is now in the Museum at Bristol, and we have particularly examined it. All the while Lewis was describing a Bible printed in the time of Edward VI. or the reprint of Matthew's Bible, by Raynolde and Hyll in 1549.

latter that of Tyndale or of the English Bible, now enforced. These books appear to be a set off in contrast to the Testaments of Coverdale, about to be mentioned, and they explain the injunctions of Cranmer, preceding those of Crumwell, already mentioned.[60]

All compliant as Coverdale certainly had been under the unexpected change which had taken place at home, it is curious enough that this year an attempt was made at Antwerp to follow up his former exertions, by reprinting his translation of the New Testament, but with Tyndale's prologues. It is neatly executed, in small black letter by Matthew Cromer, with numerous and well-executed wood-cuts, marginal references, and glosses. Cromer even repeated this in a larger type, with different cuts in 1539, leaving out the prologue to the Romans; but it abounds also with typographical errors. In 1537, the printer might not be aware of the change which had taken place in England, but we are quite unable to account for his mistaken zeal in 1539. Yet whatever was the occasion of this foreign attempt; at home Coverdale was still more unfortunate than he had been, even with his Bible. In the early part of this year, his friend Nycolson had proposed to print *his* translation and the *vulgate* in parallel columns. And previously to Coverdale setting off for Paris, he had drawn out another of his characteristic dedications to Henry VIII., trusting to Nycolson's care for the correcting of the press. When the book came out it was so incorrectly executed, that a copy having come to Coverdale's hand in July, at Paris, he saw that he stood even in a more awkward position than before. Grafton, therefore, on the first of December, wrote on his behalf, and in the following terms—

"Pleaseth it your Lordship to understand, that it chanced, since our coming into these parts, that James Nycolson, dwelling in Southwark, put in print the New Testament both in Latin and English. Which book was delivered unto us by a stranger; and when Master Coverdale had advised and considered the same, he found his name added thereto as the translator, with the which he *never had to do?* Neither saw he it, before it was full printed and ended; and also found the book so foolishly done, yea, and so corrupt, that it did not only

[60] The injunctions of Cranmer, through his commission to Dr. Curwen, the Dean, with reference to the diocese of Hereford only, in the summer of 1538, are inexplicable, except we observe this book. "That ye, and every one of you shall have by the first day of August next coming, as well a whole Bible, in Latin and English, or *at the least a New Testament of* BOTH *the same languages*, AS the copies of the King's Highness' *injunctions*,—"That ye shall every day study one Chapter of the said Bible or New Testament, conferring the Latin and English together, and to begin at the first part of the book and so continue to the end of the same." All this too was in perfect character for *Hereford*, soon after the death of such a man as Fox, the late Bishop. It was like a tribute to his memory, as the reader may recollect his noble address in the Convocation of 1536. *Bonner*, the arch-hypocrite and his successor, now in Paris, was then expected by Cranmer as well as Crumwell, to be equally zealous for the Scriptures. So he appeared to be, till the *day* of Crumwell's apprehension.

grieve him, that the printer had so defamed him and his learning, by adding his name to so fond a thing, but also that the common people was deprived of the true and sincere sense of God's true Word, and also that such an occasion was ministered to the enemies of God's Word, that rather seek occasions to rail and slander, than to be edified.

"And, therefore, at his most honest and lawful request, (although I had enough to do beside,) I have printed the same again, translated and corrected by Master Coverdale himself. Of the which books, now being finished, I have here sent your Lordship the first, (and so have I sent my Lord of Canterbury another, and almost to every Christian Bishop that is in the realm; my Lord of Hereford, also, hath sent to Mr. Richard Crumwell one of the same,) the which I most humbly desire your Lordship to accept, having respect rather to my heart, than to the gift, for it is not so well done as my heart would wish it to be. I have also added, as your Lordship may perceive, these words, "*Cum gratia et privilegio Regis.*"[61]

This letter, to say the least, was certainly a very awkward one; since, wherever the blame lay, it was saying a great deal *too much*. It by no means corresponds with Coverdale's own language, in the dedication of his Paris Testament, not now to Henry, but to *Crumwell* himself, and actually forwarded *with* this letter!

"*Truth* it is," says Coverdale, "that this last Lent, I did, with all humbleness, direct an epistle unto the *King's* most noble Grace, *trusting* that the book whereunto it was prefixed, should afterwards have been as well correct as other books be. And because I could not be present myself, by the reason of sundry notable *impediments*, therefore inasmuch as the New Testament, which I had set forth in English before, doth so agree with the Latin, I was heartily well content that the Latin and it should be together: Provided alway that the corrector should follow the true copy of the Latin in any wise, and to keep the true and right English of the same. And so doing, I was content to *set my name* to it: and even so I *did;* trusting that though I were absent and out of the land, yet all should be well. And, as God is my record, I knew none other, till this last July, that it was my chance here in these parts, at a stranger's hand, to come by a copy of the said print; which when I had perused, I found that as it was disagreeable to my former translation in English, so was not the true copy of the Latin observed, neither the English so correspondent to the same as it ought to be: but in many places both base, insensible, and clean contrary, not only to the phrase of our language, but also from the understanding of the text in Latin."

In explanation of this apology as to Coverdale's engagements in *Lent*, and his "not being present because of sundry notable impediments," Crumwell would recollect, and perfectly understand him. In Lent he was not in London, but down at Reading in Berkshire, in Crumwell's service. He was there examining the Matin books in the county, to see whether they had, in obedience to the Act of Parliament, yet expunged the authority of the *Pontiff* from their pages, or were still using

[61] Gov. State Papers, vol. i., p. 591.

books subversive of Henry's assumed authority.[62] After this he had been called up to town by the Lord Privy Seal, and sent with Grafton to France.

But again, and as to the *Latin* text which had been used, and that even in the Testament which had been printed at Paris, *under his own eye*, in his preface to the reader, Coverdale expresses himself thus :—

"As touching this text in Latin, and the style thereof, which is read in the Church, and is commonly called St. Jerome's translation, though there be in it many and sundry sentences, whereof some be *more* than the Greek, some *less* than the Greek, some in manner *repugnant* to the Greek, some contrary to the rules of the Latin tongue, and to the right order thereof, as thou mayest easily perceive, if thou compare the diversity of the interpreters together, *yet forasmuch as I am but a private man, and owe obedience unto the higher powers*, I refer the *amendment and reformation hereof* unto the *same, and to such as excel in authority* and knowledge."

And thus once more are we constrained to observe the important distinction which must ever be drawn between Tyndale and Coverdale, whether as men, or as translators. They travelled in two paths, altogether distinct. The latter chose to express himself, in his dedications to Henry and Crumwell, as having a mind entirely at *their* disposal ; while no sentiments could be more definite, and held with a firmer grasp, than those of the first noble and independent translator. As for the Greek original, he had kept a vigilant eye on the successive editions of Erasmus, which Coverdale had not ; and with regard to the Hebrew, after quoting his expressions respecting the Hebraisms to be found in Matthew, it has been well said—"That a person who could thus write of St. Matthew's Hebraisms, should be compelled by ignorance to translate from the Septuagint, or the Latin Vulgate, is perfectly incredible ; and that he would use the latter from *choice*, is inconceivable. We ought to remember that this translator's troubles chiefly arose from his determination to resist the imposition of an authorised version, and that his whole life was a series of hostilities against the defenders of the Latin Vulgate."[63]

As for the *blind* submission of his translation, therefore, to any man living, but, above all, to those before whom Coverdale bowed so profoundly, against this he had boldly published his dissent, above seven

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[62] They were still using the old books to such extent, that Coverdale supposes there had been great and culpable neglect in LONGLAND, *Bishop of Lincoln*, that steady disciple of "the old learning;" and Coverdale desires to know from Crumwell, whether he ought not to *burn* the books caught, and coming in to him, at the Market Cross. See three MS. letters to Crumwell as Lord Privy Seal, found in the Chapter-house, Westminster, but now in the State Paper Office, dated Newbury, the 7th and 8th of Feb., and 8th of March, [1538.] From the contents of the letters, in one of which young Prince *Edward* is mentioned, it is evident that a mark in the indorsation, viz. Ao xxx°., cannot refer to the year or date. If so, it is a mistake; though it may indicate the bundle, once in the Chapter-house.

[63] "Historical and Critical Enquiry," by J. W. Whitaker, A.M., p. 46. He is repelling the insinuations of those who knew no better, from old Fuller down to Bellamy.

years ago, or five before his death, and it had circulated throughout his native land.

"Under what manner," said he, "should I now submit this book to be corrected and amended of them, which can suffer nothing to be well? Or what protestation should I make in such a matter to our Prelates, which so mightily fight against God, and resist his Holy Spirit, enforcing, with all craft and subtlety, to quench the light of the everlasting Testament, promises, and appointment between God and us."

Yet is this the very translation which has now prevailed; so manifest was the interposition of Providence, in every point of view.

But to proceed. Coverdale, good easy man, even tried to screen his former friend, the printer, if not the corrector;—"As for my part, though it hath been damage to my poor name, I heartily remit it." This distinct reprobation of Nycolson's Testament, did not however prevent Nycolson from putting forth another impression, to which he affixed the name of Johan Hollybushe.[64] After this it may naturally be supposed Coverdale's countenance of the man must have come to an end. He is said to have called in the copies with his name, and hence they are so very rare.

The tide having so providentially and happily turned last year, this was a state of things for which some remedy must be sought. And, therefore, *before* Crumwell knew of the honour intended for him, by the dedication of the *Paris* production; aiming after a *fixed* standard, and *that* the translation sanctioned last year, an Inhibition had been issued. It is curious that it should have reached Paris, the day before that on which Grafton wrote his letter, and it was felt as if applying to what *they* had done, though it could only have reference to Nycolson's books, and to prevent more mischief.

"The day before this present," says Grafton, "came there a post named Nycolas, which brought your Lordship's letters to my Lord of Hereford, with the which was bound a certain inhibition for printing of books, and for adding of these words, 'cum privilegio.' Then, as soon as my Lord of Hereford had received it, he sent immediately for Mr. Coverdale and me, reading the same thing to us; in the which is expressed that we should add these words, '*ad imprimendum solum*,'—which words we never heard of before. Neither do we take it that these words should be added in the Scripture, if it be truly translated; for then should it be a great occasion to the enemies to say, that it is not the King's act or mind to set it forth, but only to license the printers to sell such as is put forth.[65] Wherefore we beseech your Lordship to take no displeasure for that we have done, for rather than any such thing should happen, we would do it again, but I trust the thing itself is so well done, that it

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[64] Not a fictitious name, but a man employed by Nycolson, and who seems to have gone to Cologne.—Herbert's Ames, pp. 1450-1605.

[65] But Nycolson had taken upon him to print expressly even on this Testament—"Set forth with the King's most gracious license!"

shall not only please your Lordship, but also the King's Highness, and all the godly in the realm.[66]

"And whereas your Lordship has added in the said Inhibition, that your Lordship, and all the King's most Honourable Council, willeth no book henceforth to be put in print, but that first it be allowed, at the least, by one Bishop, we most humbly beseech your Lordship to appoint certain thereto, that they may be *as ready to read them*, as other good men be *to put them forth. For it is now seven years since the Bishops promised to translate and set forth the Bible, and as yet they have no leisure.*"

Having thus paid our last visit to the Continent for a number of years to come, that is, so far as the *printing* of the Scriptures in our native tongue is immediately concerned; we gladly return to old England, and enquire after its actual moral condition, and especially what effect the Word of Life seems, by this time, to have produced.

In conclusion of this year, as a striking illustration of the times, and as one proof that we have not been magnifying the importance of the labours of our first translator of the Sacred Volume, the miserably destitute state of England, with regard to *oral* instruction by preaching, so far as men nominally called to it were concerned, now deserves to be specially observed.

The "ministry of the Word of God," so clearly enjoined in Scripture, was a subject not comprehended by men in official power; and though it had, the men who were in charge of what were termed benefices, or cures, glaringly did not understand it; nay, they were the determined adherents of a system, diametrically at variance with that imperative commission which the Saviour at his ascension left to be obeyed. Instead of taking up Christianity, therefore, as a system of belief, to be drawn fresh from the Oracles of God alone, and received into the heart of man—instead of recognising the absolute necessity of heartfelt repentance towards God, and faith towards our Lord Jesus Christ, in the first instance, and in all cases, but above all, in men denominated Ministers of Christ: to enforce the reading of what was not *beloved*, and the preaching (if they could preach) what was not *believed*, the Vicegerent of Henry had conceived to be the only expedient. It was not the public sanction of the Scriptures last year, that would ever have induced these official underlings throughout the Counties of England, even

[66] They had printed "Cum gratia et privilegio Regis."

to have looked into the Sacred Volume. To pray with the spirit and with the understanding also, was beyond their power, and to preach that Gospel which they did not themselves believe or comprehend, might have seemed a hopeless task to enjoin.[67] Such, however, was the actual condition of the country, with regard to the governors and the governed, generally speaking; and had there not been now, as we have traced all along, a sacred cause independent altogether of both parties, nay, in spite of them, there would have been no reason whatever, in the year 1538, for any exultation over the progress of events.

Meanwhile, the injunctions of Crumwell, already quoted, as to the Bible itself, (p. 33,) had been thought necessary, on account of the indifference of these official men to the sanction of the Sacred Volume, and therefore the entire injunctions were thus enforced at the close—

"All which and singular injunctions, I minister to you and your successors, by the King's Highness authority to me committed in this part, which I charge and command you by the same authority to observe and keep, *upon pain of deprivation, sequestration of your fruits, or such other coercion as to the King's Highness, or his Vicegerent for the time being, shall seem convenient.*"

When these injunctions, however, did come abroad, still it is impossible to condescend upon any number, however small, who were qualified to obey. Few they must have been, and far between. But supposing, for one moment, that the orders given had been literally fulfilled, and that all who were enjoined to preach, had actually done so; how *far* did the injunction itself reach?

"*Item*—That ye shall make, or cause to be made, in the said church, and every other cure ye have, *one* sermon, *every quarter of the year*, at least, wherein ye shall purely and sincerely declare the very gospel of Christ, and in the same exhort your hearers to the works of charity, mercy, and faith, especially prescribed and commanded in Scripture, and not to repose their trust and affiance in any other works devised by men's fantasies besides Scripture; as in wandering to pilgrimages, offering of money, candles or tapers to images and relics, saying over a number of beads," &c.

Such was the deplorable state of the people at large, and such the miserable provision proposed for their instruction,

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67 This melancholy state of things, it is well known, led, before long, to two expedients; viz. the actual selection of *prayers*, for them to *repeat*; nay, and to homilies or *discourses*, which these men were to *preach!*

when addressing those Bishops; among whom we have seen the deadliest enemies of a cause, which they could not destroy, nor even retard in its progress.

Happily, however, there had long been certain other men in the country, and *readers* not a few, besides these slumberers whom Crumwell was now striving to rouse; nay, and other *listeners* too, who, far from looking to official men, who could not teach, and would not learn, had tarried not for Henry the Eighth, nor waited for his Vicegerent. No sooner do we turn to *them*, though long despised, than a very different prospect rises to view; the vivid contrast to *four* sermons in the course of a year! The free permission of the Scriptures now rendered this scene more visible and striking. It is from a contemporary document that Strype has drawn it.

"*It was wonderful to see with what joy this book of God was received not only among the learneder sort, but generally all England over, among all the vulgar and common people; and with what greediness God's Word was read, and what resort to places where the reading of it was! Every body that could, bought the book, or busily read it, or got others to read it to them, if they could not themselves. Divers more elderly people learned to read on purpose; and even little boys flocked, among the rest, to hear portions of the Holy Scripture read.*"

The modern reader may now once more very naturally exclaim—"Oh, could these men in power then have only been persuaded to have let such people alone! Could they have only understood the doctrine of non-interference!" Yes, and instead of encumbering a willing people with help, or tormenting them by interposition, have stood aloof in silence, and permitted these groups or gatherings to have heard the unambiguous voice of their God, and to have gazed upon the majesty and the meaning of Divine Truth!

The Sacred Scriptures, however, were now to be printed in England; nor was there to be another *foreign* edition of the volume entire for more than twenty years, or till the year 1560. We have come, therefore, to a memorable epoch or point of time. The time when the line of distinction is to be drawn between foreign books and those printed at home; between the Scriptures printed beyond seas for importation, and those to be prepared within our own shores; and in that metropolis, which, fifteen years ago, Tyndale had left in a

state of general and burning hostility to any thing of the kind.

But in glancing over all that we have witnessed, and before entering upon a new era, with regard to the Bible itself, who can forbear looking back, for a moment, to the dining-hall in the mansion-house of Little Sodbury, in Gloucestershire? To the eager conversation or discussions there held, below a roof still standing? And to the deep-seated feeling of one man at the table, when the mitred Abbots of Winchcombe and Tewksbury were near at hand? And the Chancellor of Worcester "reviled him, as though he had been a dog?" And the hierarchy reigned triumphant, and Wolsey was in all his glory? And not one such printed page of inspiration was to be found in all England over? The unbending resolution, however, had been formed, and the memorable words in which, on one occasion, it was expressed, will bear to be repeated at such a time as this—"*If God spare my life, ere many years, I will cause a boy that drives the plough to know more of the Scriptures than you do.*"

Thus, before ever this Sacred Volume entire came to be printed upon *English* ground, Tyndale's energetic efforts had been signally crowned with success. His "labour in the Lord" had not been in vain. That labour, indeed, once involved nothing more than the solitary purpose of a single Christian; and viewed only in its bud, or budding, it has had little else than a bitter taste; but whether the flower has been sweet, millions can testify.

It becomes, therefore, not unworthy of remark, that without straining, this cause actually admits of a survey on the widest scale. The three great monarchs of the day, were Henry VIII., Francis I., and Charles V.; never forgetting the Pontiff at Rome; but certainly they have not played their several parts, beyond the verge of God's providence, in his determined purpose towards this favoured Island. The licentious and indomitable monarch, for whom Tyndale prayed with his dying breath, though still wilfully blind, has been overruled. His Vicegerent or Vicar-General, guided only by expediency, and clothed with more power than Wolsey ever possessed, must lend all his *constitutional* energy, and go along with the stream of the Divine purpose. Cranmer, however timid and cautious, though too long silent, must

speak out at last. On the other hand, we have Cuthbert Tunstal, after denouncing the translation at Paul's cross, and tormenting all who possessed it, as far as he could reach them, who being constitutionally silent, must be silent now. As for Stokesly, the Bishop of London, the lion was bearded in his own den; for they have finished one Bible, and are preparing to print many more in London itself, nay, in London *alone*. And last, though not least, we have Stephen Gardiner, perhaps the ablest politician of the age, completely outwitted, but now come home, and just in time to see the final triumph; though, as Foxe says, he "mightily did *stomach and malign* the printing of this Bible." But then Scotland, as well as England, had been invaded, and from the beginning; nor was the triumph confined to the shores of Britain. Even Charles V., by the way, had met with his greatest personal humiliation; and as for the King of France, that inveterate enemy, and ally of Rome, he has been overruled in his own capital, and the Inquisition itself is thwarted; for now, when the Bible is about to be printed in the English metropolis, we have printing presses from Paris, beside types in store from the same city, nay, and Frenchmen, who "became printers in London, which before," says John Foxe truly, "*they never intended.*"

In England, indeed, they may tamper injuriously, to a limited degree, with the first translation imported; and there are battles still, which remain to be fought upon English ground; though after Henry VIII. has left the stage, the version will be reprinted again and again, many times, and precisely as Tyndale gave it to his country.

But at present, that is to say, in 1538, if the Emperor Charles, and the French King, and the Pontiff himself, with Cardinal Pole in his train, were all grouped together at Nice, intending, among other business, to alarm or overreach the King of England; then it was fit, that all the while, certain men from London should be busy in printing the English Bible in the capital of France; and after bringing over the materials and Parisian workmen to England, proceed on their way, and in far better style, than they could otherwise have done.[63] Such was the crowning achievement, in a series of

[63] At Nice, in June, "the Pontiff embraced the favourable opportunity to sound the disposi-

conquests, in favour of all that Tyndale had accomplished! A man, in regard to whose character and exertions, the British Christian especially may now well exclaim—

> Thine is a fragrance which can never waste,
> Though left for ages to the charter'd wind.

SECTION II.

EVENTFUL YEAR—STATE OF PARTIES—HENRY STILL A WIDOWER—DISTURBED FROM DIFFERENT QUARTERS—NORFOLK BEGUILING CRUMWELL—GERMAN STATES—PARLIAMENT AND CONVOCATION—ROYAL MESSAGE—MITRED ABBOTS—DISSOLUTION OF MONASTERIES—NEW ARTICLES—BILLS OF ATTAINDER—THE SIX ARTICLES APPLIED—FRUSTRATED—CRANMER SAFE—LATIMER IMPRISONED—ALES ESCAPES—CONSTANTYNE IN DANGER—THE TIDE TURNING—EXECUTION OF ABBOTS—CRUMWELL'S POLICY—MONASTIC SPOILS.

THE SCRIPTURES PRINTING IN VARIOUS EDITIONS—CRUMWELL'S REMARKABLE ENERGY IN THIS DEPARTMENT—THE KING SWAYED ONCE MORE—THE CAUSE IN PROGRESS—CRANMER BUSY IN PROSPECT OF HIS FIRST EDITION, NEXT SPRING—IT IS DISTINCTLY SANCTIONED BY HENRY—SINGULAR PROCLAMATION—HENRY NOW COMMANDING ALL HIS SUBJECTS TO USE THE SCRIPTURES IN ENGLISH.

As if it had been to render the triumph of last year still more conspicuous, the present stands distinguished in Henry's reign, for the number of editions of the Sacred Volume entire. Not fewer than four editions of the Bible issued from the press, and a fifth was almost ready; besides three editions of the New Testament separately. The compositors and printers in London had never before been so engaged, nor so

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tion of the two monarchs relatively to the conduct of Henry. From both he received the *same* answer, that if *he* would publish his Bull, they would send ambassadors to England to protest against the schism; would refuse to entertain the relations of amity with a prince who had separated himself from the Catholic Church; and would strictly forbid all commercial intercourse between their subjects and English merchants."—*Lingard.* What was doing in Paris at the moment, was below this historian's notice, but the Pontiff's day was past. His awful Bull proved nothing more than a *bellow;* and the reader will not forget that this was the self-same Paul III., who had so basely cringed to Henry VIII. in 1536; but all the powers, in turn, were grossly given to mendacity, and in this case the Pontiff was deluded by both monarchs. Neither of them would afterwards even receive Cardinal Pole into their dominions. It was *only Crumwell, who was neither to be deluded or overreached by the King of France, or even the Inquisition, as to the* BIBLE.

hard at work in *any* department, since the invention of printing had been introduced into England.

All this too is the more worthy of notice, as Cranmer, however busy with his first edition, did not make his appearance before the public till next spring, or April 1540. Before proceeding, however, to any detail, the state of England, and in its connexion with foreign parts, must first be understood, as the account will then be read with that interest which belongs to it.

Of this eventful year, we can scarcely fail to have one luminous view, however painful; if we now place Crumwell, Cranmer, and Latimer, on the one side; the Duke of Norfolk, Gardiner, and Tunstal, on the other; with Henry standing between them, to hold the balance. Troubled about many things, the wayward monarch was but ill at ease, and we shall see him make either scale preponderate, just as his fear or his fancy suggested at the moment. Crumwell, it has been affirmed, had some presentiment of his downfall, for nearly two years before his death, and made provision for his dependents, which Wolsey had not. If this be correct, the time harmonises with the return of Gardiner from France. But, at all events, the last and deadly struggle for pre-eminence and power, on the part of Crumwell, has now commenced, though he had still a year and a half to live. We shall see him trembling for the ground on which he stood, as well as for all his honours. At his outset, he had said to Cavendish, his neighbour servant in Wolsey's household, that, in going to Henry, he would either *make* or *mar* all; and the truth is, that, in one sense, he did both; first the one, and then the other. In many points, Wolsey and Crumwell were extremely different characters, but in both may be seen, as a warning to posterity, the rise and fall of political expediency. With regard to Hugh Latimer, the *only* man who ever dared to speak out before the King and his courtiers, he is about to retire from the tempestuous scene; and to say nothing of cruelty, Henry, acting in the meanest style imaginable, to the very end of his reign, will accommodate him—with a prison! Like Festus of old, willing to show his courtiers a pleasure, he will leave Latimer bound. Cranmer will this year, in one instance, discover more fortitude than perhaps he ever did in the course of his whole life. And as for the

able triumvirate in opposition, we shall see how dexterously they wrought to each other's hands against their three opponents.

To commence, however, more particularly, and with the Monarch himself. At the end of last year, we left him murmuring at the coldness and delay of Charles V.; (at which period the Pontiff had at last issued his long suspended Bull;) and now, on the 19th of January, he repeats his complaint to Sir Thomas Wyatt. In "this weighty matter of his marriage" with the Duchess of Milan, he requires a positive answer; and that "some barking preachers who had slandered him in their pulpits might be punished."[1] On the 13th of February, he commands Wyatt to advertise the Emperor that Cardinal Pole is coming to him as Legate from Rome, (in connexion with the Bull now issued,) requiring that, in conformity with the treaty of Cambray, he suffer him not to enter his dominions, or expel him if he does. He then chooses to add, that Pole "has conspired to murder him and his children, and to take upon himself the whole rule."[2]

Presently, however, other adverse policy had transpired, as on the 9th of March we find Wriothsley, the English ambassador at Brussels, addressing Crumwell. He had asked leave to return, but neither the Queen-Regent nor her Council would consent: they had even intreated him to remain, the Queen herself adding—"the Emperor's ambassador tarrieth against my commandment in England, at your master's instance, and I am not angry that he so doth, to gratify him."[3] To the royal suitor, such procedure had been sufficiently provoking: it had roused him, and opened his eyes; for before the arrival of this letter, he had got previous information. On the 10th, therefore, he had written to Wyatt, desiring that he would thank the Emperor for refusing to receive Cardinal Pole into his kingdom, and for his not sanctioning the Pontiff's Bull. At the same time, his Majesty complains that "a sudden rumour spread throughout Germany, Spain, and other parts, that the Emperor, the French King, and other princes, by the instigation of the Bishop of Rome, were forthwith to invade England"—"that the Emperor's ambassador, (Eustace Chapuis, just referred to,) in the height of these rumours, had suddenly desired leave to depart, showing no letters, but merely saying, that it was by commandment of Mary, the Princess-Regent of the Low Countries—that for the indemnity of his English merchants, whose ships had already been detained, and in return for incivilities shown to the English ambassador at Brussels, he had arrested all ships belonging to the Low Countries, or to Spain, wishing now to know *what* the Emperor's intentions were. That since he, the Emperor,

[1] Harl. MS., No. 282, fol. 43. [2] Idem, fol. 47. [3] Gov. State Papers, i., p. 595.

will not proceed as to the marriage of the Duchess, without the *Pontiff's* dispensation; as the King's nobility daily *press* him to marry, and age comes on apace, Charles must not think it strange, if he seek *alliance* elsewhere!" He then informs Wyatt that he will soon be recalled, and succeeded by Mr. Richard Pate.[4]

By the 12th, Crumwell had received the letter of Wriothsley, when he immediately apprised his Majesty of its contents.[5] No change in affairs could possibly be more welcome to my Lord Privy Seal, who had never courted alliance with the Emperor, and probably saw that his royal Master had been befooled all along. At all events, the matrimonial affair was now at an end, and Henry's personal negociations for a political marriage, have entirely failed. To fail a second time, as a Royal negotiator, and to be foiled, not only by two gentlemen, or Francis and Charles in 1538, but by two ladies, in 1539, must have been mortifying in the extreme. For it must be observed that though Henry continued ever writing to Wyatt; the Emperor, by his commission, had remitted the negotiation for a wife, to his sister Mary, the Regent of the Low Countries; and she had managed to gain time, with no inferior address. She is said to have terminated the business, by declaring that the Duchess of Milan was too nearly allied to Henry's first Queen, to admit of such a union, without a dispensation from the Pontiff, a humiliation to which, of course, his Majesty could never bow. The proposal he must have viewed as an insult. As for the Lady Duchess-Dowager herself, the daughter of Christiern King of Denmark, if she replied as has been often affirmed, Henry was also reminded of his second Queen, in no flattering terms. The words were—"If she had two *heads*, one should have been at the service of his Majesty; whereas having but one, she preferred to lead a single life." In the meanwhile, however, Crumwell is taking special care, that Chapuis shall not be permitted to leave Calais, till Wriothsley on his way home has arrived at that town in safety.[6]

But if his Majesty felt at all fretted by this rumour of invasion, and the *prose* of these "barking preachers" on the Continent, he had been not less annoyed by *poetry*, supposed to come from Scotland; while some fear was entertained that his nephew, the King, would unite with the Continental powers against him. In the close of last year, Sir Thomas Wharton, Warden of the West Marches, had written to Crumwell, in no small alarm, about a "ballad" in satire of Henry; inclosing a copy, and adding that he had employed two several spies, to proceed to Edinburgh respecting it! His informer had affirmed that it "was devised by the Bishops."[7] Not satisfied with this, he writes to King James himself, in

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4 Harl. MS., No. 282, fol. 50. Pate is by mistake frequently named *Tate* in the Catalogue, and occasionally so in the State Papers. He was appointed to succeed, but ultimately proved a false man, was attainted, and remained beyond seas.

5 Gov. State Papers, i., p. 595. 6 Idem, p. 597. 7 Idem, vol. v., p. 145.

January, and on the 31st; his Majesty replies from his palace of Linlithgow,—that as he never had heard of "sic ballats" before, he rather suspected them to be "imagined and devised" by some of Wharton's own nation, and "lieges of our dearest uncle's."[8] Three days before this letter, however, Sir Christopher Mores, one of the Berwick Commissioners, had informed Crumwell, that on Wednesday the 22d of January "in a place called the Queen's ferry, amidst a great storm of wind and weather, an ambassador out of France had arrived, and being received by the King's Secretary, was conducted with thirty horsemen to the Scotch King, for what purpose, he could not yet show."[9]

Meanwhile the "ballat" was still the great affair: for Holgate, Bishop of Llandaff, and President of the Council of the North had also written to James; so that it cost his Majesty another long letter, from his palace of Edinburgh on the 5th of February.[10] On the same day, also open proclamation was issued, and directed "to be made at Dumfries and other places, that no one should take, have, read, publish, or send copies of *ony sik famous, despitefull and unhonest ballats, rhymes, or makings*,—to destroy all copies that could be found, and diligent search to be made for any "who had made ballats or sangs in defamation and blaspheming of (the King) his dearest uncle."

The Council of the North too, by the 9th of March, had caught letters passing from Ireland to the Pontiff, as well as to Cardinal Pole;[11] and in short nothing would satisfy Henry but that the Duke of Norfolk himself must go down to the Northern borders, to ascertain the actual state of things, and examine the means of defence. By his first letter of the 29th of March, to Crumwell, the Lord Privy Seal, there were no good news. The Castle of Berwick was greatly dilapidated, and the troops of Northumberland miserably "ill horsed:" the only consolation was, that he heard the Borderers of Scotland were "worse horsed than they:" but there was now evidently something a great deal more formidable than a Scotch song, or any rhyming prophecy. James had taken care to make the most of the "ballad;" professing that he was "not less heavy and thoughtful" than Bishop Holgate himself; and now he affirms that "he will never break with the King, his uncle, during his life, with many more very good words." And yet Norfolk has heard that on Thursday last, the 27th, proclamation was made at Edinburgh, and in all parts of Scotland, for "every man between 16 and 60 to be ready, upon 24 hours' warning, on pain of death—that there were new trimmed, and part of them new made, in the Castle of Edinburgh, 16 great pieces, as cannons and culverns, and 60 smaller pieces for the field, all which were to be fully ready before the 26th of

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[8] Cotton MS., Calig. B. iii., fol. 191. *Original.*
[9] Gov. State Papers, vol. v., p. 147.
[10] Gov. State Papers, v., 148, 149.
[11] Idem, p. 151.

April; and two ships bound for Flanders, were to bring as many hand guns with them as they could." On the day before this proclamation, "a friar, in preaching before the young Queen at Lithgow, had been extolling the Pontiff's authority, the Bishops of Glasgow, Galloway, and Aberdeen, being present, but *no* temporal Lords:"[12] and different individuals had said—"If ye (England) and France agree well, we and ye shall agree well; for as France doth with you, so will we do."

"By divers other ways," adds the Duke, "I am advertised that the Clergy of Scotland be in such fear, that their King should do there, as the King's Highness hath done in this realm, that they do their best to bring their Master to the war; and by many ways I am advertised, that a great part of *the temporality* there would their King should follow our ensample, *which I pray God give him grace to come unto.*" But his Grace of Norfolk, meanwhile, believes that the Abbot of Arbroath, (David Betoun,) "is gone into France to know what help his Master shall have, as well of the French King as of the Bishop of Rome, if he break with us."

"Daily cometh unto me, some gentlemen and some clerks, which do flee out of Scotland, as they say, *for reading of Scripture in English;* saying that, if they were taken, they should be put to execution. *I give them gentle words; and to some, money.* Here is now in this town, and hath been a good season, she that was wife to the late Captain of Dunbar, and dare not return, for holding *our* ways, as she saith. She was in England and saw Queen Jane. She is Sir Patrick Hamilton's daughter, and her brother was burnt in Scotland, three or four years ago."

His Grace closes with a little spice of flattery—"Requiring your good Lordship to have me most humbly recommended to the King's Majesty, making mine excuse for *not writing to his Highness* concerning the premises. And thus our Lord have you my *very good* Lord in his tuition. Written at Berwick, the 29th day of March."[13]

But are these actually the words of the Duke of Norfolk, and that so late as the 29th of March 1539? They are; and the reader must not fail to observe with what artful craftiness he is here trying to impose upon Crumwell, or put him off his guard, for now he would affect to be the most zealous man of his age; and, by way of finish, having once subscribed his name, with his own hand he adds this postscript—"If these *ungracious Priests* may not bring their King to war this summer, I am in good hope that once ere Christmas, the King of Scots will take much of *their land* into his own hands; *which to bring to pass shall lack*

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[12] It is curious enough that at the same time, only four days after, or the 30th of March, Tunstal was practising before Henry, by boldly preaching the opposite doctrine, and denouncing Cardinal Pole in the severest terms. This was to mould the Monarch for all the advice which that party intended soon to give, if it had not been already tendered.

[13] Gov. State Papers, v., p. 153-156. By the way, we have here positive evidence of the extent to which Tyndale's translation was prevailing in North Britain, of which more in its proper place. Though Norfolk could not be expected to be very accurate as to the martyrdom of Patrick Hamilton; he cared for none of these things. It had taken place precisely *eleven* years before this.

no setting forth on my behalf, if any of his secret servants come hither unto me!"

In short the letter throughout was equal to any thing from the pen of his friend, Stephen Gardiner; for soon after the Duke's return to London, the style adopted will appear to have been the highest essence of hypocrisy. And he soon returned; the last letter from him to Crumwell seems to be from Richmond in Yorkshire, on the 9th of April. He will be in very good time to unite vigorously with Gardiner and Tunstal, in thwarting the Lord Privy Seal.

During these three months it certainly had been no very easy task for Crumwell to manage his disturbed Master, or ward off his fears; and the more so that, though a bold and determined man hitherto, he had quite enough to do with himself. Already he had his trembling moments, and his *own* anxiety is quite manifest, even when he is striving, so graphically, to cheer the King. Thus on the 17th of March he writes—

"Many bruits, rumours and reports be made, as well in and from Flanders, as in and from some other parts, the grounds whereof being unexpressed, and all things well weighed, not like to be such indeed as is reported. Men may sometime upon accumulation of suspicions and light conjectures, take a fantasy indeed, that their suspicions be true; or trusting some false reporters, which might fortune hath shewed them some true things, may perchance be deceived by them. Or marking the words of the inconstant and fickle people babbling abroad, think the same cannot be so much in the people's mouth without *some* ground, as smoke is not without fire. But for all this, some time such things do vanish away as the wind. Yet nevertheless, I cannot but so to think, that your Grace will not be further moved or pricked by such reports, or letters, upon such unknown reports, suspicions, and tales grounded, than the things do appear: for assuredly, to my judgment, the things be more and further otherwise bruited abroad, than the meaning and the deed is. Assuredly, as it is good to be ware and circumspect, so no less is to be avoided over much suspicion, to the which if any man be once given, he shall never be quiet in mind. These I do not write as thinking your Grace needeth any warning thereof, being of so high excellent wit, prudence, and long experience; but that I would declare unto your Majesty, how I do for my part, take the things, and as I think other men should take them; and that no more celerity nor precipitation of things should be used than of congruency. For undoubtedly I take God to be not only your Grace's protector, but a marvellous favourer; so that in my heart I hold me assured, although all the rest should have conspired against your Grace, yet ye shall prevail through his grace, assuredly."[14]

While, however, Henry had been so long and so busy negotiating to no purpose; the German States had not been forgotten, and Crumwell, ever watching on the times, now found that his opportunity was come. After their Ambassadors had been dismissed by his Majesty with Tunstal's

[14] Gov. State Papers, i., p. 601.

reply, last year, the Emperor had been soliciting their aid against the Turk, of whom he was afraid; but they were as firm to their principles with him, as they had been with the King of England. In these circumstances, as the English Monarch was not likely to make any pacific agreement with the Court of France, especially while such a man as Bonner was there, urging, after his own manner, the claims of his royal Master, for the arrears of money long due by Francis; and as it was then uncertain how far the Emperor and the King of France would second the official fury of the Pontiff; Henry must bow to the humiliation of sending Mount and Paynell once more to those very States, whose ambassadors he had dismissed. After the return of those ambassadors to Germany, last September, no letters arrived either to Crumwell or his Master, and "fearing," says Strype, "lest these Germans might comply with the Emperor on some terms," Mount and Paynell had been despatched from England in December last to the Duke of Saxony, and the Landgrave of Hesse."[15] The enquiry then to be made, whether these German Princes remained stedfast in their faith as to their professed religious principles, must have been a mere fetch to open up negotiations of a *secular* character; and so the Embassy merged into one such subject. It is true that we shall find Burghart, who had been in England last year, arrive with the English Envoys upon their return in April, bringing a long answer from Saxony and Hesse, as to those matters of faith, with a letter also from Melancthon to the King; but long before then we have pointed evidence to show, not only that another Queen for Henry was the main point, but that considerable progress had been made, *before* his Majesty was told that he could not have the Duchess of Milan. It was a political marriage on which the Monarch was bent, and he had been negotiating in two quarters at the same time. It has been often affirmed, that Crumwell *recommended* the Princess Anne of Cleves to Henry; but of this, no positive evidence has ever been adduced, and the instructions given to Mount and Paynell, on such a subject, must have been not only with his Majesty's previous sanction, but given directly by himself. There is, however, no question that Crumwell leaped at the proposal and urged it on. So early as the 10th of March this is quite apparent,[16] and on the 18th, when addressing the King, still more so; proving decidedly that the one negotiation was proceeding, before the other was broken off.

"Please your most noble Majesty to be advertised, that this morning I have received letters from your Grace's servants, Christopher Mount and Thomas Paynel, written at Frankford the 5th of this present month, the effect whereof is that on the —— day of February last, the said Christopher had access to the Duke of Saxony, to whom, *all other being afar off*, he declared the effect of his

[15] Gov. State Papers, i., p. 609.

[16] See Cotton MS., Vitell. B. xxi., fol. 133.

instructions the best manner he could; whereunto the Duke answered that he would with good will endeavour himself to his power, to do all things, and nothing to pretermit that might conduce to the perfection of this honest affair." He trusted the Princes would meet shortly, and he would rather "break and open this matter himself, than by any other person, because he trusteth to speak better himself, and the thing be kept more secretly."[17] "The said Christopher," continues Crumwell, "instantly sueth every day the acceleration of the matter, lest some other shall prevent it, and that in the meantime *the picture may be sent.*"—"Every man praiseth the beauty of the same Lady, as well for the face, as for the whole body, above all others ladies excellent."—"One said unto them of late that she excelleth as far the *Duchess*, as the *golden sun* excelleth the *silvern moon.*"—"Every man praiseth the good virtues and honesty, with shamefacedness, which appeareth plainly in the gravity of her face. Thus say they, that have seen them *both.*"[18]

Nothing, indeed, is now omitted by Crumwell's pen, to quicken Henry's footsteps. Thus his Majesty is informed that the electors of Brandenburg and Palgrave, with the Emperor's ambassador, Vesalius, the Archbishop of Lunden, in Sweden, were at Frankford, employed in making "a pacification, and *hope to speed*"—that the Earl of Nassau, with twenty French captains, had arrived two days before—that Mount diligently sued for an embassy to be sent to England, but the German princes "feel themselves aggrieved, and do detest the *long dilations* of our Court"—that one of the French courtiers dining with the Duke of Saxony, he asked, "to what purpose were all these preparations of the Emperor," adding, "the bruit is here that it should be against the King of England." The only reply was—"then the King of England will need to take heed to himself."

Crumwell then takes care to add—"if your Grace will have anything written to the said Christopher, we have now good commodity of men to convey letters; wherefore I would be glad to know your gracious pleasure herein."—"Your Majesty may be assured, that your Highness' affairs, in all points, can be no more accelerate, and more done to their expedition, than we all do to our powers; which undoubtedly be not idle. Wherefore I beseech your Grace to pardon me, and take these in good part, as I hope your Majesty, of your accustomed benignity, will do."[19]

Crumwell accordingly had received orders, as he wrote to Mount and Paynell, on the 22d of March, how to proceed in their negotiations.[20]

After not less than three years of prorogation, Henry had now resolved to hold a meeting of Parliament and Convoca-

[17] The Princes met on the 12th of February, so that nearly a month before Henry had said to the Emperor that he must not think it strange *if* he sought alliance *elsewhere*, he was then seeking it. Compare his letter to Wyatt as quoted pp. 46, 47.

[18] The lady referred to was Princess Anne, second daughter of John Duke of Cleves.

[19] Gov. State Papers, i., p. 604.

[20] Cotton MS., Vitell., B. xxi., fol. 147.

tion. The subserviency of both to his will was notorious, and in this it appears that Crumwell cordially sympathised with him. "Amongst other for your Grace's Parliament," says he on the 17th of March, "*I* have appointed your Majesty's servant, Mr. Morisson, to be one of them. No doubt he shall be ready to answer, and take up such as would crack, or face with literature of learning, or by *undirected* ways, if any such shall be, as I think there will be few or none; forasmuch as I, and other your dedicate counsellors, be about *to bring all things so to pass, that your Majesty had never more tractable Parliament!*"[21] As for the Convocation, since it had been summoned on the 12th of March, it is evident that whatever *articles* shall be issued, by that time they had been contemplated; and Crumwell, at least, is either preparing to swallow them, or, what is very improbable, must have been profoundly ignorant of what was before him. At all events, for these three years past, as there had been no such assemblies under our despotic monarch, they were always ominous of some strong measures.

On the 30th of March, Tunstal, usually calm and still, preached his flaming sermon before the King; Gardiner was preparing for Parliament and the Convocation; Norfolk was returning from the north; and to announce his approach, by way of firing the first gun, only about one fortnight after his strange letter of the 29th of March, already quoted, he had quarrelled with Crumwell on a subject of inferior moment.[22] But by this time Crumwell had been taken unwell, and had

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[21] Richard Morysine, or Morison, now one of the gentlemen of the Privy Chamber, who was afterwards knighted by Edward VI., we have heard of before. See anno 1525. Last year he had published his "Apomaxis," to which Cochlæus replied; and this year, he printed his "Exhortation to stir up all Englishmen to the defence of their country," and "an Invective against Treason." He had left Padua in 1537, where he was acquainted with Cardinal Pole; and now he sets himself right with Henry VIII. "Of the miracles and wonders of our times," says he, "I take the change of our Sovereign Lord's opinion to be the greatest. There was no prince in Christendom, but he was far liker to have changed than our Sovereign Lord. He was their pillar, and bare them up a great while. They gave him fair titles for his so doing, and honoured his name in all their writings. Was it not a wonderful work of God, to get his Grace from them to Him? To make him their overthrow, whom they had chosen for their Defender?"—Thus it was, that every courtier abounded in the most fulsome flattery.

[22] "I have received letters from my Lord of Norfolk, which I send herewith, to the intent that your Highness may know how grievously he taketh the assignment I have made to Anthony Rouse, of one of Sir Edward Ichingham's daughters; who, by all the very true advertisements that I can have, is your Majesty's ward, and to your Grace's use, appointed to the custody of the said Rouse. I am sorry he taketh the matter so much to heart—I remit the resolution and disposition of the whole matter to your Highness; not doubting but your most excellent wisdom can, weighing the matter, weigh also therewith my said Lord, the Duke of Norfolk's good merits, and determine the best in that matter, to be fulfilled accordingly."—*Crumwell to Henry, 19th April.* Gov. State Papers, i., p. 611. This complaint, however, *as* it was put, and at such a *time*, was probably far from being wise for himself.

become so seriously. It was an attack of the ague. On the 23d of April, or the Wednesday before Parliament was to sit, he had made himself ready to wait on the King, when a fit came on, "and held him in great heat about ten hours." "The pain of the disease," said he, "grieveth me nothing so much as that doth, that I cannot be as I should there present, and employ my power to your Grace's affairs and service, as my heart desireth to do."[23] On the eve of such a battle, it was a great and bitter disappointment, and, no doubt, his enemies were improving every hour of his absence. Next day, however, he strove to do all he could, by addressing a long letter to his Majesty; and still lamenting over his state of health. In this communication it is observable, that while he goes over all the points respecting *foreign* policy, he says not one word now of what is projected to be done in Parliament.[24] Poor man! It is true that he will rally again as to health; the King, to serve his own selfish ends, will assume a kindly aspect, and he has yet fourteen months to live; but his frequent and direct, or familiar correspondence with Henry is now near a close.

Meanwhile, and at the moment when Crumwell was writing, Mount and Paynell arrived from Germany, accompanied by Burghart, who had been dismissed in September last. The Emperor, it was said, had now deprecated, above all things, the German Confederates receiving any others into their league; when Crumwell did not fail to suggest, that "if his Majesty would only join them, the other party, in his judgment, would be half in despair." But what was Henry to do? He was now falling in with the counsels of Norfolk, Gardiner, and Tunstal; Parliament must sit in five days hence, and Crumwell, in poor health, is but ill able to attend!

Accordingly, on Monday, the 28th of April, Parliament sat down, and the Convocation opened on the 2d of May. The Duke of Norfolk, as Prime-Minister, had been commissioned to conduct the business in the House of Peers; and Crumwell's precedency as Vicar-General was recognised, but he could no longer brandish his rod of authority over the Bishops, as he had done at their last sitting, three years ago; and much less send a deputy to claim his seat, above them

[23] Gov. State Papers, i., p. 613. [24] Cleop. E. v., fol. 172, or Strype, Records, civ.

all. Not only were the majority his opponents, but the Head of their Church had changed his mind. For three years had Crumwell and Cranmer enjoyed ample sway; but Gardiner and Tunstal's day had now come. They must aim at retaliation for all the past, and no time was lost before the strength of parties was ascertained.

On Monday the 5th of May, a royal message to the House was announced by Audley as Lord Chancellor. His Majesty, being greatly desirous of putting an end to all controversies in *religion*, ordered a committee to examine the diversities of opinion—to draw up articles for an agreement, and report! Nine individuals were appointed, viz. Crumwell as Vicar-General, and Archbishop Cranmer, with Latimer of Worcester, and Goodrich of Ely, on the one side; and Archbishop Lee, with Tunstal of Durham, Aldrich of Carlisle, Clark of Bath, and Salcot of Bangor on the other. While, therefore, these men were left to warm and busy discussion at St. Paul's, if we turn to Westminster, there we find the King engaged in reviewing the grand muster of the citizens of London.

At this period the order and nature of events strongly suggest the idea of a laid plan, on the part of Henry and one class of his advisers, in which every movement was preparatory to measures already determined. They were measures relating to money and property of course; for as to faith and opinions, among men of such licentious habits, it would be absurd to suppose one grain of sincerity, or any conscience. To raise a false alarm, was the object in view. *Alarm* as an expedient, was altogether unnecessary in Crumwell's opinion, but he had taken special care to obey all orders. Thus, on the 17th of last month, he had assured his Majesty of there having been no lack of vigilant preparation for defence against all foreign aggression.

"As for commissions concerning the beacons, they were sent more than three weeks agone. Letters for the musters be also sent, and no doubt they shall do their duty. As for the return of the musters, it is not appointed till Easter, (8th April,) by the which time all, I trust, shall be done and certified; then upon the certificates thereof, shall other letters be ready to be sent incontinent. In the meantime, I, and other of your Grace's Council here, do study and employ ourselves daily, upon those affairs that concern *your Grace's Parliament*, and to prepense and prepare in the same, *all that we may think to your Highness' satisfaction.*"[25]

[25] Gov. State Papers, i., p. 602.

The fact was, that a muster, equally extensive with that in Scotland, or of all men from 16 to 60, with the number of their harnesses and weapons, had been ordered; and to satisfy the King, London is now displaying what she had done. Halle the old chronicler gives a minute description of the whole. On Thursday the 8th of May, every alderman, with his ward in battle array, came to the common place of rendezvous; so that all the fields from Whitechapel to Mile-end, and from Bethnal Green to Ratcliff and Stepney, were covered with harness, bows, bills and pikes, or men and weapons. By eight in the morning they were all on the move, to appear before Henry, who "sat in his new gate house, at his palace of Westminster, where he viewed the whole company." By nine o'clock, the first captain had entered Paul's Churchyard, which the last had not done till four in the afternoon. The number was 15,000, besides a class named "wyffelers and waiters."[26] But why all this alarm? Forts and beacons erected—the fleet equipped, and musters taken throughout the kingdom! Where was the enemy, whether by sea or land? Lord Crumwell had informed the King that he saw *no* cause for immediate apprehension; and one author has told us that "all this noise of an invasion was looked on as no better than management and mystery, by a great many." "It was the strain," they said, "of a party to colour the practice, and carry on the one design in view"—the suppression of all the religious houses, including the greater monasteries. "The King's necessities were too faint a colour to discharge the imputation: the censure went deep, and the scandal spread, notwithstanding this allegation."[27]

At all events, it is very observable, that only five days after all this bustle in London, the subject was introduced to the House of Lords. To this Parliament all the mitred Abbots had been summoned of course, and for the last time. It was to receive final judgment; for however courteously they had been spoken of three years ago, when the *lesser* monasteries were dissolved, their day of doom was now at hand. One hundred and fifty abbots, and other superiors of a lower grade, had surrendered their houses and lands to the Crown before this year 1539; a step taken on the same principle with that of the unjust steward in the parable. They acted wisely, as they thought, for themselves, by making the best compromise they could. Still all such transactions required to be sanctioned by Parliament; and so now this most compliant House will not only confirm all that had passed, but secure all that is to come. On the 13th of May, therefore, a Bill was brought into the House by Lord Chancellor Audley, vesting in the Crown all the property, moveable and immoveable, of the monastic establishments, which either had already been, or should hereafter be, surrendered or suppressed.

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[26] Halle. [27] Collier.

According to Sir Edward Coke, both Houses were then entertained with a very pretty story, as from his Majesty—

"That no King or kingdom were safe, where the King had not three abilities. *First*, to live of his own, and able to defend his kingdom upon any sudden invasion or insurrection. *Secondly*, to aid his confederates, otherwise they would never assist him. *Thirdly*, to reward his well-deserving servants. Now, *if* the Parliament would only give and confirm to him all the Abbeys and Priories, the Friaries and Nunneries, and other monasteries, for ever, then in time to come he would take order, that the same should not be converted to *private use*. But *first*, that his exchequer, for the purposes aforesaid, should be enriched. *Secondly*, the kingdom be strengthened by the maintenance of forty-thousand well-trained soldiers, with skilful captains and commanders. *Thirdly*, for the benefit and ease of the subject, he *never* afterwards, in *any* time to come, should be charged with subsidies, fifteenths, loans, or other common aids! and *Fourthly*, lest the honour of the realm should suffer by the dissolution of the said monasteries, there being twenty-nine Abbots and Priors who were Lords of Parliament, the King would create a number of Nobles!"

There can be no doubt that vice, in its vilest forms, was to be found in many of these houses, from the highest to the lowest grade; and as little, that vice, in other forms, was practised by Crumwell's visitors, when professedly engaged in their examination and exposure; but if immorality of conduct forms a sufficient ground for the forfeiture of property to the Crown for ever, to say nothing here of *such* a Crown, what would have become of property in England, at any period, from that day to this? Had these houses been all of royal foundation, the case would have been different, but this they notoriously were not; or had even the objects to which the proceeds were applied been of a laudable character, Henry, instead of adding to the disgrace of his character, might have escaped the censure of posterity; but every one knows that the representation and promises here held out before Parliament were but delusive mockery. Every one knows that the entire spoil was not sufficient, as we shall find in one short year, when Crumwell makes his last effort at procuring more money for his prodigal and unprincipled Master.

It deserves notice, that, at this juncture, almost all the disciples of the "old learning" bowed to the King's lust after monastic property. By yielding to him in *one* way, they might calculate on his compliance with their counsels in *another*. The mitred abbots in the House made no counter motion. Gardiner was even forward in declaiming against the religious houses, and commended the King for suppressing them. His friend, the Duke of Norfolk, had already purchased the monastery of Septon in Suffolk; and there was now opened up to all the nobility the inviting prospect of easy purchase, advantageous exchange, nay, of free gifts; and as since, if war ensued, it was to bring no additional burden, and even pauperism, as well as taxation, was to be heard of no more!—the delusion served its purpose, and the Bill passed.

To smooth the way for this result and pacify the other party, another Bill was introduced into Parliament on the 23d of May by Lord Crumwell. The House was to rise next day, till the 30th of the month, and it is curious enough that this Bill, which was to enable the King by his letters patent to erect new Bishoprics, was read the same day three times, and immediately sent down to the Commons. The preamble and material parts of this act, drawn by the King himself, are still extant in the British Museum, with a list of the Sees *intended*. But it is equally well known that there was a failure here also. Thirteen are noted in this list, and fifteen or sixteen were talked of: but the result was the erection of only six; Oxford and Bristol, Gloucester and Chester, Peterborough and Westminster, the last of which was soon dissolved.

These two measures, however, were not only ones over which the Members of both Houses, as well as the people at large, were called to ruminate, till the 30th of May. There was a third, affecting the *whole* country, and fraught with *personal* violence; for we must not forget the Bishops who had been left to their discussions, while Henry was reviewing his London troops.

But however bent his Majesty now was, upon what he chose to style unanimity of opinion, it was soon manifest that the committee of Bishops appointed, could never agree. In a similar perplexity, just three years ago, his Majesty and Cranmer in union had, for the first time, framed certain *articles* for the people of England to *believe*, enforcing them on all men by the Sovereign's authority; so that consistently, the Archbishop cannot now object, should a similar course be followed. In 1536 it was no doubt deemed a fortunate circumstance, that Gardiner was *out of the way;* but he has now returned, and if he and his party can follow the *precedent* set them, and Henry should condescend to be on that side, then he will still be equally flattered, as the Lord of all opinions upon English ground. His Majesty's subjects were not to think for themselves before, and the right to do so, was not to be conceded now. At this moment, he imagined that his personal circumstances demanded a very different class of opinions, and they were now to be enforced on pain of death. The former, that is, the FIRST articles, were to insure *peace and contentation;* but those about to be proposed, though directly in the teeth of the former, were, according to the precious royal announcement, to "*establish unanimity and terminate all religious controversies among his people!*" This, it must be conceded, was giving to

both parties a fair opportunity of testing the effect of "articles" as bearing upon public opinion; and as Cranmer had first led the way, he must now abide the consequences, whether they should first lead to the destruction of his own domestic happiness, or, seventeen years afterwards, to his death. In other words, the artillery which had been first framed by Cranmer, was about to be seized, and planted against himself.

It was, as we have stated, on the 5th of May that this Committee of nine had been appointed. On every point, they divided regularly, as five to four, Cranmer and Crumwell being in the minority. Henry's patience was very soon exhausted, and by Friday the 16th, Norfolk was ready with the intended *remedy* for diversity of opinions. The King, and Winchester no doubt, had been preparing it, for the mouth of that Premier; who on the 30th of March last, had told Crumwell, that he had been "praying to God, that he would give the King of Scotland grace to do, *as* Henry had already done!" The Duke having therefore informed the House that no progress had been made, or could be, by the Committee; proposed *six* questions for their consideration. They referred to 1. The Mass. 2. Communion under one kind, or the bread without the cup. 3. Private masses. 4. The celibacy of the Clergy. 5. Auricular confession, and, 6. Vows of chastity. Neither Audley nor *Crumwell* now took any part in the debate, nor indeed any layman; but Cranmer did, and with all his powers: for it is certainly going much too far, for any historian, upon a single loose anonymous authority, to deny him the credit of as much heroism as he then displayed.[28] For three days the discussion continued, and though Henry himself had the effrontery to come down unconstitutionally, and join in the debate, and afterwards requested Cranmer not to appear and vote, he appears to have resisted to the utmost limits of his personal safety, and never gave his formal consent. True, he did not *act*, as Latimer did afterwards, for that was not in the man; but the only wonder has been that, going as far as he did, the King was not mightily offended. This, however, will be accounted for presently.

It has been remarked that six questions were tabled, and they ended in one act: frequently denominated afterwards

[28] Cleop. E. v., p. 128, as quoted by Lingard.

"the bloody statute," and at other times, "the whip with six cords." Such was the remedy of Henry VIII. for diversity of opinions; for now, as he allowed his subjects no title to any opinion of their own, they must all believe, or profess to believe in—1. *Transubstantiation.* 2. That communion under both kinds is *not* necessary to salvation. 3. That Priests may *not* marry by the law of God. 4. That vows of chastity are *binding.* 5. That private masses ought to be *retained;* and, 6. That the use of auricular confession is *expedient and necessary:* while the penalties annexed illustrated the growing brutality of the Sovereign. Denial of the first profane absurdity subjected the individual to death by the flames, for an authoritative stop was now put to *abjuration.* That could now save no man's life; and as for the other five points, for the denial of any one of them, the party was to die as a felon, or be imprisoned during his Majesty's pleasure. After the Parliament resumed on the 30th of May, this bill was introduced, though it was not read for the first time till the 7th of June, the second time on Monday the 9th, and passed next day.[29] On the following Saturday it passed the Lower House, and receiving the royal assent on the 28th, its pains and penalties were to be inflicted from and after the 12th of July.

This, however, is not the full amount of the baseness of this Parliament. At its opening, instructions had been given to pass bills of attainder against Margaret, Countess of Salisbury, the mother of Cardinal Pole, now 70 years of age; Gertrude, widow of the Marquis of Exeter; and a young *boy*, son of Lord Montacute; Sir Adrian Fortescue, and Sir Thomas Dingley. Exeter and Montacute, it may be remembered, had already suffered; but great difficulty was felt in proceeding with these two ladies, and especially the old Countess. After others had tried, Crumwell, who evidently thought himself skilful at cross-examination, "assayed the uttermost of his power." But he was still baffled by the Countess, who is said to have been "more like a strong and constant man, than a woman;" after which, so eager was the sinking courtier

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[29] On the 30th of May, the Lords had appointed two bills to be drawn,—one by *Cranmer* of Canterbury, Goodrich of Ely, Barlow of St. Davids, and Dr. Petre,—the other by *Lee* of York, TUNSTAL of Durham, GARDINER of Winchester, and Dr. *Tregonnel.* Both were submitted to Henry of course, when of course also, the latter was preferred. See the original draft in the Cotton MS., Cleop. v. 313, with corrections in the *King's* own hand-writing.

to please his Master, that he actually called up the judges and enquired—" Whether Parliament might condemn persons accused of treason, *without any previous trial or confession!*" These servile and unprincipled men replied, " that it was a *nice* question, and one that no inferior tribunal *could* entertain, but there was *no doubt* that the court of Parliament was supreme; and that any attainder by Parliament, (and of course by the present,) would be *good in law!*" Such a bill, therefore, they immediately passed, condemning to death all the parties, without any trial whatever! What became of the child no one knows. Fortescue and Dingley were executed on the 10th of July; the Marchioness was pardoned about six months hence, but the aged Countess was retained in prison nearly two years, till another frenzy having seized the monarch, she was dragged from her dungeon; but pleading innocence, and boldly resisting her very executioner to the last, till her grey hairs were covered with blood, the head was severed from the body on the 27th of May 1541.

Crumwell, in ambitious pursuit of his own standing, had now, with a witness, entered into the field of temptation, and it becomes difficult to hold the pen; but impartiality forbids that he should, at such a moment, be the only man in view. Among those significant " *Remembrances*," so strangely left behind for the verdict of posterity, and to which we have before referred, there is one *item* of awful import, suggesting the idea that Henry, far from unconnected with this tragedy, had been the director behind the scenes. *Item*, says Crumwell, in his own hand-writing, " to remember specially *the Lady of Sarum*"—Salisbury: but then a little afterwards, " Item—*what* THE KING WILL HAVE DONE *with the Lady of Sarum.*" This, it may be presumed, must have been written before the judges were called; and such a Minister! such a Monarch! it may well be exclaimed. But we forbear all comment, and more especially as, before the year concludes, the reader has to witness other, if not greater, abominations. It should, however, be observed that the step thus taken by Crumwell, very strongly reminds one of the gallows prepared by Haman for Mordecai; as *next* year, and therefore *before* his victim, the aged Countess, *he himself* was the *first* who fell under the axe, in strict accordance with *the precedent* he had now introduced!

In conclusion of these miserable proceedings, the Lower as well as the Upper House, seems to have been willing to comply with *any* thing which might occur to the caprice or passion of the reigning King. His Majesty had taken offence at the manner in which some of his proceedings, and particularly his proclamations had been treated, since the last Parliament in 1536. An act was, therefore, now passed, which sets forth in the preamble, "the contempt and disobedience of the King's proclamations by some, who did not consider *what* a King by *his royal power might do;* which if it continued would lead to the disobedience of the laws of God! and the dishonour of the King's Majesty, who may full ill bear it. Considering also that many occasions might require speedy remedies, and that delaying these might occasion great prejudices to the realm—therefore it is enacted, that the King for the time being, with advice of his Council, might set forth proclamations with pains and penalties in them, which were to be obeyed, *as if* they were made by an act of Parliament!" If any now so offended, and in further contempt went out of the kingdom, they were to be adjudged as *traitors*. To this bill, indeed, some opposition was evinced, but it passed as well as all the others.

After doings so notable as these, and affecting so many parties, Parliament rose on the 28th of June, amidst feelings of exultation on one side, and indignation on the other; but, as far as "the six articles" were concerned, the *pet* measure of the Premier and his friends, backed as they were by the bloody statute, they were not slow in proceeding to action. This statute was not to remain a dead letter. Commissioners were instantly appointed to act upon it; that is, to seek out victims; and in the various jurisdictions, a *Bishop* was invariably to be one of the commissioners. To witness the commencement of operations, we require to proceed no farther than the metropolis. The inquisitors, selected with satanic discrimination, ignorant, headlong, and blood-thirsty, were "such as had read *no* part of Scripture in English, or in anywise favoured *such as had*, or loved the preachers of it."[30] The commissioners sat in Mercer's Chapel, close by the old Jewry, Cheapside;[31] and in fourteen days, there was not a preacher

[30] Halle.

[31] Why select this place? Mercer's Chapel, formerly and for ages held sacred as Gilbert

or noted individual in London, known or suspected to have spoken in any way derogatory to one of the six articles, who had not been harassed; nay, overstepping their commission, they enquired not only *who* came seldom to the church, but who *read the Bible* in it; so that more than five hundred persons had been indicted, and it became evident that the prisons of the city could not contain all those whom they thought must be brought to trial.

Thus, if the character of Henry, of his Bishops, and his nobility had been evolved in Westminster Hall, last November, at the trial of Lambert; so we have now at least five hundred witnesses to the tenets for which Lambert died. But, besides these, it must be remembered that many a man who could do so, had found it convenient at least to leave the city; though as the facts stand, we have here one of the clearest testimonies to the strength of that cause, to which the reigning authorities had been at heart opposed from the beginning. The Bishop of the diocese, Stokesly, was here setting an example to the country at large, worthy of his character in past years. He was now indeed actually descending to his grave, for he died on the 8th of September; but the busy scene, and the prospect of the moment, must have proved like a reviving cordial to his drooping spirits. Beside the Bishops, we know that the Premier, Norfolk, who had introduced the questions, was in the highest spirits, because the act had passed. In short, the preparations were finished, and could have left not the shadow of a doubt that England was about to become a field of woe, if not of blood. The whole scene is worthy of record and particular notice, were it for no other purpose than to show how remarkably a gracious Providence interposed, and, overruling as before, "made the storm a calm, so that the waves thereof were stilled."

Blind zeal has been compared to the haste of a man in the dark, who knows not when or where to stop; and shrewd as were the leaders of the old learning, they had gone at least one step too far. Both Tunstal and Gardiner had distinctly overshot themselves; for pride of understanding, and abund-

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Becket's house, the father of St. Thomas, and the spot where he had been born. His shrine had been destroyed only last September—a deed which, at this moment, was denounced, abroad as well as at home, from Rome to London. Did the commissioners intend to give some point to their proceedings, by selecting this spot?

ance of caprice, had rendered the monarch one of the most ticklish of all leaders. In the course of the discussions in Parliament, it so happened that on *one* single point the King *agreed* with Cranmer. It was in reference to "auricular confession," that notable device, for not only enslaving the human mind, but preventing all sense of direct responsibility to God alone. Cranmer had maintained that it was unnecessary, by any Divine precept, and in this Henry chose to support him. Nettled at only one point out of six being controverted, Tunstal, Gardiner, and Lee, urged, that the resolution of the House should declare auricular confession to be "a command of Christ, and part of the sacrament of penance;" but the monarch would not allow one jot more than the simple declaration, that such confession was expedient, and necessary to be retained. With this, they might well have rested satisfied, but no; Tunstal had the temerity to write to the King afterwards, when he received a thorough set down for his presumption. In reply, Henry expressed no little astonishment at his writing *now*, after having been overthrown in the House by Cranmer and himself, and here simply sending to him a few texts, which "make smally or nothing to your intended purpose." His Majesty closed with the following sentence—"I think that I have more cause to think you obstinate, than you me, seeing your authors and allegations make so little to your purpose—And thus fare you well."

The same parties must have been guilty of still greater precipitation in proposing their "Book of Ceremonies to be used in the Church of England." They had pressed this strange and superstitious farrago to be received and passed as the act of Convocation; but the project completely failed, and the book was afterwards replied to by Cranmer.[32]

But even though neither Tunstal or Gardiner had ruffled his Majesty's temper in the slightest degree, perhaps neither of them foresaw that there was one point still, where their whole procedure might be arrested, and prove a failure. Nor

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[32] "The Bishop of Winchester, with his *own* pen," says Strype, "hath an annotation in one place of the book; and I strongly suspect that he was more than the reviser of it; and that it was drawn up by *him* and his party," &c. This is not correct. While Gardiner was absent in France, by way of doing something in the meanwhile, the book was framed by Tunstal and Stokesly, in conjunction with Sampson, Bishop of Chichester, a kindred spirit; and it is still extant in the Museum.—*Cleop.*, E. v., fol. 259-286. The marginal annotation referred to by Strype, is in the hand-writing of *Sampson*, not Gardiner. But the subject, in conjunction with all the parties, will come before us again, just before Crumwell's downfall.

let it pass unobserved that if relief be obtained, it must, in part at least, be traced to the noble stand made by the immortal *Fryth*. Hence the benefits which may ensue, *long after*, from only one faithful martyr "resisting unto blood, striving against sin." As he was the *first* man certainly known to have died upon English ground, *without abjuration*, (which was not now to be admitted,) so he was the *last* that had fallen under the sovereign power of the Bishops; and it may be remembered that in the very next session of Parliament after his death, that bill was passed, which took all reputed heretics, ever after, out of the hands of these merciless men.[33] That act had passed in Gardiner's *absence*, and was now in force. All the parties *now* apprehended, therefore, must be proceeded against forthwith, by two witnesses, and in open court. A Bishop, indeed, must be one of the Commissioners; but then every man accused is entitled to a trial by jury, and even if found guilty, the King's writ must be obtained, before any sentence can be executed. The case, in short, was so far a civil one, and since these London Commissioners have run after the prey, as if the Act passed had been positively a *retrospective* one; in the midst of their dilemma, application must be made to the Lord Chancellor. Audley, in the House of Lords, and before the royal disputant, had been silent, but now that it came to his turn to speak, perhaps viewing any selection as difficult, if not unjust, and the punishment of all to be inhuman if not hazardous, so it was that he advised the reputed criminals should be pardoned. Cranmer and Cromwell and the Duke of Suffolk (Norfolk's opponent) concurred, and not one man was brought up to trial! Though, therefore, these six articles remained as a source of great misery, and were employed afterwards, by stretch of law, as the occasion of much bloodshed, at this momentous crisis "the wise were taken in their own craftiness, and the counsel of the froward was carried headlong." The five hundred indictments fell to the ground, and there was nothing more left for Stokesly, just before going to render his account, than to reflect on his past cruelties. He was to be far exceeded by Bonner, his successor; and yet, if Foxe be correct, "at the point of death, he

33 See vol. i., pp. 381, 401, 403.

rejoiced, boasting that in the course of his lifetime he had burned fifty heretics."

One wonder of the day was, that the King was not offended with Cranmer; and as it has been a mystery to others since, some explanation is necessary. Perhaps a key may be found, which will serve for this and all similar occasions, in time to come.

Cranmer, it is allowed by all, reasoned much against the bill passing, and objected to five points out of six; whereas Tunstal had done so only to one. And yet so far was the King from being enraged, that on the day on which Parliament rose, or the 28th of June, he sent for the Archbishop, and desired that he would put all his arguments in writing and bring them to himself. More than this, and by way of check to the premier, Norfolk, and his party, he ordered that he and the Duke of Suffolk, with Crumwell and the other peers, should *dine* with Cranmer at Lambeth; they were also to assure him of his Majesty's kindness for him, and that though his arguments had failed of convincing the House, they discovered great wisdom and learning! When the day arrived, it was in July, upon delivering their message, Cranmer is reported to have replied—"I thank his Highness for his regard, and you for your pains; and that my allegations and authorities may yet be admitted, to the glory of God and the good of this realm, is my hope in God."

This curious, because constrained, meeting, was at best a hazardous experiment; and, accordingly, Crumwell suffered by it, though, for a season, it was of some value to Cranmer. Materials so discordant could scarcely be expected to meet without some explosion. The guests were sounding the praises of their host. "You, my Lord," said Crumwell, "were born in a happy hour, I suppose; for do or say what you will, the King will always take it well at your hands. And I must confess that in some things I have complained of you to his Majesty, but all in vain; for he will never give credit against you, whatever is laid to your charge: But let me, or any other of the Council, be complained of, his Grace will most seriously chide, and fall out with us; and, therefore, you are most happy if you can *keep* you in this state." Poor Crumwell! he seems almost to have envied the place of the Primate; but then, unfortunately for himself, though he was merely following a previous eulogist, *Wolsey's* character and bearing, in comparison with Cranmer's, was introduced. "And that," said Norfolk, "know you well, my Lord Crumwell, for he was *your Master*." Touched at this allusion, Crumwell acknowledged his obligations to the Cardinal, but immediately added—"yet I was never so far in love with him, as to have waited upon him to Rome, if he had been chosen Pope, as I understand that *you* would have done, if the case had so fallen out." Norfolk, who de-

served all this, denied it, but Crumwell persisted, showing "what number of florins he should have received, to be his admiral, and to have safely conducted him to Rome." The Duke replied, with a deep oath, that he lied, when great and high words rose between them. Cranmer and other guests interposed to quiet them, and restore decorum; but though the embers seemed to be quenched, they were only smothered, and were to burst into a flame before long.

To return, however, to the King and the Archbishop, and resolve the mystery of this unequal dealing. Were there any ground to rest upon, one might seem bound to allow, that Henry *had* discovered, on this occasion, some token of personal friendship; but there was none whatever. Of mutual benevolence, the monarch was almost altogether incapable, and he was now merely saying to his Council—

——— "let your unseemly discord cease,
If not in friendship, live, at least, in peace."

The fancy of the moment might sometimes be favourable to an opponent, or the oppressed, but, generally speaking, never did the King spare any man, but for some reason *personal* to himself, and involving either his passions or his safety. His clemency to Cranmer was connected with both. Henry made but *one* Archbishop of Canterbury, and in a very strange way; but he could not have made a *second*, without the greatest personal hazard. Had Cranmer been removed, Tunstal and Gardiner stood in the way, and could not have safely been passed over; but though Henry has been listening to their insidious advice, he had no confidence in either. Besides, Bulls could *not now* have been obtained from Rome; and though the King certainly had gone a great way as Head of the English Church, an Archbishop of *his* making, without them, would even *yet* have stood but a poor chance for acceptance with the priests. In the King, therefore, it was nothing more than policy, to uphold his Primate. In his *official* capacity, often had he already served his Majesty's purpose, and his services will yet be needed, again and again. His official character was Cranmer's *safeguard*, and this will preserve him through the bloodiest and most reckless scenes of Henry's remaining life. It was his post, not his prowess, or his personal skill, which enabled Cranmer to ride out all the storm. Should any doubtful reader request a farther proof, it is close at hand, and a striking one—the King's inhuman treatment of Latimer.

Hugh Latimer in his day had the honour to stand alone. Though not a faultless character, at this period there was none like him in all England, more especially on the bench of Bishops; and he seems to have been literally the only man who ever had the courage to face Henry VIII. Cranmer

had found it very convenient to employ him in 1536, to speak out before that Convocation, as he had boldly done; but he could not, or dared not, follow him in 1539. Latimer, it is to be observed, had not by any argumentation opposed the King, as Cranmer had; but after the bloody Act was passed, he resigned his bishopric, on the first of July. Laying aside his robes, he leaped for joy, and said—"I am now rid of a great burden, and never felt my shoulders so light before." Soon after, a bishop, supposed to be Gardiner, sent for him, and expressed his surprise that Latimer should object to the traditions then enjoined by the Council, as matters of belief; when he nobly answered—"*I will be guided by God's book; and rather than dissent one jot from it, I would be torn by wild horses.*" He then retired to the country, intending to lead a quiet life; but soon after, by the falling of a tree, he was bruised so severely, that he was under the necessity of returning to London for surgical assistance. It was not difficult to vamp up a case against Latimer; for certainly he had said many things, which to all that party must have been like gall and wormwood. There is no record of his examination extant, but there is reason to think that it took place in the royal presence. However, whether it did or not, the King well knew, and ultimately sanctioned, nay, directed all that followed: for Latimer was committed to the Tower thus unceremoniously, and there he lay till the accession of Edward VI.[34] The conscience of Henry had constrained him, on different occasions, to mark, if not revere the fidelity of this man, whom he now unwittingly *promoted* to be a prisoner of Jesus Christ; but he could manage to get on well enough without a Bishop Latimer, though not without his own Archbishop of Canterbury.

It was now the month of August, when a lurid gloom rested on the minds of many. In London, itself, there was a pause; the commissions under the persecuting act had not

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34 "Touching Latimer, his Majesty would have him yet to remain in the Bishop's house, till he may speak with you, and devise what is best *to do with him*. His Majesty is also contented, that my Lord Great Master (the Duke of Suffolk) shall have the use and keeping of the Bishop's *mule*, for the time; and if it shall so come to pass, that the Bishop's goods shall be confiscated, then his Majesty is content that my said Lord Great Master shall have the said *mule*, of his Highness' gift!"—*From Sadler to Crumwell*, in April 1540, a few days after his being created Earl of Essex, and within two months of his own arrest. The *meanness* of Henry's cruelty is beyond all comment, as well as the subserviency of Crumwell. See Gov. State Papers, i., p. 627. But by Latimer's testimony in 1546, Crumwell's character will suffer still more.

been issued for the country at large, and they never were; but at present their issue was eagerly anticipated by some, and dreaded by others, as we shall see presently. Burghart's return from Germany was not without its effect, and must have galled the other party; but still the needle of the beam, in Henry's hands, oscillated in suspense, and no man could tell which scale would rise. Various individuals had been escaping, some to the *Continent*, and others out into the *country*. We give a specimen of *each*, and more especially as they refer to two characters already known to the reader,—Alexander Ales and George Constantyne.

Ales, it will be remembered, had excited the wrath of Stokesly to the highest degree, three years ago; when no man foresaw, or perhaps imagined, that the very next Convocation would be of an opposite character. Since 1536, having studied physic under an eminent physician well known, Dr. Nicholas, Ales had begun to practise in London for himself, and not without success; but for him, above all men, it was no longer safe to remain within Stokesly's jurisdiction. Anticipating what followed, he embarked for Germany once more. Soon after his arrival, he wrote to Cromwell a letter of thanks for all his kindness, and by this we learn, that the recent doings in England were well known to all abroad.

"I returned to Wittenberg," says he, "the 9th of July, being most affectionately received by all those who are chiefly in authority in the Academy, and at the Court. Before my arrival, the decrees from your country were dispersed at Nurenberg and everywhere in Germany; and those addicted to the interest of the Bishop of Rome make great rejoicings. They hope that this precedent will very much obstruct the good cause which our friends here profess, in common with myself. In some places they have been told that I have excused the King, yourself, and the Archbishop of Canterbury, and that I have laid all the blame on the Bishops, who are the enemies of the gospel. I thought I did that truly."[35]

Of *George Constantyne* we last heard as being in London at the time of Queen Anne's execution. Shortly after this he had entered the Church of England, having obtained the vicarage of Lawhaden, or Llanhuadaine, three miles north-west of Narberth, in Pembrokeshire, under William Barlow, Bishop of St. David's. His character to the end, was at best ambiguous, and it requires to be borne in mind that he is

[35] Cotton MS., Nero, B. vi., fol. 56. Orig. Lat.

now deprecating the displeasure of Crumwell, which gives a turn to some of his expressions; but in the information now derived from him, we have a very shrewd and graphical picture of the state of parties at the moment. Many such conversations must have passed, both in the houses, and on the high roads of England, but none perhaps more full of incident, and entering so deeply into public men and measures, as the following:—

The times were, of course, full of perplexity and suspicion, and among others, Constantyne had once more got into trouble. He had been in town, and even at Court, so late as the 17th of August, but must have immediately, and in haste, left London, perhaps that evening, since he had reached Westbury, beyond Bristol, on Tuesday the 19th. There he met with John Barlow, Dean of Westbury and Archdeacon of Carmarthen, (to whom he was officially subject,) and Thomas Barlow, his brother, both proceeding into Wales, whither Constantyne was now hastening. He was "very loath," however, to ride in the Dean's company, trying, by a day's delay in Bristol, to avoid this, and no wonder. The truth was, that the Dean had already been representing him as a "Sacramentary,"—"which is," adds Constantyne, "if any thing can be worse, more heinous than treason." Nay, the Dean had got Sir Richard Crumwell to write, and the Duke of Norfolk to speak to Barlow, his Bishop, against him; and even Lord Crumwell himself, he had heard "note of him for heresy." Well might he escape from London, and be averse from accompanying this man for several days into Wales. However, there was no alternative, as the Dean waited for him at Aust, and they all three crossed the Severn in company on Thursday the 21st. At their first meeting on Tuesday, Constantyne had informed them of his having been at the Court, on Sunday last, the 17th; that the King was well; that Dr. Barnes had just returned from Germany; that the Act of Parliament passed, required no subscription, being of authority without that of any man; but that in reference to the *country at large*, he could hear of not one commission being yet issued, adding, "nevertheless I will advise all my friends, to keep them out of danger." Landing at Chepstow, where they supped together, the Dean succeeded in putting Constantyne so far off his guard. He made him such "hearty cheer," that he "thought all malice was forgotten; so that," says he, "I took the man for whole changed, and that all was remitted, and was very glad it was my chance to overtake him." Next day they all jogged on together to Abergavenny; the Dean as distinguished for his loquacity or inquisitiveness, as his brother was for silence; but both marking every expression that dropped from our Vicar. Constantyne, however, a shrewd fellow, seems to have taken care to say several things, which might operate in his own favour, as well as please Crumwell, to whom he afterwards sent the whole dialogue "faithfully and sensibly," as we now have it.

With the dreaded act, they began this morning, both the Dean and his brother professedly rejoicing that there was no general commission issued as yet. Constantyne replied, that he had enquired, but could hear of none, and trusted there would be a moderation in it: adding—

"Well, we know not the work of God. If it be his pleasure, it is as easy for him to overcome with few, as with many; but I think verily that my Lord

Privy Seal (Crumwell) persuaded my Lord of Canterbury, and that for other considerations than we do know."—"As I can hear, my Lord Privy Seal is utterly persuaded as the act is." *Dean*, "It is marvel, if it be so." *George*. "Wonderful are the ways of the Lord; King's hearts are in the hand of God; He turneth them as he lusteth. How mercifully, how plentifully and purely hath God sent his Word unto us here in England! Again, how unthankfully, how rebelliously, how carnally, and unwillingly, do we receive it! Who is there almost that will have a Bible, but he must be compelled thereto? How loath be our *Priests* to teach the commandments, the articles of the faith, and the Pater-Noster in English! Again, how unwilling be the people to learn it! Yea, they jest at it, calling it the new Pater-Noster, and new learning; so that, as help me God, if we amend not, I fear we shall be in more bondage and blindness than ever we were.[36] I pray you was not one of the best preachers in Christendom (Latimer) Bishop of Worcester? And now there is one made that never preached that I heard, except it were the Pope's law.[37] But, alas! beside our naughtiness, cowardness and covetousness, is the occasion of much of this. The cowardness of our Bishops, to tell truth, and stand by it while they might be heard, and the covetousness of our visitors. For in all our visitations we have had nothing *re*formed, but our purses."[38]

The Dean then eagerly enquires whether there was any progress in procuring a Queen for his Majesty; that step or hinge, on which they anticipated every thing was to turn. Constantyne first cannot tell what to say, but, evidently leaning to Crumwell's hope, wishes the King were married.[39] There were two spoken of, the Duchess of Milan, and Anne of Cleves; and referring to the latter, the Vicar goes on—"There is good hope yet, that all shall be well enough, if that marriage go forward: for the Duke of Cleves doth favour God's Word, and is a mighty prince now; for he hath Guelderland in his hand too, and that against the Emperor's will; for the old Duke, that is now dead, sold to the Emperor the reversion of it." He then, at last, informs the Dean that "the matter is broken of Milan."—"She demanded two things, which I trust shall never be granted, the one—the Bishop of Rome's dispensation; and they would have pledges, saying, that the King's Majesty was in so little space rid of the Queens, that she dared not trust his Council, though she durst trust his Majesty. For her Council suspected that her great-aunt (Queen Catherine) was poisoned; that the second (Queen Anne) was innocently (though innocent)

[36] George, it must be remembered, was here speaking of the country at large, and not only so, but of his own order, and of the circle in which he *officially* moved, and his account was too true; but by that numerous class who read and revered the Sacred page, Constantyne must have long been regarded with suspicion, as a time-server. Being excluded from their confidence, he was not aware of the numbers that were now reading. But, besides this, he was in Wales, and no wonder than the *Welsh* felt great aversion to the *English* Scriptures. This subject is now better understood, for never till the Sacred Volume was given them in their *own* tongue, was any progress made. Had Wales been all along treated as Ireland has been, in spite of England's vicinity, it had been much in the same state. But on this subject the Author may be permitted to refer to another work—"Historical Sketches of the Native Irish;" or, as the third edition is entitled, "The Native Irish and their descendants;" where ample information may be found respecting the Scriptures, and their effects, in all the Celtic dialects.

[37] Referring to John Bell, once Archdeacon of Gloucester, from 1518 to 1522.

[38] This was rather bold language for the ear of Crumwell.

[39] He speaks of Henry's age, 48, as no discouragement, and then curiously adds—"my father might be *grandfather* to an older man than the King's Majesty, and yet is lusty, I thank God." The Dean, of course, enquires his age, and George replies—"*four score and twelve*, and yet the last summer he rode thirty-two miles upon one day, before two o'clock, and said he was not weary when he had done!" Born, therefore, in 1447, he had lived under six sovereigns, from the days of Henry VI.

put to death ; and the third lost, for lack of keeping, in her child-bed."—"But to say the truth, I cannot tell whether this was her answer, of Milan, or of Cleves,"—if the latter, "surely it was a great occasion of the late act." Over this act he laments, adding, "how can the Germans be our friends, when we conclude them heretics in our acts of Parliament?" The Dean suggests that they may have been "better advised."—"I trust so," says the Vicar, "and this may fortune is the stopping of the Commissions."

They dined at Abergavenny, and then rode on to Brecknock, when Gardiner and Tunstal become the subject of conversation. Constantyne expresses himself as charmed with a book against Gardiner's "De vera Obedientia," written by Erasmus Sarcerius, chaplain to Prince William of Nassau ; and though he thinks Erasmus too strong for him, wishes that Gardiner may reply, as he thought him "the best learned of his faculty in England, a great rhetorician, but of very corrupt judgment." To which the Dean replies—"he hath done much hurt, I promise you." To which we have the following answer—"There is no man hath done so much hurt in this matter as the Bishop of Durham, (Tunstal,) for he, by his stillness, soberness, and subtilty, worketh more than ten such as Winchester, and he is a learned man too: and a *wonderful* thing my Lord Privy Seal *brought him in*."[40] "But these two Bishops, if they were as learned in God's word, as they be in the Pope's law ; and as earnest to set the *word* forth, as they be *traditions*, they were Bishops indeed ! But alas ! by them, and such, we have nothing, in a manner, but 'translatio imperii,' so that they make of the King, as it were, a Pope. And dispensations be sold now dearer, by the half, than they were in the Popish time." He concludes by saying—"I would not counsel my Lord Privy Seal to trust them too much for all that. For I dare say this, that they will *do the best they can to have him out*, if they can see him at an advantage. I would trust them, if I could see one of them once promote or set forward but one that is suspected to favour God's word."[41]

Having slept at Brecknock, on Saturday they proceeded to Carmarthen. In the morning, Constantyne gave his account of Queen Anne Boleyn's execution, to which we have already referred. He had derived no information whatever from his master, Sir Henry Norris, with whom he then was, nor from any personal observation all the time of his being in the house, unfavourable to her character ; he merely speaks of what he *heard*, amidst the confusion at the place of execution. But as Crumwell, to whom he was now writing, had winked, and fallen in with the whole of that tragedy, and Constantyne, then much afraid of him, was deprecating his displeasure, of course he durst not express himself as believing in her innocence. Yet he had given the Continental opinion.[42]

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[40] If *Crumwell* had done this, it would have proved the decided commencement of an infatuation which soon overtook him. And from this expression, Lingard goes so far as to insinuate that Crumwell was now "*labouring to procure proselytes among the Bishops*, to avoid the displeasure of his sovereign." But of this there is no evidence. We have already seen that it was the King's wish, not Crumwell's, that had brought Tunstal in ; Gardiner denied that he was then of the Privy Council, but still he had the ear of the King, and hence the undermining of Crumwell.

[41] Constantyne had suffered much through Tunstal's subtilty, but nothing from Gardiner's ; and this fully accounts for his comparison. His description of the former, however, is a commentary on Tyndale's opinion of him—"that still Satan, the imaginer of all mischief." But taking them both up, as to their whole lives, there is now no question that Gardiner was more cruel, and the occasion of shedding blood to a far greater extent than Tunstal.

[42] This curious original manuscript, in the possession of Mr. John Payne Collier, was never printed till 1831, in the Archæologia, vol. xxiii., pp. 50-78. The explanation thus given seems to have served Constantyne's purpose, and saved him at that time. Our Vicar, however, (then

A contemporary dialogue over the times, and with such a man as Constantyne, may be allowed a place among the train of events; but the suspense in which he and thousands were involved was soon at an end. He needed not to have been afraid either of Crumwell or the King, for one subject now engrossed both. The month of September had come. The men of the old learning had rejoiced over "the bloody statute," as passed into a law, and all was ready for general persecution; when lo! to their severe mortification, they find that the spell by which they had bound the King, like Samson's green withs, was broken. They must now stand aside, and see Crumwell pursue his advantage. *Anne of Cleves* is certainly to be Queen of England. On Tuesday the 16th of September, Duke Frederick, the Count Palatine or Palsgrave of the Rhine, had arrived at Windsor; the Elector of Saxony, and three other ambassadors from the Duke of Cleves followed, and got to London two days after. Crumwell immediately prepares the way for their audience, and wrote to his Majesty on the 20th. After having waited in painful uncertainty as to how far the royal favour would ever return to him, with what delight must he have received such a reply, and on the same day; while the King, all sweetness, goes so far as to discover the most tender anxiety for the *health* of his Lordship!

"His Majesty," says the Earl of Southampton, "willed me to signify to you that he takes your letter in marvellous good part, being wonderful glad of the contents thereof, and specially, that the Duke of Cleves' men have commission apart; most heartily desiring you to *put all other matters out of your head, saving only this,* his great weighty causes; and sharp your wit to attend only unto the same. And I assure your Lordship he said these words—'I would for no good his mind should be so troubled, that it should cast him into any disease'—which words, to hear him speak them so heartily, I assure you did my heart good. Sir, he eftsoons desireth you, that he may hear from you, from time to time."[43]

Although this was literally nothing more than a mere gust of royal favour, a momentary emanation of selfish passion, its

official for two Archdeacons, &c.,) as well as his son-in-law, Thomas Young, appeared as witnesses against Ferrar, Bishop of St. David's, as recorded by Foxe; and when Ferrar was burnt at Carmarthen in 1555, Constantyne had to escape once more to the Continent, where he is supposed to have died, soon after. The son-in-law returned, married a second time, and died in June 1563, as *Archbishop of York,* having thus occupied the same place that Cardinal Wolsey himself had done! Young was also President of the Council of the North, under Elizabeth.

[43] Gov. State Papers, i., p. 619.

effect on the character of Crumwell seems to have been melancholy and most injurious. The struggle to regain his Master's confidence or approbation having thus far succeeded, the *wildest* anxiety to please him, at all hazards, immediately ensued. Any man's life which came in the way, was then of small account, and actually involved very little else than a line or two among the base *items* of the Lord Privy Seal. That book of "Remembrances," that standing witness to the writer's character, becomes fearfully illustrative of his progress in blood shedding.

The Marchioness of Salisbury, as well as others, had been disposed of in a very summary style of injustice; but Crumwell is now ready to go beyond even such proceedings. The monasteries being dissolved, the abbots and priors had, in general, proved so compliant, as to excite astonishment; but "all that a man has, he will give for his life." There were, however, three individuals, who either stood out, or stood in the King's way; the Abbots of Colchester, Reading, and Glastonbury; the two latter being Lords of Parliament. They had been attainted, but to represent them as *tried* afterwards would be a prostitution of the term. No record exists, as in many other cases, and so there have been different opinions as to the ostensible grounds of proceeding against them; though whether they were charged with aiding the insurgents of the north, or stickling about the King's Supremacy, or both, is of little moment. The *men* were inconvenient, but their *incomes* quite the reverse; and we may safely presume, that here lay the chief impelling motive to action. The revenue of Colchester monastery is not known, but excepting St. Peter's, Westminster, that of Glastonbury was the largest in England; or, calculating according to the *present* value of money, above £50,000 annually; while that of Reading Abbey was above £30,000 a-year.

Only a week after Crumwell had received this gracious message from his Majesty, or the 28th of September, Messrs. Pollard, Moyle, and Layton, the visitors, were down at Glastonbury; and busy selling the cattle for *ready money*, letting out the pastures and domains from Michaelmas forward; and, speaking of the house in which they were, they say, "it is great, goodly, and so princely, as we have not seen the like." It was not till four days *after* this, that they had "come to the knowledge of divers *treasons* committed by the abbot."[44] But it is altogether unnecessary to enter into any farther detail. We have only to glance over the "Remembrances" of Crumwell, and there we find the following autograph lines.

[44] Gov. State Papers, vol. i., p. 620-621.

"*Item*—Certain persons to be sent to the *Tower, for the further examination of the Abbot of Glastonbury.*"

"*Item*—The Abbot of Reading *to be sent down, to be* TRIED *and* EXECUTED AT READING, *with his complices!*"

"*Item*—The Abbot of Glaston *to be* TRYED *at Glaston, and* ALSO TO BE EXECUTED THERE, *with his complices!*"

"Counsellors to give evidence against the Abbot of Reading—Mr Hynde, the King's Attorney."—"Counsellors to give evidence against the Abbot of Glaston—Richard Pollard, Lewis Forscew, Thomas Moyle."

"*Item*—To see that the evidence be *well sorted*, and the indictments *well drawn* against the said abbots and their complices!"[45]

These fixed and fearful purposes of his Majesty's Lord Privy Seal, expressed in terms worthy of a Turkish Vizier, or the Grand Inquisitor, were literally fulfilled. The abbots of Whalley, Gerveaux, and Sawley, as well as the priors of Woburn and Burlington, had been executed before; but John Whiting, the abbot of Glastonbury, with two monks, and Hugh Faringdon, the abbot of Reading, with two priests, all now suffered as traitors, and in sight of their own abbeys,—the latter party on Thursday the 14th, the former on Friday the 15th of November; and on the 1st of December, John Beach, the abbot of Colchester. Thus died three of the richest men, just as if to mark the falling of the curtain. The larger, as well as the smaller monasteries, were now no more.

This unprincipled practice on the part of Crumwell, of appointing men to be *tried and executed*, was, however, in perfect consonance with the *taste* of Henry the Eighth, who, in all his ways, had a passion, approaching to extreme nicety, for doing every thing under the form of law. The most avaricious or cruel deeds, must always appear robed in legal attire, and be recorded scrupulously as acts of perfect justice. Thus, in the whole process of dissolving these houses, the first step was to obtain by some, or by any means, a surrender of the property, then denominated a *voluntary* act; the second was to vest the property, by Act of Parliament, in the Crown; or, in other words, first fill the Court of Augmentation, and then secure the proceeds, thus received; from men who, strictly speaking, were not proprietors, but only tenants for life. Hence, in the Act of Parliament now passed, there was no occasion for the term *dissolve*, nor was it employed. There was only to come to his Majesty, all that had been, or should be, "suppressed, relinquished, forfeited, or given up." To obtain the property by "forfeiture," was, of course, an easy step to him, who could define *treason* to be whatever might exactly serve his intended purpose.

This determined course of proceeding with the monasteries, from first to last, involved the confiscation of property, amounting to nearly *three*

[45] Cotton MS., Titus, B. i., 415, &c.

millions annually of the present day; besides a farther sum, in moveables, or money and plate, equal to more than *two millions and a quarter!* The entire value, however, must have been more than this, as the *Visitors* are understood to have helped themselves, wherever they could do so with impunity; but, at all events, it could not be less, though an exact estimate can never be attained.[46]

That the Monks, as a body, should murmur and resent all this, was no more than might have been expected; but, considering that the people had been so steeped into the existing system of things, as well as that the property, moveable and immoveable, in the first instance at least, all found its way into one royal reservoir, it may seem surprising that they did not rise and rebel to a far greater extent. For this, however, at least two reasons may be assigned. Crumwell had taken special care to shew to the people how they had been deceived, by exposing to public view all the trickery and pretended miracles which had so long drained their pockets. And, besides this, "it is quite certain," says Mr. Taylor, "that in all populous places, the masses, the offerings and oblations were of greater value than the settled endowments of the parochial churches, or else the 'religious' would not have been so desirous of having them appropriated to their houses,"—and these "houses" were now dissolved. But, notwithstanding all, the compliance of the people, and the servility of Parliament, were alike remarkable; for certainly, as yet, the country had gained nothing by the transference of authority from Rome to London. In the earlier period of Henry's reign, England had been occasionally twitted by the Continental nations, as being the ASS of the *Pontiff;* but the patience of that animal was only a faint emblem of England's condition now, under the burden of its bloated Monarch, so lording it over the minds as well as the property of his subjects.

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[46] Historians have differed widely in their estimates of the amount. We have relied on the authority of one of the latest and most accurate calculators—Mr. Richard Taylor, in his "Index Monasticus, London, 1821." After noticing the estimate of Speed, including 811 monasteries and abbeys, colleges and hospitals, the gross revenue of which was £186,512, 8s. 1½d., he adds,—"The present value of these revenues cannot be taken at less than *fifteen* times the amount returned in 1534-7. This proportion appears to agree with the comparative prices of labour at the same periods. The daily wages of a haymaker in the time of Henry VII., were settled at *one penny*, and in the reign of Henry VIII. never exceeded *three halfpence*." "The present rental or annual value of the estates, which formerly belonged to the abbeys and religious houses in England and Wales, may be stated at nearly *three millions*."

With regard to the moveable property: In the account-roll of Sir John Williams, keeper of the jewels to Henry VIII., we have the following inventory:—"From the monasteries, cathedrals and shrines; of gold in ounces, 14,531; of silver in ounces, 67,600; of silver-gilt, 207,635,"—or a total of 289,768. This was sold for £73,531, 15s. 1d.; to which must be added £79,471, 5s. 9¾d. obtained in money,—or, in all, £153,003, 0s. 10¾d. This sum, at fifteen times, is equal to £2,295,045; but there must have been jewels and money which never got so far as Sir John's *account*-roll.

With regard to the express history of the English Bible, the year 1539 is now to be added to all the past. But let the movements of the time; the tyrannical procedure of the reigning Monarch; the obsequious deeds of both Houses of Parliament, lying prostrate at his feet; the notorious complexion of his Council, in hostile array against the progress of Divine Truth; the tottering influence of Crumwell, once so resolute; with his sad and bloody footsteps as a Privy Counsellor: let all these be surveyed in succession, and then the general aspect of the year, with regard to the printing and circulation of the Sacred Volume, must appear so extraordinary, as to be almost unaccountable. The months seem to have been so crowded with agitating occurrences, that one might have imagined there had been not a day left for another, and much less for a separate *design*—a design too, however unnoticed by some, or hated by others, which had been proceeding, step by step, to successive triumphs. Still, amidst all other national affairs, time *must* be found for this.

But at such a season, who shall, or who can, nay dare to press forward, the printing of the Scriptures? Above all other men, Crumwell is the last, on which any one would fix, as the urgent mover in such a course. He seems to have had not one moment in reserve, and had he not been truly denominated "an iron man," in regard to business transactions, certainly he had not found one. Instead of this, however, the sequel will show, that though he had been but in poor health, and though he had winked hard, bowing assent to the six articles, and stood ready to execute the King's pleasure even unto death, nay and could order men to be "tried and executed" in the same breath; yes, even amidst all this, it comes out, that he had been resolutely bent on multiplying copies of the Bible! Strange conjunction of pursuits, as probably *ever* met in the person of the same human being! For however many were the subordinate agents, not one of them dared to have so proceeded, at least in London, without *his* fullest sanction.

It must now then be first observed, that in 1539 both Crumwell and Cranmer stand before us, in the character of thwarted and disappointed men; severely disappointed, for above *six* months of the year. Three years before, in conjunction with the momentary humour of the King, Gardiner being abroad,

they had introduced what were denominated "Articles of Religion" to the notice of the English people; but now they found, to their bitter mortification, that this was assuredly not the road to either "peace or contentation," or "unity of opinion." On the contrary, the mode which *they* had introduced in 1536, furnished the *precedent* which their opponents now followed; or the ground on which they stood, and tried to overawe the human mind. In the first Convocation, with Crumwell as Vicar-General, so far as the King and Cranmer had professedly meddled with Christianity at all, they had made it *technical and disputative*. It was not the voice of God, as contained in his Word, with which they began, for neither Cranmer or Crumwell could get those Bishops to assent to *any* translation of the Scriptures. Thus before the authority of Divine Truth in the language of the people was recognised, by these first articles a certain vocabulary had been introduced; and in the prospect of the present Convocation, Gardiner and his party were by far too shrewd, not to take advantage of the precedent set. They fought and baffled the Archbishop with his own weapons, while my Lord Privy Seal, Crumwell, like a perfect politician, had bowed to the storm. So now when the tug of battle came, and Crumwell found that, as an expedient in his hands, "articles of religion" must be given to the winds; *then* it was that the Bible, and *the Bible alone*, afforded him the only prospect of turning the tide upon his political opponents. Thus singularly *shut up* to this one object, he was not slow to improve his powers; for though he could no longer shake his rod over the Bench of Bishops, his authority and precedence or rank as Vicar-General had been distinctly recognised; and this he could exercise still, very powerfully, without the doors of the Convocation, though not within them; while the dissolution and consequent dispersion of that body, was analogous to the breaking up of a combination against him.

The operation of the bloody statute being now also stayed, and no commissions issued for the country at large; Henry too having been fully apprised of how odious that statute was to his intended *matrimonial* connections, here was a favourable crisis. To the printing of the Bible, therefore, amidst his multifarious engagements, Crumwell lent all his energy, so that not fewer than four editions of the entire Scriptures, with

which his personal influence was connected, now issued from the press.

There is no concealing it now; for by a comparison of dates, it will be manifest, that the character of Crumwell when sinking, and so near his end, presents to the reflective mind one of the most painful contemplation, and in truth, one of a far more melancholy hue, than even that of Wolsey himself. Wolsey, the "man of pleasure," not to say boundless ambition, sinking under disgrace into his grave, yet breathing out persecution against the Lutherans, and leaving this as his dying advice to the King, was a spectacle sad enough: yet is it scarcely to be compared to that of Crumwell, the energetic "man of business," himself stepping into blood, to please his Master, or retain his favour; and at the same moment pushing forward editions of the Scriptures, nay enforcing on his countrymen the perusal of the sacred page! Who can deny after this, that the heart is "deceitful above all things," and reckless beyond expression?

To proceed, however, with the proof. The Bible, described last year, as commenced in Paris, and snatched from the flames of the Inquisition, was finished in London by the month of April, and ready for circulation under the following title, *before* the meetings of Parliament and Convocation.

"*The Byble in Englyshe*, that is to saye, the content of all the holy Scripture, bothe of the olde and *Newe Testament*, truly translated after the veryte of the *Hebrue and Greke* textes, by the dylygent studye of diuerse excellent learned men, expert in the forsayde tonges. ¶ *Printed by* Rychard Grafton and Edward Whitchurch. Cum priuilegio ad imprimendum solum." The Colophon is—"The ende of the new Testamēt and of the whole Byble, Fynisshed in Apryll, Anno MCCCCCXXXIX. A dño factum est istud."[47]

This title, as well as the representation round it, ascribed to the pencil of Hans Holbein, it is now abundantly evident, were alike in the teeth of history; to say nothing of the profanity involved, in which the Almighty is represented as saying of the King—"I have found a man according to my own heart, which shall fulfil all my will!" But this served to answer the purpose of Crumwell at the moment, in his

47 The italic words are in *red* letters. Of this Bible, Lewis ascribed a second edition to *this* year, or the next; and he thought he had confirmed this by a collation of the two. This has led astray ever since. There was no such reprint. Lewis confesses that his second Bible was imperfect, and the book he had before him was actually Cranmer's edition of April 1540, the next to be noticed.

gross flattery of the reigning monarch. Cromwell himself, as well as the King and Cranmer, at full length, are here distinguished also by their respective shields, or coats of arms; and this same engraving, finely cut in wood, will be employed in subsequent editions, though the arms of Cromwell, after his fall, will then be found *erased*.[48]

This Bible, it is true, exhibits all the marks of a signal triumph, as already described; but let the men in Parliament or the Convocation be busy with what they might, this one edition or reprint will not suffice to meet the zeal of the Vicar-General. In chronological order, the next Bibles that were ready for circulation, were two, if not three editions of the entire Bible,[49] by *other* printers, as well as a *new* superintendent of the press.

And here it is not a little remarkable, that immediately before entering upon those editions of the Scriptures, afterwards set forth by Cranmer, we are summoned to look back; and back to the very commencement of this long and tedious warfare. Just as though it had been intended to lend *unity* to the entire procedure since the year 1526, we are to be reminded forcibly, of the deep and noisome dungeon under Cardinal College, Oxford, and of the interesting young men there immured, at the first burst of opposition, after the arrival of Tyndale's Testaments in England. One of those youths, it may be remembered, was named *Richard Taverner*. The son of an ancient family, born at North Elmham, in the parish of Brisley, Norfolk; he was one of those canons, chosen by Wolsey, whom he had intended to employ in opposing the "new learning." He had been selected from Benet College,

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[48] It is to be regretted that they had at all meddled with the translation while at Paris; but Coverdale had slipped into the 14th Psalm his three verses from the *Vulgate*, which Rogers had judiciously excluded. He was still too ready for compliance with his authorities in London, such as they were. He durst not, indeed, meddle with *repentance*, however long he continued to plead for penance as synonymous. But still we discover the hand of some authority at least in one passage—"Despise not the gift that is in thee, which was given thee through prophecy, with the laying on of hands, *by the authority of priesthood!*" This may have been Cranmer's suggestion, for he was so far behind as to adopt this reading. Parker, his successor, altered the words in his edition to—"by the authority of the *eldership*." The Geneva translators, excluding the word "authority," as not in the text, say—"with the laying on of the hands of the *company of the elders*;" which was changed in our present version to—"with the laying on of the hands of *the presbytery*." Coverdale himself in 1535 had said "the hands of *the elders*." Tyndale throughout had preferred—"and with laying on of *the hands of an elder*." We cannot at present name the manuscript, or collate the successive editions of Erasmus, but that there is a various reading in favour of the singular number, is well known; and Tyndale may have had in remembrance 2 Timothy, i. 6, and 1 Peter, v. 1.

[49] See the collation of the two editions in Lewis or Cotton, and our List at the end.

Cambridge, and brought to Oxford. Though deeply implicated in 1526, as already mentioned, he was more gently dealt with by the Cardinal on account of his voice, or skill in music. He was then a *layman*, studying law, and abode by his profession through life; which renders his superintendance of the Scriptures, and his subsequently being licensed by Edward the Sixth, to preach throughout England, the more remarkable.[50] Having taken his degree of A.B. at Oxford in 1527,[51] and that of A.M. at Cambridge in 1530, he removed to the metropolis; and after passing through an Inn of Chancery, then said to be *near* London, (or on the site of the present Somerset House in the Strand,) he entered the Inner Temple. To the Greek language he had paid great attention, it being "his humour to quote the law in Greek, when he read any thing thereof." He had become known to Crumwell, and in 1534, after he was chosen principal Secretary of State, and Chancellor of Cambridge University, Taverner came into attendance upon him. In 1537, Crumwell had recommended him to the King, when he was advanced to be one of the clerks of the signet in ordinary; and the clerk had now, in 1539, turned his learning to the best of all accounts.[52] For a considerable time past, he must have been working under orders, and very busily engaged, as the proof sheets of two, if not three editions, had been passing through his hands. Taverner prefixed a dedication to the King, telling him, that "he never did any thing more acceptable to God, more profitable to the advancement of true Christianity, more displeasant to the enemies of the same, and also to his Grace's enemies, than when his Majesty licensed and willed the most sacred Bible, containing the unspotted and lively Word of God, to be in the English tongue set forth to his Highness' subjects." But to all this he had been encouraged by his master, Lord Crumwell, as it will appear presently that no man could publish the Bible at this period, without his approving sanction.[53]

His first edition, in folio, and entitled—"The most Sacred

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[50] He used to preach at St. Mary's in *Oxford*, where the Bampton Lectures are delivered. The pulpit then was of fine carved ashler *stone*, but this was taken away, and one of wood substituted, when *Dr. John Owen*, as Vice-Chancellor, used to officiate on the same spot, about 1654.—*Wood's Athenæ*. How, or by whom, it is occupied now, in our own day, we leave the reader to enquire. [51] Wood's Fasti. [52] Wood's Athenæ, by Bliss, i., 421.

[53] "Crumwell is supposed to have encouraged him to the revision of the Bible, on account of his especial skill in Greek."—*Todd—Lewis*.

Bible," &c., was "printed at London in Fleet Street, at the sign of the Sun, by John Byddell, for Thomas Barthlett;" or Berthelet, the King's printer; "Cum privilegio ad imprimendum solum." The next edition, in quarto, was executed by the same printer; but there seems to have been a third, printed by Nycolson, also in quarto.[54] These Bibles were a correction of Matthew's, in which Taverner adopted a large proportion of the marginal notes, and inserted others of his own; yet so eager was Crumwell, that they were "allowed to be publicly read in churches."

In addition to these, that the effort now made was a bold and determined one, appears from another printer still having his hands filled, by two editions of the New Testament by Taverner. This was Thomas Petit, who also printed for Berthelet, one in quarto, the other in octavo.

Now in the earlier part of this year, though the political atmosphere seemed to portend nothing whatever, save tempestuous opposition to measures such as these; preparatory work, it is evident, had been proceeding with great vigour within doors; and by the autumn, that same Monarch, who had hurried the "bloody Statute" through Parliament, professed to be all zeal for the printing of the Scriptures, and even their perusal! The prospect of connexion with *Germany* had wrought wondrously, and a change had come over the spirit of the man. And as for Crumwell, though he still stood upon slippery ground, he could scarcely now think so, when, so far from frowning upon him, the King, on the 20th of September, had expressed himself as so solicitous about the state of his health.[55] At all events, while he was in the act of carrying through the negotiation respecting Lady Anne of Cleves, almost any thing he might request, would then be granted. Apply to his Majesty therefore he did, and successfully; although still, it is no hypothesis, to say that both the one and the other, as it regarded the Scriptures, were nothing more than *overruled* men. The King, by his conduct in Parliament, had appeared in his real character; while Crumwell, by his conduct elsewhere, has positively forced us

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[54] Cotton's List, p. 6.—It is partly described by Dibdin, iii., p. 57, though he inadvertently falls into the popular mistake, and supposes it to have been "set forth by Cranmer," who was therwise engaged, as will appear presently, and not yet ready with his *first* edition.

[55] See page 73.

to place him on the very lowest ground of political expediency. The following document, however, will show that there was no hazard, at present, of any of these Bibles not getting into circulation.

"Henry the Eighth, &c.—To all and singular, Printers and sellers of books, within this our realm, and all other Officers, Ministers, and Subjects, these our letters, hearing or seeing, greeting: We let you to wit, that being desirous to have our people at times convenient, give themselves to the attaining the knowledge of God's Word, whereby they will the better honour him, and observe, and keep his commandments; and also do their duty better to us, being their Prince and sovereign Lord: And considering, that as this our zeal and desire cannot, by *any* mean, take so good effect, as by the granting to them the *free and liberal use of the Bible* in our own *maternal English tongue:* so unless it be foreseen, that the same pass at the beginning by *one* translation to be perused and considered; the frailty of man is such, that the diversity thereof may breed and bring forth manifold inconveniences; as when wilful and heady folks shall confer upon the diversity of the said translations. We have therefore appointed our right trusty and well-beloved Counsellor, the Lord Crumwell, Keeper of our Privy Seal, to take for us, and in our name, special care and charge, that no manner of person, or persons, within this our realm, shall enterprise, attempt, or set in hand, to print any Bible in the English tongue, of any manner of volume, during the space of *five years* next ensuing after the date hereof, but only all such as shall be deputed, assigned, and admitted by the said Lord Crumwell. Willing and commanding all *Mayors, Sheriffs, Bailiffs, Constables,* and all other our officers, ministers, and subjects, to be aiding to our said Counsellor, in the execution of this our pleasure, and to be conformable in the accomplishment of the same, as shall appertain. In witness whereof—Witness *ourself* at Westminster, the fourteenth day of November 1539.—*Per ipsum Regem.*"[56]

The style of this public document, and at such a time, is pointed and very observable. The reader cannot fail to be struck with the absence of all reference to Henry's Church or Convocation. The Sacred Volume, first printed abroad, it will be remembered, had been sanctioned without any consultation of that body; and even now, after a flaming Convocation, they are to be passed over once more. Above two years ago, the King had been overruled to bow to the trans-

[56] Rymer's Fœd., vol. xiv., p. 649. Herbert's Ames, iii., p. 1550. But then there is the conjunction of events; and that so fatal to the character of both Counsellor and King! We have heard of Thursday the 14th of November before, and the reader may well be shocked, as soon as he observes, that it was on this very day they were despatching the Abbot of Reading and his Priests—on this same day that the Abbot of Glastonbury was going through the mockery of his trial, to be executed the next. "My Lord," says John Lord Russel, to Crumwell on the 16th, "these shall be to ascertain, that on Thursday the 14th day of this month, the Abbot of Glastonbury was arraigned, and the next day put to execution, with two other of his monks, (for the robbing of Glastonbury Church,) on the Tor hill," &c. MS., *Cleop.*, E. iv., fol. 99, b. *Original.* In other words, there were *six* men whom Crumwell and Henry had resolved should be executed; the mockery of a trial must precede, and forsooth be reported.

lation; and last year, Crumwell as Vicegerent had enjoined the Bishops, on pain of deprivation, to see to its circulation; but after the miserable display they had recently given of their characters, they are to be addressed by him no more. No notice whatever is therefore now taken of *Bishop* or *Archbishop*, *Priest* or *Parson;* unless the ambiguous term "minister" at the very end, be allowed, by courtesy, to include them all. But it was the *civil* authorities on whom Crumwell now called; it was the Mayors, the Sheriffs, the Bailiffs, the Constables, who were so pointedly enjoined, and by the KING himself, to aid him! After having been so treated by the Bench, of which he was the Vicar-General; as long as he remains Lord Privy Seal, he was not to be insulted with impunity; the hour for retaliation had come; and as he had given up "Articles of Religion" in despair, so it is now evident, that he had also, as a body, given up the Bishops.

Nor was such a document, "per ipsum Regem," *now* to be treated with impunity. Little had they dreamt in Parliament, *which* would be the very *first* statute brought to bear upon his Majesty's subjects; for "the bloody statute" had been stayed in its operation; but they had gone so far as to pass a bill, showing, "*what* a King by his royal power *might do;*" and "considering that many occasions might require *speedy* remedies," they enacted that the King's proclamation, writ, or letters-patent, were to be obeyed "as if they were made by an *act of Parliament;*" nay, and if any after that offended, they were to be judged as *traitors*. If, therefore, the men of the *new* learning had been terror-struck in April, the men of the *old*, might now well stare with amazement, but there was no remedy; they must all stand aghast for the time being, and make way for the Lord Privy Seal.

It is curious also to observe the efforts now made to place Henry, if it had been possible, in a fair way, once more, or to face him out, as the same man—notwithstanding his recent aberration, or natural leaning to his beloved associates of the old school. At this period, a long and strange justification of his proceedings was written out. It is to be found in the State Paper Office, and has been printed entire by Collier.[57] The following statement taken from it, though far too strongly

[57] Collection of Records, No. 47.

expressed, clearly proves, that despite of Gardiner and all his associates, the Scriptures already printed had not been laid on the shelf.

" Englishmen have now in hand in every church and place, almost every man, the Holy Bible and New Testament in their mother tongue ; instead of the old fabulous and fantastical books of ' The Table Round,' ' Launcelot du Luke,' ' Huco de Bourdeaux,' ' Bevy of Hampton,' ' Guy of Warwick,' and such others, whose impure filth and vain fabulosity, the light of God has abolished utterly."—" Englishmen stick fast to the doctrine of God in the New Testament, and in the Old conformable to the New ; and do esteem that it is ' *Fons aquæ salientis in vitam eternam.*' "

In short, the same ardour which had been displayed in printing, seems to have been followed by a kindred zeal for distribution and perusal; and after such doings in Parliament, the opposite party, and all who loved the truth, had notable reasons for improving their time. Crumwell had yet eight months to live before his arrestment, so that here was a fine opportunity presented for vigorous exertion, to every man who estimated the value of the Scriptures. How very unlikely was such a season to have arrived, only a few months ago!

Here, then, terminated that class of sacred volumes, which, with considerable propriety, may be denominated *the first series:* reaching from Wolsey's " secret search at one time," in London, Oxford, and Cambridge; or from the dungeon of Cardinal College, down to one of its inmates publishing three editions of the Bible, and two of the New Testament, in one year; when the long hostile Monarch had been made to declare, that *the free and liberal use of the Bible in our own maternal English tongue was the only mean by which his subjects could comprehend their duty to God or man;* and when his counsellor, the successor of Wolsey, to save his popularity and retain his place, was so evidently urging the printers to speed! The series referred to, now included above thirty editions of the New Testament, and five of the entire Bible, which for fourteen years had formed the spiritual nourishment of all those in this kingdom who had been convinced by their own experience, that " man liveth not by bread only, but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God."

What a contrast, therefore, is now presented between William Tyndale and all his contemporaries, who have generally figured in the page of history, and so filled it, as to prevent

posterity from duly estimating, nay, almost seeing, by far the most eminent benefactor of his country.

It is not here, however, that the year 1539 terminates. Tyndale's translation, or the Bible of 1537, had now been taken up, personally, by another individual, who has perhaps been expected to appear before this time, and certainly for some months before Henry's letters-patent (of the 14th of November,) this year, he had been engaged in his sphere, behind the curtain, perhaps as busily as any of Crumwell's printers had been. This, it may be anticipated, was Thomas Cranmer; but, although it has been often done, with no previous edition can his name, with historical propriety, be associated.

The joy expressed by him, at the reception of the Bible in 1537, may have prepared the reader; but when he first met with Cranmer on the Continent, seven years ago, in company with Sir Thomas Elyot, then charged by his Sovereign to seize Tyndale, and next year beheld him with pain, when sitting in judgment on the translator's bosom friend, Fryth; he certainly could not have imagined that, six years afterwards, the Primate himself would have been so busily employed, in superintending an edition of Tyndale's translation. But so it was.[58] Cranmer, as well as Crumwell, had now given up the Bishops in despair, though his chief opponent, Gardiner, will not fail to cross his path presently, and try to sway the King.

It is singular enough that it should have been on this same Thursday, the 14th of November, to which we have repeatedly alluded, that Cranmer first certainly appears to have been thus engaged. The edition he had been bringing forward was a very fine one, and now nearly, if not entirely finished; but he had resolved, at this peculiar crisis, after being foiled by the Bench, to prefix a preface to the reader, of his own composition. This he had submitted, for his Majesty's approbation, and was now anxiously waiting its return, when he sent the following letter to Crumwell:—

"My very singular good Lord, after my most hearty commendations, these shall be to signify unto your Lordship, that Bartelett and Edward Whitechurch

[58] And as Cranmer was so indebted to *Tyndale* for the Bible he now watched through the press, so it has been said, "when he wrote against transubstantiation, in reply to Gardiner," he then acknowledged, seventeen years after, "that he had received great light from *Fryth's* writings, and drew most of his arguments out of them."—*Todd's Life of Cranmer*, i., p. 86. *Burnet.*

hath been with me, and have by their accounts declared the expenses and charges of the printing of the Great Bibles; and by the advice of Bartelett, I have appointed them to be sold for 13s. 4d. a-piece, (one merk,) and not above. Howbeit, Whitechurch informeth me, that your Lordship thinketh it a more convenient price to have them sold at 10s. a-piece; which, in respect of the great charges, both of the paper, which is substantial and good, and other great hinderances, Whitechurch and his fellow (Grafton, his partner) thinketh it a small price.[59] Nevertheless, they are right well contented to sell them for 10s., so that you will be so good Lord to them as to grant henceforth none other license to any other printer saving to them, for the printing of the said Bible; for else they think that they shall be greatly hindered thereby, if any other should print, they sustaining such charges as they already have done. Wherefore I shall beseech your Lordship, in consideration of their travail in this behalf, to tender their requests; and they have promised me to print in the end of their Bibles the price thereof, to the intent the King's liege people shall not henceforth be deceived of their price.

"Farther, if your Lordship hath known the King's pleasure concerning the *Preface* of the Bible, which I sent to you to oversee; so that his Grace doth allow the same, I pray you that the same may be delivered unto the said Whitechurch unto printing; trusting that it shall both encourage many slow readers, and also stay the rash judgments of them that read therein. Thus our Lord have your good Lordship in his blessed tuition.—At Lambeth, the 14th day of November 1539."[60]

This Preface, however, demanded cogitation. Preferring the words of John Chrysostom and Gregory Nazianzen, Cranmer had now ventured to go to the full extent of truth and duty, as Tyndale, in his own name, had so often done, on behalf of the people of England. Cranmer now at last pled, but through his ancient authors—

"That every man should read by himself *at home*, in the mean days and

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[59] So urgent was poor Crumwell at the moment *to push the Scriptures into circulation.*

[60] MS., in Crumwell's Correspondence, *orig.* The popular mistake of ascribing the Bibles issuing from the press in 1539, to Cranmer, has led to the mis-placing of this letter among the Government State Papers. Though there supposed to be 1538, it has been correctly dated by Mr. Todd, and the date verified by Mr. Jenkyns, in his Remains of Cranmer, i., p. 289, *note.*

In commencing his *Preface*, we leave it to the reader, whether Cranmer had not TYNDALE'S preface or "pathway to the Scripture" before him. Tyndale had said—"*I do marvel greatly*, dearly beloved in Christ, that ever any man should repugn or speak against the Scripture to be had in every language, and that of every man. For I thought that no man had been so blind to ask, why *light* should be shown to them that walk in *darkness*, where they cannot but stumble, and where to stumble, is the danger of eternal damnation; either so despiteful that he would envy any man so necessary a thing; or so Bedlam *mad* to affirm that good is the natural cause of evil, and *darkness* to proceed out of *light*," &c. And what says Cranmer? "Neither can I well tell, whether of them I may judge the more offender; him that doth obstinately refuse so godly and goodly knowledge, or him that so ungodly, or ungoodly, doth abuse the same. And as touching the former, I would *marvel much* that any man should be so *mad* as to refuse in *darkness, light;* in hunger, food; in cold, fire; for the Word of God is light, 'Lucerna pedibus meis Verbum Tuum'—'*Thy word is a lantern to my feet.*' It is food—'Man shall not live by bread only, but by every word of God.' I would *marvel*, I say, at this, save that I consider how much 'custom and usage may do.' And therefore I can well think them *worthy pardon*, which, *at the coming abroad of Scripture*, doubted and drew back."

It is curious to see the Primate here putting in a word in excuse of his *own timidity;* but as *custom and usage* had such sway over himself, he could not possibly *marvel* to the same extent as Tyndale had done. To him both custom and usage were as nothing, compared with the Word of God.

time, between sermon and sermon—that when they were *at home* in their houses, they should apply themselves, from time to time, to the reading of the Holy Scriptures. For the Holy Spirit hath so ordered and attempered the Scriptures, that in them, as well publicans, fishers, and shepherds, may find their edification, as great doctors their erudition. But still you will say, I cannot understand it. What marvel? How shouldst thou understand, if thou wilt not read nor look upon it? Take the books into thine hands, read the whole story, and that thou understandest, keep it well in memory; that thou understandest not, read it again and again. Here may all manner of persons: *men, women; young, old; learned, unlearned; rich, poor; priests, laymen; lords, ladies; officers, tenants, and mean men; virgins, wives, widows; lawyers, merchants, artificers, husbandmen, and all manner of persons*, of what estate or condition soever they be; may in THIS BOOK learn all things, what they ought to believe, what they ought to do, and what they should not do, as well concerning Almighty God, as also concerning themselves, and all others." "This one place of John Chrysostom," said Cranmer, "is enough, and sufficient to persuade all them that be not frowardly, and perversely, set in their own wilful opinion." [61]

These were sentiments, certainly by far too strong to pass in high places, in those days, without murmuring and disputation; nor in all probability would they have been allowed to pass, but for the conjunction of circumstances, already so far explained. Henry, as we have seen, had softened, even towards Crumwell, and he was more likely to have done so towards Cranmer. He had thwarted him in the Convocation, but then his official situation, as Primate, was not to be trampled on; and the King had therefore set him up again, by commanding his highest counsellors afterwards to go and dine with him. The wind, in short, had changed in the fall of the year. Henry is now on the tip-toe of expectation as to his intended Queen, and the Archbishop, of course, must perform the intended marriage ceremony. No moment could be more favourable for Cranmer asking any favour.

But then it so happened, that not only this preface, but the Bible itself, had been brought before his Majesty, and hence still farther delay; for though Cranmer be almost ready, and is now, in *November*, pressing the return of the preface for the press, the volume did not appear till *April* following. The fact was, that Henry had consulted certain Bishops, not forgetting Mr. Stephen Gardiner.

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[61] There are many other fine sentiments of Chrysostom quoted. We have marked the words *at home* in italics, with reference to what follows presently. This pleading for *domestic* reading in ENGLAND, however, will appear to have been six years behind that for SCOTLAND, and very powerfully put, by the native of Edinburgh, of whom Cranmer was so much afraid, in the Convocation of 1536.

"After the book was finished," says Fulke, "and presented to King Henry the Eighth; and by him committed to diverse Bishops of that time to peruse, of which (as I remember) Steven Gardiner was one: after they had kept it long in their hands, and the King was divers times sued unto for the publication thereof, at the last being called for by the King himself, they redelivered the book: and being demanded by the King what was their judgment of the translation, they answered that there were many faults therein. 'Well,' said the King, 'but are there any heresies maintained thereby?' They answered, 'there were no heresies that they could find, maintained thereby.' 'If there be no heresies,' said the King, (in his own profane and impatient manner,) 'then, in God's name, let it go abroad among our people.' According to this judgment of the King and the Bishops, M. Coverdale (who had been corrector of the press,) defended the translation, confessing that he did now himself espy some faults, which if he might review it once over again, as he had done *twice* before,[62] he doubted not to amend: but for any heresy, he was sure there was none maintained by the translation."[63]

Only six months ago the gentlemen of "the old learning," with the Duke of Norfolk at their head, had been in high glee; but of late it had come to their turn, to feel no small disappointment, if not alarm: and Gardiner is understood to have exerted all his powers to influence the King, by persuading him that it must be his duty not to allow the people to read the Bible by their own fire-sides, or, as Cranmer expressed it, *at home*. One day these two men met in the presence of his Majesty, when he engaged them in discussion. After descanting on the danger of allowing the people at large to read the Scriptures, Gardiner chose to affirm that what were called the Apostolic Canons, were of equal authority with the Sacred Scriptures, and challenged Cranmer to disprove this. Cranmer did so, and to Henry's satisfaction. The disputation is said to have lasted for some time, when the King abruptly addressed Gardiner,—"such a novice as you, had better not meddle with an old experienced Captain, like my Lord of Canterbury;" and then remarked, that "Cranmer was too experienced a leader, to be defeated by a novice."

The translation had been sanctioned, as we have seen, above two years ago, in Gardiner's absence, but it was a double mortification, and one which he richly deserved, to hear it thus defended and approved, while he was standing by, and rated for a novice.

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62 That is, once in Paris, and now again in London.

63 Fulke's "Defence of the English Translations of the Bible," 1583, p. 4, who himself heard Coverdale speak, as reported, in a sermon at Paul's Cross. This anecdote has been very generally *misplaced* in its application.

As for Cranmer's first edition therefore, since it did not appear till April next year, it will come before us in due time. But in the meanwhile, and independently of all such skirmishing before the King, the *other* editions which had been sanctioned by Crumwell, without any formal reference to his Majesty, must not be forgotten, nor the New Testaments which had been printed at home, nor the numerous foreign editions. This is a period noted by Strype, as one in which "the people greedily bought up and read the Holy Scriptures." The truth is that, however other matters might proceed, whether in Court or Parliament, the people had been all along reading, without asking his Majesty's leave. He little thought that he was led on by a current far too strong for his resistance. Yet in the course of such a year as the present, in which the King was so surrounded by hostile parties ever whispering in his ear; who would have imagined that he should have so sanctioned the reading of the Scriptures? This, however, he had actually done, and done more emphatically than ever before! Some complaints having reached him through the enemy, that the reading of the Bible or New Testament in public, was often in a voice so loud, that it threatened to drown if not expel the mass; Henry by proclamation ordered a lower tone, and that, while mass was going on, reading should be suspended; as well as that no man should "teach or preach the Bible," except such as were admitted by himself, or Crumwell, or a Bishop. But then he added, what was of far greater moment, though it must have been like an additional dose of wormwood to the gentlemen of "the old learning"—

"Notwithstanding his Highness is pleased and contented, that such as can and will in the English tongue, shall and may quietly and reverently read the Bible and New Testament by themselves secretly *at all times and places convenient*, for their own instruction and edification, to increase thereby godliness and virtuous learning."

Finally, the Monarch must, *in effect*, tell posterity that in thus acting he was still nothing more than a man overruled; since, with mingled pride and profanity, he adds—

"His Highness signifieth to all and singular, his loving and obedient subjects, that his Majesty was not, nor is compelled by God's Word, to set forth His Scripture in English to his loyal subjects; but of his own liberality and goodness was and is pleased, that his said subjects should have and read the same in convenient places and times—Wherefore his Majesty chargeth and commandeth all his said subjects to use the Holy Scripture in English, according

to his godly purpose and gracious intent, as they would avoid his most high displeasure and indignation, beside the pain above remembered."

The hand of Crumwell is very visible in all this; and if the proclamation "came out about May, being *now* equal with the law," as Strype has told us, it shows what confusion had been shed into the Council of his Majesty; but followed as it was, in the close of the year, by the decided approval of Cranmer's preface, we have only one proof more of the truth of Solomon's proverb—"The king's heart is in the hand of the Lord as the rivers of water; He turneth it whithersoever he will."

In conclusion, therefore, as already stated, we come to the end of what may be styled the FIRST SERIES *of Bibles and Testaments*. Last year, indeed, we looked at them as divided into books printed *abroad*, and then begun to be printed at *home*. But at present we allude to all that had issued from the press before the first edition by Cranmer was put forth. Of the whole array the reader may form a distinct idea, on consulting our list of Bibles and Testaments at the end of this volume.

Now, if it be observed that even by this early period, such a number of editions of the New Testament, of all descriptions, as well as of the Sacred Volume entire, had passed through the press; and that Divine Truth had obtained a footing in our land, from the moment of its entrance in 1526; he will allow that in these fourteen years, a great work had been accomplished; and greater still, when he comes to see all that had been going on in Scotland, as well as in England. The full effects, though no historian can ever detail them, must have been far greater than has hitherto been supposed. Yet is it but little more than two years since the adversary lowered his colours, and gave in. Up to August 1537 in England, we have witnessed only one uninterrupted battle, without a solitary truce; and since then, as far as Crumwell was concerned, we have seen him, in his ardour, officially pushing on the work. When once on a time, writing so bitterly against Tyndale, he little thought that, in the very height of his career, though loaded with the affairs of the nation, he would tax himself, and strain every nerve, in the

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64 Cotton MS., Cleop. E. v., fol. 303. This proclamation, as first drawn up, had been submitted to HENRY, and he corrected it with his *own* pen. Strype has given it entire, with the corrections made.

very direction which the Translator had so long pointed out; no object appearing to himself, even as a politician, of greater importance. He is now, however, soon to be called away from the field of action, leaving the cause to that unseen hand which had guided it from the beginning, and which will employ or overrule others, as it had done himself. Crumwell's energetic influence is not, however, yet paralyzed. He has six months to live, and the Bible, printed still more magnificently, will be in circulation before then. In common justice, therefore, to the only Vicegerent that Henry ever had, and with regard to any of those volumes already published on English ground, including the Bible which was nearly finished in Paris, it should be observed, that when Cranmer's name has been associated with them, in any degree, whether as to preparation or printing, this appears to have been historically incorrect. We have seen him, for the first time, engrossed with one book, but the publication of it belongs to next year.

SECTION III.

POLITICAL AFFAIRS—HENRY'S FOURTH MARRIAGE—JEALOUSY OF FRANCIS—ALLIANCE WITH THE EMPEROR—GARDINER AGAINST BARNES AND GARRET—PARLIAMENT OPENED—CRUMWELL NOW EARL OF ESSEX—THE USE ALL ALONG MADE OF HIM BY HENRY—CRUMWELL'S LAST DEMANDS IN PARLIAMENT AND CONVOCATION—HENRY HAS TAKEN OFFENCE—CRUMWELL APPREHENDED—PARTIES OPPOSED TO HIM—CRANMER'S LETTER—FIRST CHARGES—BILL OF ATTAINDER—HENRY'S FOURTH MARRIAGE ANNULLED—FINAL CHARGES AGAINST CRUMWELL—HIS DEATH AND CHARACTER—THE KING AND HIS TWO VICARS-GENERAL IN REVIEW—MORE EXECUTIONS—HENRY'S FIFTH MARRIAGE—THE OLD LEARNING PARTY IN TRIUMPH.

RETROSPECT—COMMON MISTAKE AS TO THE CROWN—THE LARGE FOLIO BIBLES, IN SIX EDITIONS—THE FIRST OF CRANMER'S—A DIFFERENT EDITION—THE SECOND OF CRANMER'S—THE THIRD PREPARING, TO BE ISSUED NEXT YEAR, BUT WITH A DIFFERENT TITLE—ONE IN FIVE VOLUMES, SMALL SIZE—QUARTO NEW TESTAMENT.

The second series of Bibles and Testaments, commencing with the first of Cranmer's editions, will reach to the end of

the reign of Edward the Sixth, embracing the next twelve years and a half, to July 1553. At the best, it will be a strange and varied scene; but at present our attention must be confined to the first of those eventful years. It was the year of Crumwell's downfall and death, a subject which has been allowed to pass without due investigation, and, consequently, has been misunderstood. In these circumstances, to see the cause of Divine Truth still triumphant, and in such progress, will be far more impressive, after we have carefully observed the general course of secular and political affairs.

Possessed of absolute or uncontrolled authority, the victim, in quick succession, of contending passions, of avarice and profusion, caprice and obstinacy, Henry the Eighth stood but ill prepared for any vexatious circumstances to increase his natural impetuosity; and, yet, the first six months of this year, he spent in a state of almost constant irritability. At the close of last year he seems to have been in fear of his personal safety; for, knowing what enemies he had abroad, and how discontented certain individuals were at home, he had renewed his personal guard of fifty gentlemen-pensioners—a precaution with which he had dispensed for thirty years, or since the first of his reign.

It will be remembered that, in September last, his Majesty had ordered Crumwell to "put all other matters out of his head, saving only the negotiations for that great affair—his marriage;" and, since then, his impatience for the approach of his intended Queen had risen to its utmost height. The Lady Anne of Cleves having arrived in England, had reached Rochester on the 31st of December. Upon New Year's-day, therefore, Henry, and actually in disguise, set off to obtain a sight of his intended consort. The first glance was enough. He chose to express himself as disgusted. It was, "woe that ever she came into England," and he began to ruminate whether or how he could break off his engagement. "But, considering again," says Lord Herbert, "that this would make a ruffle in the world, and drive the Duke, her brother, into the Emperor's, or French King's hands," he said, "it was too far gone." Had it not been for this apprehension, Henry would have immediately sent her back. On the 6th of January, therefore, after expressing, repeatedly, the strongest reluctance, he was married by Cranmer at Greenwich; having resolved to confederate with the Princes of Germany. The ceremony once performed, "as if in judgment," it has been said, "for his cruel and capricious conduct to his first and second Queens, Henry was now linked to one whom he abhorred," with only this one feeling to counterbalance his emotion—a persuasion that he

had at least taken a step to secure himself against the Emperor's power. We shall see, presently, whether he was correct in his calculation.

While Henry ever had his eye on the Continent, he must have been conscious that he was watched in return; and one singular movement of the Emperor's at this period, had excited such apprehension, that it probably hastened the Royal nuptials. Last year the citizens of Ghent, revolting against the government of Charles, offered to place the city under the sovereignty of Francis. He declined this offer; and the Emperor had resolved to reduce the people of his native city to subjection. From fear of the German States, he could not pass through in that direction, and the fleets of Henry deterred him from hazarding a passage by sea. The only other road was through France; and upon Charles proposing this route, the liberty was at once granted by the French monarch. Ever since their interview at Aigues Mortes in 1538, Charles had not failed to court the King of France, and even held up the prospect of one day investing him, or one of his sons, with the Dutchy of Milan; a mere stroke of policy, to prevent alliance with Solyman, the Grand Seignior. In the vain hope that he should now gain over the Emperor, he was received by the King, and conducted through France with the greatest splendour. They entered Paris in procession together, on the first of January; so that Charles was there at the moment when Henry was allied to his despised consort, an event by no means acceptable to the Emperor, and one of which he was not unmindful throughout this journey.

Sir Thomas Wyatt, the English ambassador, following the Spanish Court, writes, on the 7th of January, from Paris to his royal Master: "The Emperor's demeanour has changed." One Robert Brancetour, who had thrown himself on the imperial protection, was demanded by Wyatt as a traitor; but Charles would not deliver him up, saying he knew of no treason of which he had been guilty, except it were "his going along with Cardinal Pole!" and when Sir Thomas complained of certain preachers who had defamed the King and the English nation, the only reply was—"Kings be not Kings of *tongues;* and if men give cause to be spoken of, they will be spoken of." After declaring the Emperor's concealed designs, Wyatt tenders his opinion as to what Henry should best do.[1]

Very impatient to be gone, Charles remained only seven days in the French capital, and left it early in January, proceeding by Chantilly, St. Quintin, and Valenciennes, to Brussels, having at once gained his purpose, and completely deceived both Francis and his Ministers as to Milan. Whether it was owing to Wyatt's advice or not, the Emperor had no sooner left Paris than the King of England, all impatient to

[1] Harl. MS., No. 282, leaf 83.

prevent the consequences of this supposed friendship and alliance, despatched the Duke of Norfolk in embassy to France.[2] His Grace was to offer Francis assistance for the recovery of Milan—to offer the remission of all the arrears of pensions due to his royal Master, as well as of the salt-money due annually—he was to employ all his powers in exciting the jealousy of Francis as to the Emperor's ambition, and proposing a strict league to the exclusion of the Pontiff; he was to inform the French Monarch not only of his alliance with the Duke of Cleves, but his expected one with Saxony and other German States. Norfolk went, but all his representations were in vain. Charles had not as yet thrown off his mask, and plainly said, as he did afterwards, that the promise made respecting Milan he never meant to fulfil; Francis, therefore, at this moment, was not to be moved, and the Duke returned to England by the end of February.

The Emperor, with his brother Ferdinand, King of the Romans, were then about to leave Brussels for Ghent. From the former city, on the 25th, Wyatt writes again, inclosing a letter respecting the affairs of Germany, where many false rumours were afloat as to his Majesty and his recent proceedings, and suggesting that a refutation, in German, should be dispersed.[3] Twelve days more only pass away, when by his next letter from Ghent, dated 9th of March, Wyatt hints that some designs were hatching between Charles and Francis against his master —that Ferdinand was advising the Duke of Cleves to submit to the Emperor, and it was said that the Duchess of Milan would then be given to *him* in marriage. He adds, however, that for a long time there had been an affection between her and the Prince of Orange, the son of Francis; congratulating Henry, at all events, on his escape from that princess.[4] On the 12th, he modifies this intelligence, by informing the King, that the countenance shewn to Cleves, was only a stroke of feigned policy, to separate him from the other German States, and reduce him to obedience.[5]

By this time, without any prospect of alliance with either of the great powers, what must have been the feelings of the haughty English monarch, as to his recent alliance with this petty German State; and more especially when, only two days after, tidings still more vexatious arrived!

On the 14th, Sir Thomas wrote to the following purport—"That the French King had communicated to the Emperor what the Duke of *Norfolk* had proposed to him, and what were his replies—that this token of amity had greatly delighted the Emperor, who had dreaded the effect of Norfolk's negotiation—that the amity between Charles and Francis still stood, without the Emperor's parting with Milan—that the Germans

[2] Herbert. [3] Harl. MS., No. 282, leaf 113. [4] Idem, 121. [5] Idem, 126.

were said to be about agreement with the Emperor; which, if concluded without comprehending his Majesty and the Duke of Cleves in the same, might prove prejudicial to them both, and especially to the Duke his ally—that a force of Spaniards and Italians were coming into Flanders, and that possibly the Pontiff and the Germans might be reconciled, if the former will own his power not to be absolute and usurped by Scripture, but taken as by consent."[6]

Had Sir Thomas sat down to *invent* a communication, he could scarcely have succeeded in sending one more unwelcome to his already discontented master. Some time also elapsed before Wyatt wrote again. But, in the meanwhile, no intelligence could be more acceptable to the gentlemen of the "old learning." And as Norfolk and Gardiner were now at the King's ear, and ever busy, no doubt the juncture was improved in practising on his feelings and apprehensions.

At last, however, by the 5th of April there was intelligence from Wyatt, and addressed to Crumwell, who, by this time, must have been more ill at ease than even his capricious master. The Pontiff, in needless anxiety, had written to the Emperor respecting his promised donation of Milan to the French; and Sir Thomas thinks the Emperor will never part with it, but spend the year in "practices" with the French, the Duke of Cleves, and others; while the Prince of Salerno, one of the chief persons from Naples, was desirous of proceeding into England to see the King."[7] Crumwell, of course, immediately despatched this letter to the King, and he received an instant reply, through Sadler, his secretary. His Majesty was relieved, and "liked well" this intelligence; and as Wyatt had expressed a wish to return home in company with this Italian, Henry approved of his coming, and ordered Mr. Richard Pate to be despatched as his successor.[8]

Here then was at least an opening for some change of policy. For years it had been Crumwell's aim to keep Henry and Charles apart, that he might, in alliance with France and the German States, pursue his own policy. Now, however, Henry was abundantly disgusted with Francis, and no less so with his German marriage; for all along his Majesty had not the slightest natural leaning towards these German Confederates, except for political purposes. Parliament and the Convocation were about to meet, when, with all accustomed form, Henry can easily relieve himself of his Queen; and as for the Emperor, we shall find the gentlemen from his court feasting at Westminster, even before this present Parliament is prorogued!

Foreign affairs had not been the only source of anxiety to both the King and Crumwell. During all this spring, matters

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[6] Harl. MS., No. 282, leaf 128.
[7] Idem, 243.
[8] Gov. State Papers, Sadler to Crumwell, i., p. 624.

at home had been proceeding from bad to worse. Bonner, who had returned from France in the early part of the year, and was now Bishop elect of London, yet still *professedly* eager to please Crumwell, had appointed three individuals to preach, during Lent, at Paul's Cross—Dr. Barnes, Thomas Garret, one of the first dispersers of Tyndale's New Testament, now Rector of All Hallows in Honey Lane, of both of whom we have often heard before, and William Jerome, Vicar of Stepney. Barnes was to commence on the first Sunday of Lent, or the 14th of February. Gardiner, however, now in high favour with Henry, sent a message to Bonner, his old acquaintance, and with whom he had quarrelled so bitterly in France, that he intended to preach there himself on *that* day, and this he accordingly did. "From an accomplished scholar," says Mr. Todd, "as Gardiner certainly was, one could hardly have expected such worthless oratory. It might indeed be intended as a sharp defiance to the men of the 'new learning,' though they must have despised it."

"I gathered my wits to me," he says, "called for grace, and determined to declare the gospel of the Sunday, containing the devil's three temptations, the matter whereof seemed to me very apt to be applied *to the time*, and good occasion to note the abuse of Scripture among *some*, as the devil abused it to Christ: which matter indeed I touched somewhat plainly, and, in my judgment, truly. Alluding to the temptation of the devil to Christ to cast himself downward, alleging Scripture that he should take no hurt—I said—Now-a-days the devil tempteth the world, and biddeth them cast themselves backward. There is no forward in the *new teaching*, but all backward. Now the devil teacheth—come back from fasting, come back from praying, come back from confession, come back from weeping for thy sins; and all is backward, insomuch as he must learn to say his Pater-Noster backward." Such was the puerile verbiage, first uttered, and afterwards printed, by this learned Bishop.[9]

A fortnight elapsed, when Barnes officiated at the same place, and taking the same text preached the opposite doctrine; but very foolishly descending also to low wit, he made some unhandsome references to Gardiner's person, and even played upon his name. Garret and Jerome also preached, but made no personal reflections on any man. The friends of Gardiner then complained to the King of the "insufferable arrogance" of the first preacher. His Majesty, interesting

[9] See "Declaration of such Articles as George Joye hath gone about to confute as false." Gardiner calls this "a part of his Sermon at Paul's Cross, the first Sunday of Lent, MDXXXIX." *i. e.* 14th February 1540; though mistaken by several authors for the previous year.

himself in the affair, called Barnes before him. He was overawed; signed a renunciation of the articles informed against him; confessed that he had overshot himself; and promised ever after to beware of such rashness. In this he was followed by Jerome and Garret.[10] Henry, however, commanded all the three to preach at the Spittle, and recant what they had said; while Barnes there in public, and in Gardiner's presence, must ask his forgiveness. This he did, on what they called "Low Sunday," or the 4th of April; but he, as well as the other two, having reasserted or justified in one part, what they recanted in another, his Majesty ordered them all to the Tower, there to await his decision.[11]

Barnes, for years in the confidence of Crumwell, had not only been before employed by him in Germany, but more recently in the ill assorted negotiations respecting Anne of Cleves.[12] It was, therefore, positively presumed, that the disgrace of the one, might bring the other into disrepute or suspicion, and the votaries of the old learning were indulging hopes of Crumwell's fall. So confident indeed were they, that his office of Vicar-General they had bestowed, by anticipation, on Tunstal Bishop of Durham, and that of Lord Privy Seal upon Clerk, Bishop of Bath. At this moment, however, they were completely mistaken in their calculations; nor is there one particle of evidence that such an idea had as yet entered into Henry's mind, as that of the destruction of Crumwell; and far less that he *ever* intended to have *another* Vicar-General, for he never had. On the contrary, Crumwell is just about to be raised still higher, and actually to have fresh honours and more power conferred upon him!

Upon Monday the 12th of April, Parliament was opened, where, for the first time, there was no Abbot or Prior present. After Audley, the Lord Chancellor, had addressed the House on civil affairs, Crumwell rose, as Vicar-general, and introduced a message from the King, lamenting the religious dissensions by which the country was still agitated;

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[10] Burnet. Records, iii., No. xii.

[11] This seems to have been a very busy day with Gardiner; for after this he must have been engaged at the consecration of *Bonner*. Yes, EDMUND BONNER, with whom he was so enraged in France!—See under 1538, p. 11. But as they were dear friends in 1536, so they will be again, at least as soon as Crumwell is removed out of the way.

[12] Constantyne's Memorial. Archæologia, xxiii., p. 57. Constantyne had met him immediately after his return, last August. "Doctor Barnes told me that my Lord Privy Seal would have had him tarried to have spoken with the King, but that he prayed license, because of his weariness."

so that neither the first "Articles" by Cranmer, nor the second by Gardiner, had produced either "peace" or "contentation." His Majesty, said Crumwell, "leaned neither to the right or left, neither to the *one* party, nor to the *other!*—but to remove or root out at once all evils, he had appointed two sets of prelates and doctors; one to reform the *tenets*, and the other the *ceremonies* of the Church!" In other words, they were to try and draw out another form of faith and practice for the people of England, to be imposed upon them once more. They were to sit three days entire in each week, and the half of the other three, and proceed with deliberation. The whole address, from such a man as the King, and to such a House, was literally nothing short of profanity; while amidst all, so strange was the mixture, the Scriptures themselves were not overlooked—his Majesty demanding the aid of both Houses to enact penalties against such as treated the Sacred Volume with irreverance, or explained rashly and erroneously the Holy Scriptures. From the men thus appointed by the King, we need scarcely add, that nothing save greater confusion and perplexity were the results. Their proceedings ended in the publication of what they styled "The necessary Erudition of a Christian Man," above two years after. It was a confused and heterogeneous compound, in which, says Burnet truly, "*both* parties found cause afterwards for both joy and sorrow."

On Wednesday the 14th, the Convocation assembled, and at the close, both Houses adjourned till Saturday the 17th, which was the last day in which the Vicar-general sat as Baron Crumwell.

It so happened that last month Henry had been deprived, by death, of two of his nobility. The first, Bourchier Earl of Essex, was killed by a fall from his horse, on the 12th of March; and within a week after, died "the great Chamberlain of England," Vere, Earl of Oxford; and as if my Lord Privy Seal and Vicegerent were not already overloaded with both honour and office, his Majesty had actually resolved to combine those of both men in the person of Crumwell![13] After Parliament rose therefore, on the 17th, or as Halle has it, next day the 18th, Sunday, Crumwell was not only created Earl of Essex, but appointed Great Chamberlain; and on Monday he entered the House of Lords, where his name stands at the head of the roll—"Vicesgerens Regius, *Thomas Essex* comes." The former Earl having died without heirs, the King gave him at the same time, *all* that fell to the Crown. He was now in possession of all his honours, which in number, if not in emolument, far exceeded even those of Wolsey!

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[13] "This shows," says Burnet, "that the true causes of Crumwell's fall must be found in some *other* thing than his making up the King's marriage; who had never thus raised his title, if by this time he had intended so soon to pull him down." Besides, in that affair, we have already seen how cautiously Crumwell proceeded at the outset, nor was he the only man to be implicated. When the King first saw him after being at Rochester, he cast the chief blame on the *Earl of Southampton*, and said, "when *he* found her so far short of what reports and pictures had made her, *he* should have *stayed her* at Calais, till he had given the King notice."

In one day he had come into most intimate intercourse with his Sovereign, and was almost immediately intrusted with state secrets. In 1531, he was knighted and made master of the King's jewel-house. In 1532, he became Chancellor of the Exchequer. In 1534, Principal Secretary of State, and Master of the Rolls. In 1535, not only Chancellor of Cambridge University, but Vicegerent and Vicar-general of England. In 1536, he was created a Baron, and appointed Lord Privy Seal, when he gave up one office, viz. the Rolls. In 1537, he was made a Knight of the Garter, Chief Justice of the Forests, and Dean of Wells; a military honour, a civil, and an ecclesiastical appointment, in one year! In 1538, he became Constable of Carisbrook Castle, and was appointed by Henry, Steward of Archbishop Cranmer's Liberties and Master of his game. To all these must now be added, the honour of an Earldom, and the office of Great Chamberlain. By this time he was possessed of property in at least eight counties, viz. in Middlesex and Essex, in Sussex and Kent, in Rutland and Leicester, Norfolk and Warwickshires. There are said to have been about thirty manors and large estates; they were rewards from the King, in 1534 and during the last five years in succession; forming a goodly proportion of the spoil from the suppressed Monasteries.

Possessed of eminent talents for business, Crumwell was equally distinguished for sagacity in managing it; but with regard to himself personally, as that sagacity gradually forsook him, he stands out as one of the most conspicuous proofs in English history of the blinding influence of ambition. How could any man stand in slippery places, so loaded with titles, and offices, and wealth? Did he intend to be the only figure among ciphers? Why could he not have declined the ensnaring proffers of his capricious Master, influenced, as he must have seen him to be, only by the moment? But no; never does he appear to have refused either honour or emolument, although the half of all he held, might, in these times, have plunged an abler man into ruin.

But what, it may be inquired, could possibly be Henry's object, in conferring fresh honours upon his Vicegerent at *present?* Although this never appears to have been pointed out, it may be conjectured if not ascertained from the *use* which the King had made of him all along. Before Crumwell's elevation, but more especially since, his Majesty had been torn by two contending passions, avarice and prodigality. They seldom meet in the same breast; but in his royal Master they reigned predominant, and were alike insatiable. He came to the throne the richest Sovereign in Europe; for his father, proverbially distinguished as the most sordid prince who ever sat on the throne of England, had left him an immense sum.[14] In the days of his youth, Wolsey's example,

[14] Rapin has stated that eighteen hundred thousand *pounds* sterling, were found in his father's

his cupidity, and companionship, instructed the jovial monarch into all the delights, and the mystery of spending. The fortune left him was soon dissipated, when the great talents of the Cardinal had to be exerted in procuring large exactions, or "benevolences," from the laity. The ingenuity of Wolsey, in this line, was literally exhausted at the moment of his fall. Crumwell, bred under his eye, and already skilled in the art of dealing with monasteries and their suppression, did not fail to perceive what was fitted, not only to dissolve the royal prejudices against himself personally, for they were very strong, but even to entrance the thirsty monarch. There was wealth lying before his Majesty, it might have been presumed, more than sufficient for any one King to spend throughout a long reign; but the difficulty of reaching property which had been held for ages to be sacred and inviolable, must have seemed insuperable to almost every man. Henry, however, had arrogated to himself a new *title*, and one which his subjects had been constrained to acknowledge as a sacred one. All-ambiguous as it was, and involving vast claims, it conveyed not only additional power, but a new *species* of power, unknown to any other sovereign. At the moment of its assumption, indeed, the daring and tyrannical monarch could scarcely dream that this new and highly-prized title, might not only gratify his love of power, but fill his exchequer; yet having once assumed authority over the minds, as well as the bodies of his subjects, he stood ready for the suggestions of any man who should say—"What signifies property, if your Majesty may not appropriate this also to your own use?" The title of "Supreme Head of the Church of England" was valued by Crumwell chiefly as being able to gather to itself immense wealth. Thus, while Henry, bereaved of his Cardinal, stood, like a second Midas, still wishing that all he could touch might turn into gold, Crumwell craved an audience; and after having actually shed tears of despair down at Esher, within twenty-four hours, as men say, he had made his fortune. His Majesty never, it is true, made a companion of him as he had made of Wolsey; on the contrary, he would fall out with him, and chide severely; but from the day that he was first made Master of the King's *Jewel*-house, nay, and before then, down to his last honours, *money* was the one grand object which his Majesty had in view by the employment of Crumwell.

We have therefore only to glance at the present state of affairs and the royal purposes. Though the monasteries had been dissolved, and most of the spoil had come in; and although only last year, or eleven months ago, the King had solemnly promised, in so many words, "that for the benefit and ease of the subject, he never afterwards, in *any* time to come,

coffers. Other historians have restricted the amount to *marks*. Either sum was immense. If the latter only, it was equal to eighteen millions of our present coin, but if the former it was equal to twenty-seven millions sterling!

should be charged with subsidies, fifteenths, loans, or other common aids!" Yet is he absolutely now about to ask for money from Parliament once more; nay, and let it be specially observed, from the *Bishops* in Convocation too! This was sufficiently audacious; but where was the man who had the face to come to both Houses, and so soon, upon such a subject? Here was Crumwell. There had been none like him in all England for gathering supplies. Already he was Vicar-general; and after the recent conduct of the Bishops, he must have been even more than gratifyed in carrying *such* a message to the Convocation; and as for the House of Lords—give him a higher place there. Let him walk in as an Earl, and "Great Chamberlain" to boot, and he will be ready to say or to do anything.

Nor was this all; if Crumwell does not become more intoxicated, or overbearing by his elevation, and altogether forget himself, there was much business yet to be accomplished, which he could dexterously overtake, and sooner than any other man; so that should he fall, there must be a pause in the cry of "Give, give." "There were still a great many tempting morsels in the hands of Churchmen, which were full as liable to seizure as the monastic lands; such were collegiate churches, hospitals, chantries, free chapels, guilds, &c., which were all endowed, and were capable of furnishing the exchequer with an immense sum;" nay, and close at hand, there was a very large mouthful, in the priory and possessions of the Knights of St. John. In short, the position and intentions of the ever-craving Monarch fully explain the mystery of the Earldom. The Chamberlainship gave him still higher standing in the King's household, and the Earldom in the House of Lords. Together, they formed a retaining fee, and the Earl proceeded to business.

Thus, only four days after his elevation, or Thursday the 22d of April, he introduced a bill into Parliament for the suppression of the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem, once styled the Knights of Rhodes, and now the Knights of Malta. They were the last remnant of Monachism, having large property not only in England but at Kilmainham in Ireland, and had firmly refused to dissolve their community. In the House of Lords, their prior sat immediately after the abbots, and above the lay barons. The pensions given after the dissolution of abbeys and monasteries were, in most instances, but small, in comparison of the property obtained; but as more than three thousands annually were assigned to this body, it is evident that the property must have been of great value. This bill, which was again before the House on the 26th, was read the third time on the 29th of April. To Sir William Weston, the last prior, out of the sum referred to, a thousand pounds annually had been awarded; but as he died on the 5th of May, only a few days after the bill had passed, "soul-smitten with sorrow," says Fuller, and never received a farthing, here was an annual thousand more to the King.

Before Parliament opened, too, in order to allay the clamours of the people, to attach them to his interest, and bring them to some cordiality as to the dissolution of the monasteries, Crumwell had advised his Majesty to immediately sell the Abbey lands at twenty years' purchase; so that, on the 12th of March, he had been put in commission, with others, for this end.[15] But, still, all that had been done in the way of confiscation would not suffice for his Majesty's present demands; and now, therefore, with a kind of wild desperation, the Earl entered at once upon still more dangerous and exasperating ground.

It was only four days after this last bill had passed, or on the 3d of May, that Crumwell proceeded with the business of the Crown, and came to the House, demanding an enormous subsidy. It was not less than "four-tenths and fifteenths, besides *ten* per cent. on their income from lands, and five per cent. on their goods from the laity." Again, on Wednesday, Parliament not sitting, Crumwell, as Vicar-general, went to the Convocation, and there demanded "a grant of two-tenths and *twenty* per cent. on their incomes for two years."[16] Here, then, in both Houses, was room sufficient for the loudest murmuring and discontent. The *proposer* of such unprecedented demands, and in a time of *peace*, had overshot even his old master, Wolsey, and was preparing himself for that burst of joy and indignation which must certainly overtake him, should he chance to fall. Referring to the subsidy from Parliament, says Lord Herbert, "this exorbitant demand laid on by Crumwell, gained him an universal hatred among the people, and was one reason of his sudden fall after it," though he was only obeying orders. Ah! but it was not the people only who were exasperated, for they could not have reached him. He had entered the Convocation, too, and *there* demanded a subsidy; and though Henry may continue to make such demands, Crumwell, the Vicar-general, never shall again. "The Convocation," says Lingard, "continued to be summoned, but its legislative authority was *gone*. Its principal business was to grant money; yet even these grants now owed their force, not to the *consent* of the granters, but to the approbation of the other two Houses, and the assent of the Crown. The first instance I find was in 1540." It *was* the first, and, at the same time, Crumwell's *last* demand. He *carried* both subsidies, the chief pretext being the expenses which had been incurred by building forts along the sea-coast, and repairing fortifications which had fallen into decay.

On Saturday, the 8th, in the House of Lords, so far as they were concerned, the subsidy had been settled; and, on the same day, we find

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15 Rymer's Fœdera, xiv., p. 653.

16 Wilkin's Concil., 850, 863, Stat. of Realm, iii., 812. Burnet and other historians have stated this subsidy at no more than one-tenth and a fifteenth from the Commons, and two-tenths from the Convocation.

a bill of permutation, or exchange of some property, between the King and Crumwell, had been brought in and read a first time, so that every thing seemed to be proceeding successfully—BUT—next morning arrived, and what is this? For some cause or another, his Majesty is now seriously offended, and this is the first positive intimation. It was only three weeks since he had heaped honour upon the man; he has, since then, carried through money matters, of which, perhaps, no one else would have risked even the suggestion; and, besides, this is *Sunday*. No matter, Henry must write immediately, and here is his letter:—

"Henry R. By the King.

"Right trusty and right well-beloved Cousin, we greet you well; signifying to you our pleasure and commandment is, that forthwith, and upon receipt of these our letters, setting all other affairs apart, ye do repair unto Us, for the treaty of such great and weighty matters, as whereupon doth consist the *surety of your person, the preservation of our honour*, and the *tranquillity and quietness* of you and all other our loving and faithful subjects, like as at your arrival here, ye shall more plainly perceive and understand. And that ye fail not hereof, as We specially trust you. Given under our Signet, at our Manor of Westminster, the 9th day of May."[17]

It is singular that the *first precise cause* of offence, so strongly marked in this letter, has never transpired; though, after this, it must be evident that Crumwell could not have passed one easy hour. Still, upon Monday, the Earl appeared among the Lords as usual, when his bill of permutation with the King was read and passed; but the very next day Parliament was *prorogued* till the 25th of May, and this was ominous. On Wednesday, however, the *Vicar-General* attended Convocation, and *finished* the business of the subsidy there also.

The displeasure felt all around, on account of these enormous levies, joined with the displeasure of the King, which must have soon been whispered, furnished, during the recess, a fine opportunity for getting up the bill of accusations against Crumwell, which, no doubt, was skilfully improved; but Tuesday the 25th arrived, Parliament sat, and the Earl was there as before! Bills of attainder without any trial, according to the shocking precedent which Crumwell himself had introduced last year, were passed again and again in this Parliament, against a number of individuals; and now, at last, he is himself about to become the victim of his own measure; though still, every day, or as duly as the House assembled, *there* was the Earl, and so, generally speaking, was Cranmer. Thus it happened on Thursday the 10th of June, and after Parliament adjourned at Westminster, there was a meeting of the Privy Council; Crumwell was present, but not Cranmer. The Duke of Nor-

[17] Cotton MS., Titus, B. i., 406. *Original.* Signed by *Stamp*, which may have been intended as a mark of indignity, or farther proof of displeasure.

folk and his party were now ready. The Duke, for particular reasons then high in the King's favour,[18] preferred against the falling Minister the charge of high treason. His despotic Majesty, of course, had been consulted, and had concurred; and, therefore, Audley, as Lord Chancellor, having arrested him, he was forthwith conducted as a prisoner to the Tower.[19] Thus the man who had sat so high in Parliament in the morning, by three o'clock was regarded as a traitor, and is said to have been even insulted on his way to the Tower in the afternoon!

That very night one party "banqueted and triumphed together, many wishing that that day had been seven years before; while some, fearing lest he should escape, though imprisoned, could not be merry. But others, who knew nothing but truth by him, both lamented and heartily prayed for him."[20]

The step thus taken has been long very loosely ascribed to Henry's recent marriage; but that event could *never, of itself*, have led to this. Crumwell would have outlived that vexation of his royal Master, by at once putting an end to it. A better key to the secret may be found. Serving a capricious monarch, sometimes pleased and soon angry, the eager and too ambitious servant must have been often at a stand. His own course was erratic. To pull down an ambitious man with safety suddenly, Lord Bacon has said, that the only way is the *interchange* continually of favours and disgraces, whereby he may not know what to expect, and be, as it were, in a *wood*. Now although Henry, it is most probable, had no fixed intention only a month since, it is certain that Crumwell had been first in favour then in disgrace, or first elevated, then depressed, as his Majesty had both smiled and frowned, in the short compass of three weeks. No wonder, then, if Crumwell had found himself before now, but especially of late, "as it were, in a wood." Too much elated by the favour of the King, his arrogance, in the possession of so much power and authority seems to have increased. He has been said to have treated all the men of the old learning, whether clergy or nobility with equal haughtiness, and even the Duke of Norfolk, his chief rival, he had threatened with the royal displeasure. Though, therefore,

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[18] Henry was about to be married to his *niece*, Katharine Howard.

[19] Lords' Journal, June 10, and of this Parl. 27°. "*Hodie* Vicesgerens Regius supradictus, Comes Essex, in hora pomeridiana, per Dominum Cancellarium et alios dominos de Arcano Domini nostri Regis Consilio, ex Palatio Regio Domini Regis Westm. hora tertia pomeridiana, super accusationem criminis *Læsæ Majestatis*, missus est in Arcem Londinens." p. 143. There have been few points on which historians have been so at variance as the *day* of Crumwell's arrest. Tytler and Lingard are correct; but Halle, Stow, Herbert, Foxe, Burnet, Collier, Mackintosh, and others, not only differ among themselves, but all are wrong. And what is curious enough, even in the new edition of Foxe, after having corrected the mistake, vol. v., p. 398, the editor, in a note, p. 461, inadvertently nullifies his own correction, by supposing that Crumwell sat in the House of Lords till the 18th! The fact is, that his name remained on the *roll* till the day after his attainder, when it was struck off; but he is no day marked *p.* present, after the 10th of June. Nor is this confusion as to dates during this year, in these last mentioned historians, confined to one. It would require a page to rectify it. In the text we have followed throughout, implicitly, the Journal of the House of Lords, in which, however, it requires to be observed, that on some pages there is a misprint of 1539 for 1540.

[20] Halle.

the immediate occasion of Crumwell's arrest has never been pointed out, it may now be very safely, if not clearly traced, to certain Bishops, headed by his Grace of Norfolk.

About the month of August last year, Crumwell had been incensed by one of these men, Richard Sampson, Bishop of Chichester, as playing false with the King, having a secret favour for the Roman Pontiff, with special good will to the old learning and all its ceremonies. Correspondence and personal communications had passed between them, but up to the day of his own arrest, the tokens of Crumwell's displeasure had not been removed. The fact was, that the Bishop, in company with Dr. Nicholas Wilson, he had committed to the Tower.[21] There, in trouble and dejection, if not fear of his life, Sampson had made certain disclosures—confessing a combination between himself, Tunstal Bishop of Durham, and Stokesly of London, lately deceased. They were to do their utmost to preserve the old doctrines with all their appendages. Upon this, Crumwell made no scruple to charge Tunstal with what he had heard; but he denied it. On Monday the 7th of June therefore, only three days before the arrest, Dr. Peter and a Mr. Bellows, were sent to Sampson to signify this, on which he sat down, and in writing addressed to Crumwell an ample and decided confirmation of all he had confessed. To refresh Tunstal's memory, if not confound him, Sampson pointed distinctly to a certain period, when they, the Bishops, were busy with the Germans and *the Bishop's Book;* he described graphically the doings of both Stokesly and himself—repeating that "Tunstal will not say otherwise, but that he, and the late Bishop of London were fully bent to maintain as many of the old usages as they might, and so they said it was necessary to do." Here, in short, were the authors of "the Book of Ceremonies," to which we referred last year. But this was not the whole confession now. "Winchester," said Sampson, "was not *then* here, but the encouragement *he* had given him *was now, lately*,"—"not to fear to help things forward, for the King's Highness was very good Lord in them." Gardiner wished him to be diligent in ceremonies and to *leave none*. Heath, too, whom Gardiner had just consecrated Bishop of Rochester, had turned, and was of the same mind. In short, "Winchester told him that they were all of one mind, very few excepted."[22]

To be thwarted in Parliament as to their Book of Ceremonies had been grievous enough, but to have its secret history thus fully exposed to Crumwell, was more vexatious still. Tunstal and Gardiner, in their true characters, stood fully before him. Now, all this happened on Monday, or only three days before the arrest.

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[21] Wilson's is the last signature to the Convocation articles of 1536. He was Arch-deacon of Oxford, and afterwards belonged to the curious old church of Wimborne Minster in Dorsetshire. Both he and Sampson were notorious watchers on the times.

[22] Cotton MS., Cleop. E. v., p. 300; or see Strype, App. No. xciii.

By this moment, Henry was sick of all confabulation about Germany; being secretly, and to his dying day, a votary of the old ceremonies. The niece of Norfolk had caught his eye; while the alleged *treason and mal-administration* of Crumwell were poured into his ear; and these were charges to which his Majesty at this moment was all alive. Meanwhile, the new-made Earl had already secured the subsidies, and would now inherit all the odium, or like the scape-goat carry it away from the King. After such a pointed written disclosure on Monday, no wonder if high words, for the last time, had again escaped from Crumwell on Tuesday or Wednesday; and on Thursday he was laid low.

Next day the event was known to all, when the time-servers were busy in changing sides. Among others, Bonner, formerly *so* compliant, *so* zealous for the Scriptures and full of promise, when at Paris, who had been solely indebted for his elevation to the unhappy prisoner in the Tower, had already wheeled round. "As soon as ever Crumwell fell, the very next day he shewed his ingratitude, and how nimbly he turned with the wind. For Grafton, the printer, (so intimate with Bonner in France,) meeting him, said, he was very sorry for the news he had heard of Crumwell's being sent to the Tower. Bonner answered, 'It had been good he had been despatched long ago.' So the other shrunk away, perceiving the change that was in him."[23]

In short, of all the friends that once so courted the friendship of Thomas Crumwell, there was only one solitary individual left, and this was Cranmer; at least he was the only man who said any thing at the moment. The certainty seems to be, that Cranmer was not present when Crumwell was arrested; that he heard this day, at the Privy Council, the grounds of his arrestment, and on the morrow, or Saturday, sent his letter to the King.[24] The following fragment, as given by Lord Herbert from the original, is all that remains :—

"I heard yesterday in your Grace's Council, that he (Crumwell) is a traitor; yet who cannot be sorrowful and amazed that he should be a traitor against your Majesty? He that was so advanced by your Majesty; he whose surety was only by your Majesty; he who loved your Majesty, as I ever thought, no less than God; he who studied always to set forwards *whatsoever* was your Majesty's will and pleasure; he that cared for no man's displeasure to serve your Majesty; he that was such a servant, in my judgment, in wisdom, diligence, faithfulness and experience, as no Prince in this realm ever had; he that was vigilant to preserve your Majesty from all treasons, that few could be so secretly conceived, but he detected the same in the beginning. If the noble Princes of memory, King John, Henry the Second, and Richard II., had

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[23] Burnet.

[24] Herbert, mistaking the day of arrestment for the 13th, supposes this letter to have been written next day or Monday. But the day of arrest is certain; and as Cranmer says, *yesterday I heard*, &c., it is evident he had not been present, but hearing of the arrest on Friday, he wrote next day.

had such a counsellor about them, I suppose that they should never have been so traitorously abandoned and overthrown, as those good princes were: .....

"I loved him as my friend, for so I took him to be; but I chiefly loved him for the love which I thought I saw him bear ever towards your Grace, singularly above all other. But now, if he be a traitor, I am sorry that ever I loved him or trusted him, and I am very glad that his treason is discovered in time; but yet again I am very sorrowful; for who shall your Grace trust hereafter, if you might not trust him? Alas! I bewail and lament your Grace's chance herein, I wot not whom your Grace may trust. But I pray God continually night and day, to send such a counsellor, in his place, whom your Grace may trust, and who for all his qualities can and will serve your Grace like to him, and that will have so much solicitude and care to preserve your Grace from all dangers as I ever thought he had."

This letter has been described as remarkable for its "very earnest and persuasive" tone; but in truth this fragment conveys no request whatever on behalf of Crumwell; and if any was made, the communication, as addressed to such a man as Henry, was not likely to operate in his favour. The remark made as to Cranmer's letter respecting Anne Boleyn, is not less applicable here. The alternative is put in such a style as to prove injurious; the "*but now*, and *if*," were, at such a moment, almost fatal to any escape, or equal to acquiescence. The quick eye of the Monarch, already incensed, would at once fix on certain expressions—He is "*very glad*," he says, "that his *treason* has been discovered in time,"—nay he only heard *yesterday*, and is already "praying night and day that God would send such a counsellor *in his place!*" Taken all in all, to say the least, this was by no means the judicious effusion of a friend "born for adversity," or bent on fair dealing.

It was on the day after his arrest, or Friday the 11th, that Crumwell underwent his *first* examination. Though denied the benefit of a public trial before his Peers, he seems to have been confronted with at least one accuser, in presence of certain members of the Privy Council; and having thus far ascertained the accusations against him, the next day he sent his first letter to the King, dated "Saturday, at your Tower of London."[25] Even this, however, he had not presumed to do without a direct message from his Majesty, through the "Controller" of his household; requesting him to write "whatever he thought meet concerning his most miserable state and condition."[26]

Taken in connexion with the history through which we have passed, this letter enables us to penetrate so far into the secrets of the cabal

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[25] The date is fixed by internal evidence, from the style in which he refers to *last Sunday*, or the 6th of June, which was the last in which he was at large; and as he also alludes to his examination, it must have occurred the day before.

[26] The messenger sent was likely to be regarded as the forerunner of certain death, if the Comptroller was no other than the often-dreaded Sir William Kingston, Constable of the Tower! The very same man whose appearance instantly struck death into the heart of Cardinal Wolsey, and who so treated Anne Boleyn. He was yet alive, but died this year, about three months after Crumwell. He had been Governor or Constable of the Tower from 1524 to 1540, and was succeeded by Sir John Gage.

against Crumwell, as well as the charges preferred at first against him. Treason was the *first;* Injustice to the commonwealth, by winking at combinations, conventicles, or such as were offenders against the laws, was the *second;* Disclosing a state secret, which, in fact, was nothing more than that Henry had resolved to divorce his Queen! was the *third.* This appears to have been the whole count on this first day; and the letter sent takes them all up, in order. The three charges he denies, though in a style which it is painful to read. His imprecations on himself, if any one of these imputations were true, are not only so frequent, but so dreadful, that as in all such cases, one is at a loss to know whether they were well founded or not. At the same time, the most serious charge, that of *treason,* so far as it was now laid, appears to have been base, hollow, and incredible. In rebutting it, one or two singular circumstances are disclosed.

It will be remembered, that in the year 1536, by Crumwell's own suggestion, a Court was formed, styled "the Court of Augmentations," to register and secure the enormous sums coming in to the Crown, by the suppression of monasteries. Here, it was affirmed, the treason had been uttered or disclosed, and apparently in the summer of 1537. Why then was not the present witness seized for concealment? Better men had fallen in these days for no other crime. But who turns out to be the accuser? It was no other than a man already famous, or rather infamous, for ensnaring state prisoners. Richard Rich, the Chancellor of this very Court. The blood of Sir Thomas More, if not also of Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, was already upon him. He it was who at least ensnared them both in one day; so that Henry's Council had taken advantage of Rich's baseness before now; though still it is remarkable, that the first insinuations against Crumwell should have been laid in the very Court which he had himself established.[27] Rich, in his allegation, referred to another person, named Frogmorton, for so Throgmorton was then often spelt; but *he,* very conveniently, could not be present, either to confirm or deny the statement. If this was Michael Throgmorton, of whom we have before heard, a gentleman of family, the confidential agent and friend of Cardinal Pole, he was distant as far as Italy. He had re-visited England in very critical circumstances, as we have already seen, and used to make it his high boast, ever after, that he had then deceived or outwitted both Crumwell and Sir Richard Moryson in his employ.[28] If this indeed be the man, for we can find no other, Rich, in

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27 See vol. i. p. 480. Richard Rich, who had been Speaker of the Commons, was Solicitor-General, as well as Chancellor of Augmentations. Afterwards created Baron Rich of Leeze, he became Lord Chancellor, and was ever noted as a persecutor. Burnet, and even Strype, confound him with Sir John Baker, the Attorney-General, a different man, who was Chancellor, *not* of Augmentations, but of the "tenths and first-fruits;" and was not even appointed to this office till after Crumwell's death, or the 3d of August.—*Rymer's Fœdera,* xiv., p. 702.

28 See vol. i., pp. 528-530. Throgmorton had been attainted for treason in December 1538.

the wickedness of his heart, well knew that he was now touching Henry's tender toe. Any thing in the slightest connexion with Pole, or any friend of his, put him at once into a rage. No supposition, however, could be more preposterous, than that the shrewd, though fallen minister, should then especially utter one word, or do a single thing, bordering on treason against his royal Master; much less in presence of either Rich or Throgmorton. But what does Crumwell himself say in reply? We except the imprecations—

"And now, most gracious Prince, to the matter. First, where I have been accused to your Majesty of treason. To that I say, I never, in all my life, thought willingly to do that thing that might or should displease your Majesty. Mine accusers your Grace knoweth; God forgive them. Most Gracious Sovereign Lord, to my remembrance, *I never spake with the Chancellor of the Augmentations and Throgmorton together, at one time; but if I did, I am sure I spake never of any such matter.* And your Grace knoweth what manner of man Throgmorton hath ever been, ever towards your Grace and your proceedings; and what Master Chancellor hath been towards me, God and he best knoweth. I will ne can (neither) accuse him. What I have been towards him, your Majesty right well knoweth. I would to Christ I had obeyed your often most gracious grave counsels and advertisements; then it had *not* been with me, as now it is."[29]

With regard to the second charge, Crumwell speaks in measured language, but as for revealing Henry's mighty secret, this he pointedly refutes. The minute style in which Crumwell dwells on this, the intended dismissal of the Queen, only shows what a fastidiously tyrannical being, and capricious even to childishness, his Master was. There was not a single courtier, nor even any of the people who cared one straw about the matter, who were not anticipating what he actually did so soon. To call it a secret was ridiculous.

This first examination, therefore, if intended chiefly to ensnare, which it probably was, seems to have failed of its effect. But it was only a preliminary step to a far broader bill of attainder, without the trouble

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[29] Cotton MS., Titus, B. i., fol. 267, *original*, and printed in Ellis' Letters, second series, vol. ii., p. 163-4. Michael Throgmorton, or Throckmorton, (a younger branch of one of the most ancient existing families in England, traced up by Dugdale to the middle of the 12th century, and to this day the stedfast adherents of Rome,) was the second son of Sir Robert Throgmorton of Coughton, in Warwickshire, who died in a pilgrimage to Jerusalem in 1520—this son, then a youth, being at Florence. He remained in Italy throughout life, and fifteen years afterwards became a devoted adherent of Cardinal Pole. In consequence of this, as already noticed, he and Friar Peyto had been attainted for eighteen months past; and as the mother of Peyto was a Throgmorton, they may have been related. In the chancel of the little church at Ullenhall, in Warwickshire, there is a monument for Throgmorton's son, on which the following inscription was cut, as preserved by Dugdale—"Here lieth the body of Francis Throgmorton, born in Mantua, son of Michael Throgmorton and Agnes Hede—which Michael had lived many years in Italy, in good and great reputation, with bountiful hospitality, entertaining most of the noblemen and gentlemen in England, in the very beginning of Queen Mary's reign—and received of her gift the manors of Honiley, Blackwell, Packhurst, Winderton, Ullenhall, and others, by letters patent. He is buried in St. Martin's Church in Mantua," having died on the 1st of November 1558.—*Dugdale's Warwickshire*, pp. 749, 818.

of any farther inquiry, which was brought into Parliament on Thursday the 17th. Cranmer, who had been in the House of Lords every day they sat since the 10th, was *not* now present; but the Earl of Southampton entered and took his seat, and as *Lord Privy Seal!* The bill, therefore, was but a mere form, in usual style, and Crumwell's certain disgrace, if not death, was now apparent to all. On Saturday this bill was read the second and third times, when Cranmer *was* present, and, by his silence, acquiesced. It was then sent down to the Commons, where, however, there must have been some hesitation or objections, as it remained there for ten days. In the end, having drawn out another bill, they sent both up on the 29th. The Lords, more zealous than ever, accepted the bill sent up, and having read it three times at one sitting, the King also assented on the *same* day.

Envied by the nobility, hated by all the clergy, whether secular or regular, and now, in consequence of these enormous subsidies, by many of the Commons, this bill afforded the long-sought opportunity for displaying the meanest and most ungenerous hatred. Against a man, so loaded with office, and so engrossed in all public affairs, it was an easy task to draw out a bill of attainder sufficiently long. Not that Crumwell was such a notorious offender, compared with his accusers. To a man they had all sinned, as far as their more limited sphere allowed; and proceeded with, after the same fashion, few, if any of them, could have escaped with their heads on their shoulders. But Crumwell's day was come, and these men took special care to vent all their spleen against him. They rated him as "a man of very base and low degree," who had "released persons convicted of misprision of treason"—had "misused manifold sums of money"—had "appointed many to be commissioners in urgent affairs, and granted passports to others, without the royal assent"—and who, they repeat, "though a person of as poor and low a degree as few be within this realm, did declare that he was sure of the King." He was, besides, "a detestable heretic, and encourager of heresy"—"had acquired by oppression, bribery, extort, and power, innumerable sums of money and treasure"—and "being so enriched, hath had the nobles of the realm in great disdain, derision, and detestation, as by express words, by him most opprobriously spoken, doth appear."

Their bill having passed, and the King assented, the very next day, no doubt, these men were ready for Crumwell's execution, and would have rejoiced in it; but he is not to die for a month to come. On Henry's part there must have been some wavering; at least he had sent Audley, the Lord Chancellor, the Duke of Norfolk, and Lord Russel, (whose life, by the way, Crumwell had once saved when abroad,) with a message to the Tower, informing the prisoner of the bill having passed, and inquiring once more into circumstances connected with the

last marriage. From the minute reply sent next day, or the last of June, it appears that his Majesty had sent Crumwell money, and this seems to have either encouraged the hope of life, or led him to plead the more earnestly for it. At the same time he says—

"Sir, upon my knees I most humbly beseech your gracious Majesty to be good and gracious lord to my poor son, the good and virtuous woman his wife, (actually the sister of Henry's *last Queen*, Jane Seymour,) and their poor children, and also to my servants; and this I desire of your Grace for Christ's sake." He closes in the following terms—"Written at the Tower this Wednesday, the last of June, with the heavy heart, and trembling hand, of your Highness' most heavy and most miserable prisoner, and poor slave, Thomas Crumwell. Most gracious Prince, I cry for mercy, mercy, mercy!"[30]

For four weeks from this date did Crumwell remain in a state of suspense, while at least two other letters had been addressed by him to the King. According to Foxe, in reference to the first of these, on applying to one of the commissioners to convey it, he refused, saying, that "he would carry no letter to the King from a traitor." Crumwell then inquired if he would convey a *message*, when he assented, on condition of its not being contrary to his allegiance. Upon this, Crumwell appealing to the other Lords present as to the promise, and turning to the man, only said—"You shall commend me to the King, and tell him, by the time he hath so well tried and thoroughly proved you, as I have done, *he shall find you as false a man as ever came about him.*" If this was not the Duke of Norfolk, who had so shamefully dissembled and deceived him, it must have been Chancellor Rich, the Solicitor-General, and a Privy Counsellor. The other letter was conveyed by Ralph Sadler, in former days a clerk of Crumwell's, whose fortune he had made; a letter which it is said Henry commanded to be read to him three times.

The sphere in which the fallen minister had moved, was vastly more extensive than that of any of his fellow courtiers; and his temptations being, therefore, more numerous, the ambiguity and inconsistency of his character become at last quite confounding: but still, compared with others, equally servants of the King, and near his person, it may be allowed that, *proportionally*, Crumwell was not worse than they. And now, considering that he was a man who unquestionably had been of immense service to his Majesty, during by far the most critical period of his reign—that he had come to his master's aid, at a moment when he was greatly at a loss—that he had been his chief counsellor and stay, in many an exigency—and that, but for his holding such a tight and steady rein, Henry himself might have fallen a sacrifice to the monks or

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[30] Cotton MS., Titus, B. 1., fol. 267. This letter, though given by Burnet as complete, is very defective, as well as incorrect. The omissions have been pointed out by Sir Henry Ellis. See "Original Letters," second series, ii., p. 160. See also Otho, c. x., 241-246.

friars—surely some consideration was demanded, and some pity for the man's life, who pled so fearfully for mercy at his hands. But we should greatly mistake, if we imagined that the King was much moved, or rather at all affected, by all that had occurred. On the contrary, from May downwards, nay, and during those very weeks of Crumwell's misery, he was displaying the outrageous and increasing grossness of his character, as well as all its heartless gaiety.

In the prospect of destroying Anne Boleyn, it may be remembered, he must hold a tilt and tournament at Greenwich. So now, at Westminster, as late as the first week in May, he had been feasting sumptuously with his *Queen*, Anne of Cleves, and all the Lords, on the very eve of her divorce, and while that Parliament was sitting, which would soon, with all due form, settle the business! This feasting, too, was at the close of a royal joust, tournament, and barriers, given by certain knights.[31] Nor must these valiant knights pass unrewarded for all their foolery; and therefore large portions of the lands belonging to the knights of St. John, were absolutely given away to divers of these noble cavaliers.[32] That priory, as we have seen, had been confiscated on the 29th of April, or only two days before the joust began! It was on its last day, or the 5th of May, that Sir William Weston the prior died of grief! It was during their three days' play, or on the 3d of May, that Crumwell, in Parliament and Convocation, was busy in procuring his *income*-tax, or those enormous subsidies, under the odium of which he at last sunk; and once sunk, Henry proceeded immediately with the divorce. His last inquiries sent to the attainted Crumwell had this alone in view; after which the Parliament instantly went on to display its accustomed servility. Let the following scene bear witness.

On Tuesday, the 6th of July, his Majesty's ministers, no doubt under orders, having consulted the House of Lords on his situation, they, with the Commons, *petitioned* their Sovereign to allow the Convocation to *try* the validity of his marriage, and adjourned for two days to afford time; Henry having profanely replied—"that there was nothing he held dearer than the glory of God, the good of the commonwealth, and the declaration of truth!" Cranmer, who had performed the marriage ceremony, concurred with this proposal, and was one of the commission appointed. Stephen Gardiner expounded the matter in order to the Convocation, informing the assembly that his Majesty had never given his *inward* consent! Among the disgusting details, poor Crumwell's letter from the Tower was produced in evidence! The Bishops, with their underlings, were then *unanimous*, and presenting the sentence of nulli-

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[31] Sirs Thomas Seymour, John Dudley, George Carew, Thomas Poynings, Anthony Kyngstone, (as cruel a man as his father, Sir William,) and *Richard Crumwell*, alias Williams, the nephew of Crumwell himself! Harry Howard, the Earl of Surry, is also said to have been present. They kept open house at Durham Place from the first to the fifth of May, and feasted the King and Queen, and all the Lords.—*Halle.* [32] Lord Herbert's H. VIII.

fication on the 9th, next day Cranmer reported to the House of Lords, that the marriage which he had celebrated was contrary to the law of both God and man; when they sent *him* and Gardiner down to the Commons to report the same! Overcome with fear, for it could not be argument, Cranmer consented with all the rest. The dread of Crumwell's doom might be before his eyes. The Commons also having given their assent, not an hour was now to be lost, as the King's business demanded haste. The very next day, therefore, being *Sunday*, Norfolk, Southampton, and Gardiner were at Richmond, busy enough in labouring to secure the Queen's consent, nay, her approbation! They assigned to her £3000 annually, with the palace of Richmond as her residence; but this income was to depend on her living in England, and as the King's *sister*. In conclusion, she agreed literally to everything proposed, and, as it is well known, lived in this country till her death, seventeen years after.[33]

The whole of this drama, however, becomes a farce, when it is once observed that it had been all arranged, even before that Henry was *petitioned* by the Parliament! "All the parts of it were cast, three days before, at the Privy Council, who communicated them to Clerk, Bishop of Bath, in a despatch of the 3d of July."[34] But it was even more extraordinary, that this Bishop had left England by the end of *June*, to inform the Duke of Cleves of the King's purpose respecting his sister; nay, and before going to the Duke, he was to take Bruges on his way, where the Emperor then was, and convey the tidings to him![35] Charles was so delighted, that he instantly availed himself of Henry's change of policy. Before Parliament was dissolved; before the royal assent was given to the divorce of Anne of Cleves; and more than a week before the death of Crumwell, here was a large and pompous embassy arrived in London from the Emperor. There was the Prince of Macedonia, Don Frederick Marquis of Padula, the Marquis of Terra Nova, Monsieur de Flagy, and sixteen other gentlemen in their train.[36] According to Halle, on Thursday the 22d of July, at the Court at Westminster, "they were highly feasted, well entertained, and, upon their departure greatly rewarded." It seemed as if they had come in time to grace all the doings of our tyrannical Monarch whatever these might be. It was only two days after this, that, in person, Henry dissolved the Parliament, sanctioning all the bills past, and among the number, that for his own, his third divorce. Cranmer was not present, and as for the poor Duke of Cleves, he could only pocket the affront. A general pardon was then passed, with certain exceptions. Among these were the mother of Cardinal Pole, for "*the Lady of Sarum*" was not yet disposed of, though Crumwell had been eager enough: there was Crum-

[33] She died at Chelsea, 16th July 1557, under Queen Mary.
[34] Herbert. Mackintosh. [35] Herbert. [36] Halle.

well himself, and Sampson, the Bishop of Chichester, whom he had incarcerated. They were all alike, at this moment, prisoners in the Tower!

Such were the leading occupations of the King and his Court; or a strange mixture of the grave and gay, the lively and severe; while Crumwell, once so high, lay all the time trembling for his life. It was not, however, that he had been suffered to remain without notice. On the contrary, as if the bill of attainder, passed in June, had not been sufficient, his enemies were not idle in furnishing farther proof against him; and it would have been well for his memory, if nothing more tangible had ever transpired.

In one of those letters to which we have already referred, there is the following passage:—"And, sir, *that* EVER *I have deceived you in any of your treasure, surely I have (not,) and* THAT *God Almighty best knoweth!*"[37] This, it may be remembered, had been one of the charges against the attainted minister, and in these terms of denial he replied on Wednesday, or the day after the bill had passed against him. But, alas! for Crumwell's uprightness, nay, and now his veracity; only eight days after, when certain accounts came to be handed over to the Earl of Southampton, as Lord Privy Seal, we have but too sad proof, that his far too solemn assertion, was only making what was bad still worse.

There was a man who had acted under him in money matters, who, from self-interest, or in self-defence, was now become a determined adherent of the accusing party, or, rather, secretly, he had been so all along. This was John Gostwyck, who had been appointed treasurer at war in 1536, and afterwards treasurer to the King's Court of first-fruits and tenths. Under Crumwell's eye, Gostwyck had disbursed many large sums, and his accounts since November last, required the royal sanction on delivering them up to Southampton, the new Lord Privy Seal. Humbly requesting his Majesty's warrant for all he had paid, by Crumwell's orders, since the 7th of November, he now, on the 8th of July, presented the entire amount, and the various items: but there can be no question that he must have been shielded from the wrath of the King; since he actually proclaimed *his own disgrace* in the same sentence with his implication of the attainted prisoner in the Tower. His statement is entitled—"Accounts of the monies John Gostwyck, treasurer, had in hand, when the Earl of Essex, T. Crumwell, was apprehended, and of sums since paid by him, 1540."[38] The first article, apparently of set purpose, is expressed in the following extraordinary terms:

"May it please your most excellent Majesty to be advertised, that I, your

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37 This is one of the important passages *not* given by Burnet, in his very imperfect copy of the letter.—*Cotton MS., Otho*, c. x. See Ellis' "Original Letters," sec. ser., vol. ii., p. 162. It is curious enough that the well known fire in the Cotton Library should have taken one monosyllable from the manuscript, respecting which, however, there can be no question, from the following words.

38 Cotton MS., Appendix, xxviii., fol. 125.

most humble servant, John Gostwyck, have in my hands, which I treasured from *time to time, unknown* unto the Earl of Essex, which *if I had declared unto him, he would have caused me to disburse* by commandment, WITHOUT WARRANT, AS HERETOFORE I HAVE DONE, XM. li.," *i. e.* ten thousand pounds! or a sum equal to about £150,000 of the present day.

Rich, the Chancellor to the Court of Augmentations, had been among the first accusers, and now came this treasurer of the other Court; who, on the top of the next page, takes care to glance at the subject once more. "Memdm.—That there remained in the hands of John Gostwyck, the 8th day of July, in *ready money*, ten thousand pounds;" a most acceptable intimation to Henry the Eighth.[39]

Thus from those self-same *money* courts, which the fallen Earl had himself established at an early period of his career, came the arrows which must have pierced him through with sorrow, when near its close. In attempting to account for Crumwell's execution, this material charge has never been observed by any historian;[40] but of the injury he must have sustained by it, more especially after such a solemn previous denial, there can be no question.

There was no subject respecting which his Royal Majesty was more jealous and severe, than that of property of any description, supposed to be embezzled or concealed. He had disturbed the last hours of

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[39] The accounts after all are not distinguished for accuracy. He says, on the 8th of July, that he had paid by Crumwell's orders, since 7th of November, £15,828, 12s. 0d., for which he now humbly requests his Majesty's warrant; and, yet, when he comes to particulars, they amount to not more than £15,394, 18s. 5d., which he sums up £15,794, 18s. 9d.! Several of the items in this account are far too curious to pass unnoticed: "To William Gonson, for transporting the Queen's Grace from Calais to Dover £300"—besides other sums amounting to above £700, connected with Anne's coming. These, when added to others in Sir John Williams' Account-roll, raise the expense to above £4000. But, besides, we have here £6300, 2s. 4d. for the great wardrobe already paid, and £2970, 18s. 11d. still to pay—or, in all, £13,274, 3s. 1d. The entire expense, however, was more than this, which was a pretty good sum in those days, for only one wrong step, or a political marriage followed by unmixed misery. In this same account, however, we have items of a very different character. "To Benedict (*Benedetto* the Florence artist,) and others, for workmanship upon the King's tomb, £142, 11s. 10d. And for 6600 weight of copper delivered for the same tomb, £77, 5s. 3d." "*Item.* To know whether I shall pay for the workmanship of your Majesty's tomb *monthly*, which will amount to about £20." All this was in pursuance of the design commenced by *Wolsey*, for which he had paid Benedetto 4250 ducats for work done ten years ago! The stately tomb was never finished, but a hundred years after Henry's death it was taken down and sold by order of Parliament. Thus in the shape of a monument to their memory, *Henry VIII., Wolsey, and Crumwell, lie alike undistinguished:* but that such sums should have been paying now, and included in this last account under Crumwell's eye, is singular enough.

This unprincipled underling, *Gostwyck*, was born at Willington, in Bedfordshire, and next year was purchasing that lordship from the Duke of Norfolk, the main persecutor on the present occasion. He was the son and heir of Sir John Gostwyck, Master of the Horse, and sometime after this, as member for the county, had the audacity to accuse *Cranmer* also, for heresy. This being done openly in Parliament, it soon reached the King's ear. But allowed as he was to escape now, he was not permitted to do so then. "Go," said Henry to one of his privy counsellors, "and tell that *varlet* Gostwyck, that if he do not acknowledge his fault unto my Lord of Canterbury, and so reconcile himself towards him, that he may become his good Lord, I will soon both make him a *poor Gostwyck, and otherwise punish him*, to the example of others." The family, an ancient one, was afterwards ruined by electioneering contests, and the property is now in the possession of the Duke of Bedford.—*Lyson's Brit. Bcds., p.* 150. *Strype's Cranmer, folio, p.* 123.

[40] It was only first brought to light by Sir Henry Ellis in 1827.

Wolsey by eager inquiries, through Kingstone, as to a sum of inferior amount, which, after all, was none of his own.[41] And the eagle eye with which he searched after the jewels, the money and trinkets, or the *stuff* as they phrased it, belonging to all attainted persons, often exhibited the strongest features of the perfect miser—

> Sagacious all to trace the smallest game,
> And bold to seize the greatest.

Pity for either man or woman, high or low, at such a time, was entirely absorpt in desire for their property. And well did Crumwell know all this; so well, that in his most earnest letter to his Majesty, he had done the very utmost to make the string vibrate—"If it had been, or were in my power," said he, "to make you so RICH, *as ye might enrich all men*, God help me as I would do it." Long, too long, had he acted, and powerfully, as Purveyor-general to this prodigal Monarch, and often had he fed this appetite for property and money; but the more he had done so, it had only increased in vigour, with various other odious passions.

How long this man, Gostwyck, had taken to accumulate so large an amount, unknown to his superior; and when, or whether he intended to disclose his strange course, he does not state; but the style in which he now expressed himself, left the mind of such a being as Henry, open to unbounded suspicion. Intelligence far less astounding was more than sufficient to have produced a tumult of rage; and from some reference made to Crumwell, by his impetuous master afterwards, as well as the manner in which he acted towards his son, we have considerable evidence that his death occurred at such a moment.[42] Although, therefore, there had been no other discovery, this alone, in connexion with the clamours of so many of his courtiers, may serve to account for the final determination respecting the Earl of Essex and all his possessions.[43] Only four days after Parliament was dissolved, on the morning of Wednesday, the 28th of July, he was beheaded in the Tower, and buried within its walls, in the Chapel of St. Peter ad vincula, where so many victims had preceded him, and to which so many followed. All his property was, of course, forfeited to the crown.[44]

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41 Singer's Cavendish, i., p. 316.

42 Henry is said to have wished for his Crumwell again, and even to have lamented his fall after it was too late, but at all events, within five months after his death he created his only son, Gregory, Baron Crumwell, restoring or conferring certain property, and summoning him, as Baron to Parliament. See a letter from his lady, confirmatory. Cotton MS., Vespas. F. xiii., fol. 157.

43 Marilliac, the French ambassador, had said, what Le Grand took for granted, that among Crumwell's correspondence with Germany, there was found evidence of his having betrayed the confidence of his Sovereign to these princes; and upon this second-hand assertion alone, Lingard hangs the irritation of Henry at the moment. But there is no substantial evidence of this, though the Frenchman might hear as much and more, among the clamours to which we have alluded. The bill of attainder, such as it was, carries no proof; but charges as to sums of *money* are there twice mentioned.

44 Crumwell's house in London was situate where the Hall of the Draper's Company now

Upon a final survey of the extraordinary course of Thomas Crumwell, it must be evident that he was a man possessed of very superior natural parts, and that they were employed with extraordinary diligence and industry. As to worldly affairs, his judgment is said to have been methodical and solid, his memory strong and retentive, and that no one was more dexterous in finding out the designs of men and courts, nor any man more reserved in keeping a secret. He has been represented as mindful of favours bestowed upon him in earlier life, as considerate of the poor in their suits, and bountiful to those who were in greater need; but if all this be granted, it only lends additional regret to the positive transactions which have been here recorded.

With regard to his state of mind, or whether he had any fixed sentiments at the moment of death, we are shut up to the necessity of simply saying—to his own just and unerring Judge, he then stood or fell. To draw any rash or positive conclusion respecting the dead, in such a case as the present, from what was uttered in the last moments of existence, is not merely presumptuous; it may injure the living, and damage the improvement to be drawn by survivors, from the contemplation of the entire character. Historians have differed in opinion, it is true, respecting Crumwell's exit, but they had not sufficiently investigated his previous character, which can be understood only by the leading transactions of his administration, and his own letters. In tracing the one, and perusing the other, though predisposed in his favour on the whole, we have been compelled at an early period of his public career, to rank him as a man but very low: and since he has been so frequently held up as favourable to the cause of truth, we have anxiously watched, and waited for a change to the better, but have waited for this in vain. His progress, even unto death, must ever be painful to every reflecting mind, and his fall, as before observed, when duly considered, is far more affecting than even that of Wolsey. A man's ambition, indeed, is generally in proportion to his capacity, and that of both men was confessedly very great; but then Crumwell knew much more of the theory of Christianity than

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stands, in Throgmorton's Street, near its junction with Broad Street, and was sold by Henry to that Company in 1541. A curious description of its interior, as well as a sketch of its appearance, may be seen in Herbert's History of the Livery Companies, vol. ii., p. 471-72.

his predecessor, and had enjoyed far better opportunities of witnessing its influence. Unhappy man! at the close of his transient career, and because ambitious, at last infatuated, it almost seems as though he had determined to wade through contempt, into posthumous disgrace, and confound the judgment of posterity as to his real character. Hence the different views which have been given of the same individual; yet the course pursued by him admits of explanation, though it be one awfully illustrative of poor human nature.

The King, from selfish motives, is understood to have regretted his death, and soon promoted his son. Norfolk and Gardiner were the willing instruments of his ruin: between the former and Crumwell there had existed a deadly hatred, which will be abundantly evident, as soon as the Duke comes forward to *his* day of terror, and the exposure of his character, when the vindictive cruelty of the Monarch was approaching to its awful termination.

Such, at all events, was the end of Thomas Crumwell, the servant and successor of Thomas Wolsey; but it is with their *official*, far more than their personal characters, that the historian and posterity have to do. They were Henry's *two* great men; for he never had a third. At certain periods, each of them possessed no small influence over him; and though the surrender of his own opinions at any moment, to either the one or the other, was out of the question, still, by their skill in suggestion, he was swayed to a degree, of which, at the moment, he was not fully aware. With no succeeding men did the King ever so act, and at this crisis, the change is not only apparent, but striking. Both Wolsey and Crumwell had enjoyed some resemblance to a premier. They were consulted generally, and were the instruments employed to execute almost all the royal commands; but Henry, from this moment, became more emphatically his own minister.

There is, however, another point of view, seldom if ever before pointed out, in which the Monarch and his two Ministers demand grave consideration; and the more so as it is one in which posterity ever since has been concerned, and is concerned still. These men formed a *trio*, altogether unprecedented in England; nay, whether *before* or *since*, no three men ever occupied the same position. The moral characters of all the three are already before the reader, and cannot be

forgotten as sufficiently melancholy; but of the importance of their position, *as* official men, any one is able to judge, as soon as he observes that their influence continues to the present hour. Wolsey and Crumwell were the only two individuals who sustained an office which had been unknown before, and has been unknown since, in this country, or in any other. This, it may be anticipated, was that of *Vicar-general*, and though it died with the last, the question is whether its results died also.

The curious peculiarities of this ominous, and most eventful movement, have been already detailed. Wolsey, in gratification of his own lofty ambition when in France, obtained this *office* from *Rome;* and, upon returning home, thus afforded to his royal Master, as it were accidentally, the first taste of what was called spiritual power. Nothing could be more congenial to the palate of such a tyrannical and unprincipled person as Henry the Eighth, and though the first Vicar-general soon died, the thirst which he had first provoked, remained. The dominion of our English Monarch ended, precisely where that of conscience commenced; but as the man sought only the indulgence and gratification of his own evil passions, having once encroached, and once tasted of the forbidden fruit of that sacred domain, he soon determined to take full possession, and prescribe to all his subjects not merely what they were to pay, but what *surrender*, and what *believe!* The King saw standing before him, nothing more than a commoner and a layman, against whom also he had entertained strong personal prejudice; yet, boldly resolving, he at once raised Crumwell to be Vicar-General; and strengthening the appointment by still more authority, gave him also a civil office of equal altitude, to correspond. He made him Vicegerent and Vicar-general, or the shadow of himself, simply to gain his own ambitious and avaricious purpose; and this once gained, there were to be Vicegerents or Vicars-general in England no more! All the official men who remained, of whatever description, let them wince as they might, were to be as clay in the hands of the royal potter, and so they proved.

Thus, however licentious the Monarch was, his skill in taking advantage of circumstances, and his being gifted with talents of no inferior order, become equally manifest. These two men had formed a bridge for him to pass over, and down

he sat, in his usurpation of power, superior and unknown to any King in Europe. The first Vicar-general, before his appointment to that office, had helped him to his title of "Defender of the Faith," no matter though it was the *old learning;* the second fixed him in his seat, as "Supreme Head of the Church of England;" and though Henry died, after all, an adherent of the Roman faith, still it is matter of history, that both titles he bequeathed to his successors on the throne. Confirmed by Henry's most *tractable* Parliament, in 1544, the titles thus assumed have not only continued to be worn, but they have extended in their application over a broader surface.[45]

Here then is a link, or rather the first link of a chain, connecting the last three hundred years with the existing age; and it is this which entitles the past transactions to a degree of deliberate reflection common to no other period, before or since. That this was a point of time, pregnant with consequences, is allowed by all, and so the steps taken were initiatory; though to follow this line of connexion between the past and the present, is a task from which we are relieved, by the design of these pages. At the same time, it may only be observed, that this is not necessary in order to evince the long-extended bearing of this remarkable era; for among all the changes since, not one has neutralised the influence and effects of Henry's claims. In their own day, and after their own fashion by the movements already described, neither Henry nor Crumwell, with Cranmer to assist, accomplished their end. The King and his Vicar-general, with the primate in union, first proposed for the kingdom "peace and contentation," and soon after "unity of opinion;" but they originated, nay fomented the reverse, and the only solid acquisition of the day was money—money for the royal exchequer. As for the new titles, and the claims involved, there were two opinions

45 About July 1541, we have an amusing instance of Henry's jealousy as to one of those titles, in his being so offended with James V. styling himself "Defender of the Christian Faith." This is expressed by Wriothsley, in the following terms: "Upon the arrival of Mr. Sadler, there were conveyed hither from Scotland, sundry little books imprinted; and amongst others, one entitled '*The trumpet of Honour,*' wherein, in the very titling, in the first front of the book, the King your Master taketh upon him, a *piece* of the title of the King's Majesty; the King your Master being therein called '*Defensour of the Christien Feith,*' whereby his Majesty should have great cause to think more than unkindness, if he would willingly take *his* title upon him. And the conjecture is the more pricking, because he added thereto the *Christien* faith, as though there should be any other than the Christian faith; which seemeth to have another meaning in it, than one good Prince can think of another, much less a friend of his friend, or a nephew of his uncle, if he would show himself to esteem his friendship."—Gov. State Papers, vol. v., p. 191.

then, and, without intermission, there have been two opinions since. No nation upon earth has, on the whole, been more loyal to their Kings, or more submissive to the civil Magistrate, as a branch of that duty which Christianity enforces; and yet, at the distance of three centuries, far removed from the iron and brutal reign which we have been contemplating, the same subject which so divided the people of England then, still divides the nation; and though possessed of ten-fold more intelligence, divides it far more thoroughly, than it ever did, or ever could, in the days of Henry the Eighth.

Strange! after the long and varied course of her eventful history; after the sun has risen and set upon this favoured land more than a million of times, that for every line, bearing on this subject, which was printed then, at the present moment there should be a thousand. One day, to our posterity, this must of necessity appear passing strange.

But to return. The unwarrantable power in which Henry had now resolved, not only to reign, but direct and govern, appeared at this moment in all its enormity; for only two days after he had despatched the Earl of Essex, an event occurred, full of perplexity to all parties in his kingdom. The number of persons who had been impeached or attainted during this Parliament, and according to the fashion which Crumwell, no doubt with the royal sanction, had so unconstitutionally and cruelly introduced, amounted to not fewer than a round dozen: and six of these were ordered for execution forty-eight hours after the scene in the Tower. As if awfully to verify the expressions which Henry had ordered Crumwell to utter, at the opening of the Session—that "he leaned neither to the right or left, neither to the one party nor to the other"—three of *each* were to be put to death; that is, three, for what they called *heresy*, and three for denying the King's *supremacy!* The three former were no other than *Dr. Barnes, and even Garret and Jerome.* The names of the latter were Abel, Featherstone, and Powell. One of each class being placed upon the same hurdle, by way of equally vilifying both, thus they were dragged from the Tower to East Smithfield. No person present, not even the Sheriff, could answer BARNES, wherefore he and his companions were put to death; but they all suffered with great constancy at the stake, while the others were hung at the same time, on the same spot! A foreigner, it has been said, who had mingled with the crowd, exclaimed, "What a country is this! on the one side they are hanging the Pope's friends, on the other they are burning his enemies." Both parties seeing their adherents *so* dragged to destruction, were alike shocked and disgusted.

According to the general voice and opinion, the man who was at the root of this barbarity was Gardiner, originating in his pique against Barnes. The imputation he tried to evade, and in print; yet in vain, for it attached to him as long as he lived. But the cruel procedure to *both* parties had become successful, through the existing division among Henry's courtiers. Both divisions equally disowned the right of private judgment, they vied with each other in servility, and to a man they had already sanctioned the assumption of mental supremacy by a Monarch, who so far from having any command over himself, was governed solely by his own unrestrained passions. Such, therefore, was the first act of Henry, after he became, more signally his *own* minister; and if only for the first fortnight we observe his course, it will be found sufficiently characteristic.

On Saturday the 24th of July, the King had sanctioned the bill for his *third* divorce, and then dissolved Parliament. On Wednesday the 28th, he had put Crumwell to death, and two days after, Barnes, Jerome, and Garret, with three others. Only ten days after this, or on Sunday the 8th of August, his Majesty was married once more, by Cranmer, that is a second time within the same year, and to his fifth Queen, Catharine Howard, daughter of Edmond Howard, and niece to the Duke of Norfolk; the marriage and presentation at Court being on the same day. The uncle and niece are understood to have had no small share in these bloody catastrophes; but Henry had obtained his wishes, promising himself, in the sequel, no small enjoyment. Nothing, indeed, it has been said, could exceed his matrimonial contentment; but a little time will shew how long it continued. In the meanwhile, the gentlemen of "the old learning" *seemed* to have recovered all the influence and favour they had lost, under the sway of Crumwell. In the summer Lord Lisle had been recalled from Calais, and his place supplied by Lord William Howard, the brother of the Duke of Norfolk; and in order to carry on his amicable connexion with the Emperor, in the month of November, Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, was sent as ambassador. He had not, however, come to any audience by the end of the year, and we have yet to see what transpired during his absence of eleven months. "The reigning Queen," says Lingard, "first attracted the royal notice at a dinner given by the Bishop of Winchester."

Such was the year 1540, so far as secular affairs, and especially those of the Court, were concerned. They enable us to view, with greater advantage and effect, their striking contrast, in a separate, and widely different department.

For the five first months of this year, the most powerful subject in the kingdom had been rising to the top of his am-

bition. It was Crumwell, with all his honours thick upon him, and crowned with an Earldom—an Earldom of a hundred days, or by far the most miserable period of his existence.[46] He is now dead, and buried in that Tower, to which he had often sent others. But as he had finally shown himself ardent in favour of the Scriptures being printed, we are now furnished with one of the strongest proofs as to whether the progress of this cause depended on the life of any such man, or was at all affected by the death of the Vicegerent and last Vicar-general.

The cause of Divine Truth, properly so called, it has been our imperative duty to preserve from being injured or mistaken, by identifying it with any doubtful or disputable human character, however conspicuous on the page of English history. Let every man occupy the place belonging to him, but that cause, correctly speaking, can be associated only with the consistent and sincere. In no other in this country has the Almighty so reigned, and so conspicuously, as an overruler. Even historically, therefore, to drag in any man, as though it depended at all upon him, simply because he, at some moment, happened to be in office or in power as a political agent, is only betraying the cause to the common enemy of Divine Revelation. This is an error which has been committed too long, and by too many historians.

In reference to Crumwell, the noble warfare which has been already detailed, had not only commenced long before he was even heard of, but it had proceeded in spite of him, after he was known and in power. Indeed, after the year 1537, he, or any such man, be he who he may, cannot appear in any higher character, than that of "one who had tarried at home, and now divided the spoil." Crumwell's warmth in sanctioning, at the decline of his career, or even pressing forward the printing of the Scriptures, has been sufficiently accounted for, as resulting from political expediency. Acting, as he has been proved to have done in other respects, it could proceed from no higher motive; and when John Foxe, in his *first* edition, compares his zeal to that of *Jehu*, in the days of old, he is far more accurate, than in many expressions which he substituted afterwards, in his long and confused eulogy or de-

[46] From the 18th of April to the 28th of July.

fence. He lived too near the time indeed, to know as much as we do; but it would have been wiser had he, and others after him, said little more than he did at first. This zeal, too, does not appear to have involved Crumwell in any personal expense, except in the case of Coverdale's Bible, which, as we have seen, did not succeed. If there was any in the affair at Paris, which is not likely, as he was acting under Henry's application to the French King, it could be but trifling; since the books were afterwards sold, the parson paying one-half, and the people the other.

The truth is, that the events of the day, if fairly reported, disentangle this glorious cause, and place it altogether out of the way of being confounded, either with the state of England in other respects, or the men who governed the country. On the part of man, assuredly, it was neither by might or power that Divine Revelation, in the language of the people, found its way into our native land, or afterwards spread; for his might and power were leagued against it. Of this, from year to year, we have already had proof all-sufficient. Yet so egregiously inaccurate have been the representations of subsequent historians, that mere official characters have been brought forward, so as to overshadow those of humbler name. The *latter* sustained the brunt of the battle; they bore all the burden and heat of the day; they sustained the entire expense; they ran all the risk, and they must no longer stand concealed behind any man. The *former*, and not until they could no longer resist the tide, tardily lent official sanction at one time, and then capriciously, or rather wickedly, withdrew it at another, although that sanction, when offered, literally cost them nothing, or nothing worthy of any notice.

But not only have historians erred egregiously, and led their readers astray: men who ought to have searched more deeply, and been fully informed, have, very boldly, founded arguments, in our highest courts of law, upon assertions which were grossly incorrect in point of fact; and this, too, when pleading on behalf of the Crown. Let one instance suffice for the present, as the subject must afterwards be more fully explained. Two hundred years certainly had afforded time sufficient to have known and established the truth; yet more than two hundred years after this period, in 1758, when

the Solicitor-General of England was pleading before Lord Mansfield and other judges, and talking wildly of the King having by *prerogative* several copy-rights, he actually stated in open Court, as his third ground for so pleading, that "*the translation of the Great English Bible under Grafton, was performed at the* KING'S *expense!* Although this was too bad, there was no person present who was able *historically* to confront him.[47]

Henry's character, no doubt, involved the most singular contradictions. He was avaricious and prodigal, at different moments, in nearly equal extremes. He has been said to have *diced* away the bells of suppressed houses, and to have lost thousands of the spoil at play, but he certainly never spent his money in printing *Bibles*. From all we have seen already, of course it was impossible that the King could possess any heart-felt interest in the Word of God. As far as he was concerned, upon every hand sin abounded, and thus the high favour of God to this country became the more conspicuous; but so distant was Mr. Solicitor-General Yorke from the truth, that no evidence whatever has yet been adduced of Henry the Eighth having ever been at any expense whatever, in printing one solitary copy of the Sacred Volume. Hitherto, we may aver, we have made this sufficiently plain; and as for the future, we shall see presently *who* was at the expense, when even the editions with Cranmer's or Tunstal's name on the title-page, came to be issued. But with regard to poor Grafton, so unceremoniously robbed of all due credit and honour, after having, at the very beginning, personally embarked so large a sum in the undertaking, it may here be observed, that he had received as yet no more than a fair remuneration for his outlay of capital; and that, ere long, he found himself safely lodged in the Fleet prison; from whence the zealous Bishops, ever true to their character, and under this self-same Henry VIII., would by no means relieve him till he had given his bond for £100 (equal to £1500 now,) that *he* would print *no more Bibles*, nor *sell* any more, until a certain period—and when was that? Not until the King and the clergy should *agree* upon a translation, which, as we have seen, and shall see, they never did.[48]

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[47] Blackstone, i., pp. 105, 113.

[48] Prynn's MS., Inner Temple. Foxe, Lewis, and others, by mistake, have raised the fine to £300. It has been suggested that Whitchurch may also have been punished. He was, but

Here, however, we have at least one proof that as far as Grafton and Whitchurch had been concerned in printing, these were undertakings in which *no* part of the royal money, or that of the Exchequer, had ever been involved. Had this been the case, had one farthing of Henry's property been embarked, it would have been at the peril of these Bishops to have so proceeded, and they never would.

We turn, therefore, to the real state of things, and take up the second series of Bibles, or the result of Tyndale's exertions, as still more visible in his native land, and in the Scriptures which were printed and published before the face of the notorious Bonner. It should not be forgotten that we now, in fact, see the Bible of 1537, as already described, with nothing more than certain verbal alterations here and there; some of which were not improvements, and others, though now attempted, in the end did *not* prevail; while, at the same time, the first introduced Bible, and verbally, as first imported, is to be reprinted, again and again.

But, first, and with regard to those large Bibles of different dates, to which the name of Cranmer was affixed in the title-page, or *four* in number, and other *two* editions, with the names of Tunstal and Heath, and not Cranmer's, or six distinct editions in all; such has been the confusion, that they have hitherto baffled the research of all our bibliographers. Preceding authors having failed, Dibdin happens to be the last who attempted an explanation, and he fairly gives up the subject in despair. "After all," says he in conclusion, "there seems to be some puzzle, or *unaccountable* variety, in the editions of the Bible in 1540 and 1541. The confusion itself, indeed, may be accounted for. All those largest black-letter Bibles are most interesting relics, for such was the ordeal through which they passed, first in Henry's reign, and then under his daughter Mary; such the havoc to which they were exposed from the enemy, or, in other words, such the enmity evinced by official men, that the only wonder is, that *any* of them remain. Yet, upon the whole, the number left, or surviving, is by no means the least remarkable feature in their history. The consequence, however, has been,

by no means to the same extent. Of the two men, Grafton seems to have been the most zealous; and thus Bonner, after so beguiling him at Paris, ever afterwards hated him. Had it not been for Audley, the Lord Chancellor, Grafton might have fared much worse.

that, before an experienced eye, many of them are found to be copies *made up*."[49] This remark applies generally to all collections, whether in our universities, our public libraries, or in the hands of private gentlemen. Such, therefore, is the value of a *perfect* copy throughout, of these Bibles, or so highly have they been estimated by posterity, above those who first read them, that they have been sold for above forty, if not fifty pounds sterling. The original price was *ten shillings* in sheets, or twelve, when bound with *bullions*, clasps, or ornaments; that is, about seven pounds ten shillings, or nine pounds, of the present day.

In this state of things, the first step which required to be taken, was to obtain *perfect* copies of all these six large black-letter Bibles, with their genuine titles and last leaves; as all the editions to which we now refer, happen to be very distinctly dated, first on the title-page, and then more fully in the colophon. Even after this, at first sight, it might be presumed, and it has been, when the books were viewed separately, that there were here probably not more than two or three editions, with different titles, and another date in conclusion. Such a thing, however dishonest, though it has often been done with certain books since, seems to have been then unknown, for upon farther examination, all the editions are distinct. On observing, however, that the catchword at the bottom of the page, and at the top of the next, are in so many instances the *same*, the next supposition may be, that as there might not be *types* in sufficient quantity, after the first impression was thrown off, the forms, in succession, may have been transferred to another press; and thus, like the ploughman overtaking the reaper, copies might follow each other at the distance of only three or four months. But even this supposition will not solve the phenomena; for upon examining the body of the page, so numerous, or rather innumerable, are the differences in point of spelling, contractions, and even pointing, that no alternative is left but that of comparing the six volumes page by page. The reason for our being thus par-

[49] That is, made up of two or more editions. There have also been instances of making up copies, by *fac-simile*, whether by the usual process, now in such perfection, or even with the pen, so beautifully as to deceive every one, save an experienced judge. Except this be explained on the book itself, or when it comes to be *sold*, the deception cannot be too severely condemned.

ticular will appear presently; but who, it may be asked, will ever be at the pains to do all this? He must possess the perfect copies, or have the genuine leaves of all the six Bibles before him, and these were not to be found in *any* public collection in the kingdom; nor was this sufficient, for the very pages of each and all must be patiently examined to mark their curious and minute distinctions. But the fact is that, at last, all this has been accomplished, through the indefatigable perseverance of one gentleman, though we must not say at what expense. Yet he himself, thus carefully collating them, the result is, that of these large Bibles, specially intended for public worship or public reading, there were six distinct editions, three dated in 1540 and three in 1541; two of which were issued this year, and four in the next. In all such labour, however, there is profit, though it may not appear at first; for even at this stage, there was still some degree of mystery in every one of these Bibles being dated from *London*.

One day, in the metropolis, a gentleman, no inferior judge, remarked to the present writer—"I cannot believe that these Bibles were actually printed *in* London." "Where then," it was asked, "do you suppose?" He replied, "I think most probably in *Paris*." But why so? "Because of the *type*; for at that time the London types, as used in all other books, were inferior to that fine bold letter." Certainly they were, it may now be added, and these, there can be little or no doubt, were Parisian types. But as for their being *so* employed in *that* city, after the violent interruption in the end of 1538; when once the wrath of the Sorbonne against Robert Estienne, that is Stephens the printer, is observed, and still more, the state of feeling between the French and English Kings, throughout 1540 and 1541; such employment of these types, and to such extent *in Paris*, must appear to have been altogether impossible. Thus then, in the end, are we brought back to admire the *energy* of poor Crumwell's character, in a step, hitherto but very slightly noticed in history. In bringing over the very presses, the Parisian types and even French workmen, he had done his business thoroughly, after his own manner. Types to a greater extent certainly, if not workmen more numerous had arrived, than has ever been before imagined. He had seen that the Bible being speedily multiplied, and generally read, was his best, his only main-stay, against the

insidious and powerful opposition of "the old learning" party. So that but for what *he* had done, we are now led to infer, that *Cranmer* would never have had it in his power, to have put forth at least *such* and so many Bibles as these. It was something for Crumwell to have drawn such spoil, if not from the "Fonderie du Roy," yet from its immediate vicinity, for it certainly appears now to be far more than probable, that an English folio Bible printing in Paris, once interrupted, had ended in *six* others being printed in London![50] The history of the books themselves, will afford some farther curious information, and the more so when taken in the order of their dates.

The first of these Bibles which was finished in April with Cranmer's name, we have referred to under 1539, as preparing. We have seen that it had been subjected by Henry to the inspection of certain Bishops, though merely as individuals, but belonging to that body, which had all along shown such hostility to any translation whatever. The determined aspect and imperative tones of the Monarch had very soon made these enemies yield their feigned obedience; and his heart, however capricious, being in the hand of God, here is the book entire, and with Cranmer's preface attached, enforcing "high and low, male and female, rich and poor, master and servant," to read it, at *home* in their own houses, and ponder over it![51] This, the first Bible, is entitled—

"*The Byble in* Englishe, that is to saye the con*tēt of al the holy Scripture, both* of the Olde, and New testamēt, with *a prologe thereinto made by* the reverende father in *God, Thomas*, archbishop *of Cantor*bury, ¶ *This is the Byble apoynted* to the use of the Churches. ¶ Printed by Edward whytchurche. Cum privilegio ad imprimendum solum MDXL." The colophon is—"The ende of the new Testamēt: and of the whole Bible fynisshed in Apryll, Anno MCCCCCXL. A dn̄o factū est istud."

Of this first edition printed on English ground, there is a splendid copy on *Vellum*, with the cuts and blooming letters, curiously illuminated, in the British Museum. It has, for

[50] The zeal of Francis I. for fine printing is well known, and the types of the Royal printing-office, which he founded, have been celebrated ever since, though they were certainly never then turned to such good account, as in the case before us. The beautiful Bible of Robert Stephens in 1540 was not spared by the virulent Doctors of the Sorbonne, but drew upon himself their violent indignation. The Royal printing-office to this hour stands very high. Under NAPOLEON, when the PONTIFF, his obedient servant, was in Paris, he visited this fine establishment; when the Directors presented him with the Lord's prayer, printed in *one hundred and fifty* different languages, and all of them *struck off during his visit.*

[51] In all the following titles, certain words, and *parts* of words, are printed in italic letter. This is to mark the *rubrics*, or red letters in the genuine title-pages.

some reason, recently been rebound, in three volumes; but splendidly in morocco. This fine book, once actually possessed by Henry VIII., is valuable, as one key to the party concerned in the *expense* of the impression; for so far from this being the King himself, this copy was given to him as a *present*. The first leaf bears the following inscription in legible characters—"*This book is presented unto your most excellent Highness, by your loving faithful and obedient subject and dayly oratour, Anthony Marler of London, haberdasher.*"[52] "Who this haberdasher was," said Baker, "I wish to know. He must have been a considerable man that could make such a present to a prince, and seems to have been a sharer in the charge of the impression."[53] Respecting this London gentleman, nothing more has been ascertained except that he was a member of this Livery Company, whose records were almost wholly destroyed in the great fire of 1666: but that he was more than a *sharer* in the expense of this, and other impressions, will appear presently, and before the Privy Council.

No sooner were copies of this large volume ready, than the King's brief for setting up the Bible of the greater volume was issued, ordering now that the decree should not only be "solemnly published and read," but "set up upon every church door—that it may more largely appear unto our subjects. Witness myself, at Westminster, the seventh day of May, in the thirty-second year of our reign," *i. e.* Friday 7th of May 1540.[54]

It is curious enough, however, that there was another Bible in folio, also dated in *April* of this year. It has been frequently mis-stated as being Cranmer's, as if it were the same as the last. There are various distinctions. It is not only without Cranmer's prologue, and differs from his translation in the psalms and elsewhere, but the New Testament is said to be after the last recognition of Erasmus: that is, it is the same version as that which accompanied the Latin and English Testament printed by Redman in 1538. The book, therefore, is to be classed with Matthew's or Tyndale's trans-

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52 Lewis has led into mistake, by affixing this inscription to the next Bible about to be mentioned. He also puts *Marter* for Marler. 53 Baker's MS., in his letter to T. Hoarne.

54 Foxe, *first* edition, p. 620. This, it may be observed, was only two days before the King took offence at Crumwell. Lewis, and others, confound this brief of 7th May 1540, with the proclamation of the 6th May 1541.

lation. It is on a smaller type and paper than the last, and seems to have been intended for the use of families,—Entitled,

"*The Byble* in *Englishe*, that is to saye, the content of all the holye scripture, both of the old and *Newe Testament*, truely translated after the veryte of the *Hebrew and Greke* textes. Printed at *London* by *Thomas Petyt* and *Robert Redman* for Thomas Berthelet, printer unto the Kynge's Grace, 1540." The Colophon is—"The end of the New Testament, and of the whole Byble, finisshed in Apryll, Anno MCCCCCXL."

This book had been submitted neither to the *King*, nor any *Bishop*, even though it was executed for his Majesty's printer. It was warranted by Crumwell, according to the privilege given to him on the 14th of November last. By the month of July, however, another of the great Bibles was ready.

¶ "*The Bible in* Englyshe, that is to saye the cont*ē*t *of al the holy Scripture, both* of the olde and newe Testam*ē*t with *a prologe thereinto, made by* the reverende father in *God, Thomas* Archbishop *of Cantor*bury. ¶ *This is the Byble apoynted* to the use of the churches. ¶ Printed by Richard Grafton, cum privilegio ad imprimendum solum, MDXL." The colophon is—"The ende of the newe Testament and of the whole Byble, fynished in July, Anno MCCCCCXL."

Trembling for his life, and imploring mercy from his inhuman master for a month past, this Bible is remarkable for its being finished at the very time of Crumwell's execution, and the more so from its having *still* on the engraved frontispiece, his shield or coat of arms! This had first appeared last year, or 1539, and now a third time in this book; but Crumwell is dead, nay, was put to death on the 28th of this very month, and any *other* undertaking must have suffered, in which he, or any other disgraced minister, had taken such a prominent interest. It has been asserted, indeed, that after his fall, the Bible was complained of, as being heretical and erroneous; nay, that means were taken to persuade the King that the *free* use of the Scriptures, which Cranmer had so strongly urged in his preface, was injurious to the peace of the country. But a crisis had come, for here, by the month of November, a *third* folio Bible is ready for publication. Two editions with Cranmer's name on the title, and marked as appointed for public worship, were already out, and what was now to be done? Crumwell is gone, and Cranmer had not power sufficient to command the Bishops; but there is one alive who in a moment can command them all, or any one whom he is pleased to select. This book, then, must not be lost, nor even sup-

pressed, though the Vicar-general be no more. Nay, an expedient must be adopted not only to silence all calumny, but *push the sale* of the work, to which, it will appear in due time, neither the King nor the Bishops had contributed any pecuniary aid. Here, then, was *Tunstal* standing by, who of all the rest had been so conspicuous as an opponent since 1526, and it was fit that the unbending heterodoxy of this original enemy should now be put to the test; and here was Heath, who had recently gone over to Tunstal's party. Henry, therefore, did what seemed to him the best thing that could have been thought of in these circumstances. He *commanded* these two men to sit down, and say what they thought of the Bible now ready. The book was printed by November: meanwhile Gardiner is sent out of the way to the Emperor's court, and Tunstal and Heath must apply to their task. As Gardiner and others had delayed Cranmer's first edition, and then declared in the end that there were "no heresies in it," why examine the translation again? We may reply, because of Crumwell's execution, and because it was much better, by way of confounding the enemy, to make these opponents speak out. They took time, till the year to which the book belongs was ended, or the 25th of March, and then out it came with a title still more pompous, declaring the fact as now stated.

"*The Byble in* Englishe of the largest and greatest *volume, auctoryed and apoynted* by the commandemente of our moost *redoubted Prynce and soueraygne Lorde* Kynge Henry the VIII., supreme heade *of this his churche and realme of* Englande: to be frequented and *used in every churche in this his* sayd realme, accordynge to the *tenour of his former Injunctions* giuen in that behalfe. ¶ *Ouersene and perused at the* commaundmēt of the Kynge's Hyghnes, *by the ryghte reverende fathers in God* Cuthbert Bysshop of Duresme, and Nicolas Bisshop of Rochester. *Printed by Edward Whitchurch.* Cum priuilegio ad imprimendum solum. 1541." The Colophon—"The end of the New Testament and of the whole Byble Fynisshed in November 1540," though not published till 1541.[55]

This was in truth another triumph over the enemy, one of

55 There is an instance of this edition in the library of the University of Edinburgh. The title-page and colophon are as above, and it might be supposed, at first sight, that all was right; but upon careful inspection it is found to be made up of *two* editions, or that of this year and the next in 1541; and, what renders the book more remarkable, it is a *yellow* paper copy, having only the last leaf of Cranmer's preface, and therefore none of those urgent arguments why *all* should read. We have never seen or heard of a similar book; so that it may be received as a proof that the *tint* was conveyed to the paper after the sheets were printed off, and not before.

most grievous annoyance to Master Gardiner; and this he will not fail to discover on the first occasion in which he can find his brethren assembled, after his return from abroad. Some poor petty spite was indeed already discoverable. The reader will recollect of the homage falsely imputed to Henry, by an engraved frontispiece to the three last Bibles; in which Crumwell and Cranmer are represented at full length, above, as receiving the Bible from the King, and below, as giving it to the people. At the feet of each figure, it will be remembered, was his shield or coat of arms. The frontispiece, esteemed a treasure of its kind, must not be thrown away. But the *arms* of Crumwell were now erased! Still there stands the figure intended for him, and so it continued to do, throughout seven editions! That is, three of them with his shield and four without. But if this was the first with the shield erased, it was the first also with Tunstal's name, and the figure of Crumwell, now so well known, standing by. And *is Saul also among the Prophets?* might not the people have exclaimed, and perhaps did; though we have yet to hear again of Tunstal and Heath's feigned obedience. There had been no time left for them to *alter* the translation. The book was laid before them, no doubt, as it had come from the press. A title was wanting to suit the moment, and Henry *now*, his own Vicar-general, commanded the present one. It will make way for two other editions from Cranmer.

In addition to these four Bibles, it is said that there was a fifth, and in five volumes as small as sexto-decimo, printed by Redman;[56] but, at all events, there was a New Testament in quarto, with Erasmus and Tyndale in parallel columns. Thus amidst all the turmoil, and in spite of foes, the cause went forward, and still from conquering to conquer.

[56] Dibdin's Typog. Antiq., iii. p. 235.

SECTION IV.

EUROPEAN POWERS VERGING TO HOSTILITY—SCOTLAND—HENRY AT YORK, IN VAIN—QUEEN ALREADY IN DISGRACE—NORFOLK FAMILY IMPLICATED—THE THIRD LARGE BIBLE, WITH TUNSTAL'S NAME, BY COMMAND—THE FOURTH, IN MAY, WITH CRANMER'S NAME—EXPENSE OF THESE LARGE UNDERTAKINGS—THE MEMORABLE PROPRIETOR, ANTHONY MARLER—BONNER'S FEIGNED ZEAL—EARNEST READING AND LISTENING—THE FIFTH GREAT BIBLE, WITH TUNSTAL'S NAME—THE SIXTH, WITH CRANMER'S NAME—GARDINER RETURNED, TO WITNESS THE PROGRESS NOW MADE DURING HIS ABSENCE.

After the fall of Crumwell, after the royal marriage of last year, and some degree of amicable intercourse commenced between the Emperor and Henry; the Norfolk, Gardiner, and Tunstal party may be considered as at the height of their power; so that whatever shall take place with regard to the printing or publication of the Sacred Volume, becomes the more remarkable, and especially when viewed in connexion with civil affairs.

Although the spirit of the English nation was now so crushed, or sunk, under the despotic sway of her King, in the month of April an inconsiderable rebellion broke out in Yorkshire, but it was soon suppressed, and the leader, Sir John Neville, with several other gentlemen, put to death. This rising having excited fresh fear respecting the influence or intrigues of Cardinal Pole, "the Lady of Sarum," or Countess of Salisbury, his aged mother, the last of the Plantagenets, on the 27th of May was beheaded in the Tower. Though in her seventieth year, owing to her bold resistance of the sentence, and the bungling barbarity of the executioner, every spectator must have been horrified.

At this period, all the powers of Europe, but ill at ease, were once more verging towards a state of open war. No man, however, could have divined, how all the parties would ultimately arrange themselves into two hostile bands; and we shall have to wait till the spring of 1543 before they have assumed their respective and memorable positions. We refer not to England and Scotland only, or to France and Spain, but also to Germany, Italy, and even the Grand Turk.

In the meanwhile, from the steps that Henry had taken, Scotland, for some years, had proved a very awkward neighbour. His Majesty had often felt no small solicitude that his nephew, James V., should follow his example, for so long as the Scottish bishops reigned pre-

dominant, and their abbeys and monasteries remained entire, here was a standing national testimony against all that he had done. Besides, England and France were now far from cordiality, and though the French faction in Scotland had been weakened ever since the battle of Pavia; at the present moment, if James were in league with Francis, he might operate not only in the way of diversion, but aggression. With the ostensible purpose, therefore, of receiving the submission of his subjects, and quieting the northern counties, but chiefly in order to obtain a personal interview with James, the King of England proposed to meet him at *York;* and the Scottish monarch having at least appeared not unwilling, Henry set forward in his progress.

During the King's absence from London upon this journey, it may first be observed, that the ill-adjusted state of the European powers became very evident. Although Henry and the Emperor were professedly at peace, considerable discontent was expressed by the English Council respecting our King's intercourse with the Low Countries. The Princess Regent there was harassing the English Merchant-Adventurers, and even impeding supplies of *copper* intended for his Majesty's personal use.[1] Gardiner, too, though he had left England about the middle of November, at the end of the year had not come to a personal audience with the Emperor.[2]

As for Charles and Francis they were on the eve of a rupture. After the former had been permitted to pass through France, and so deceived her King, he at last came forward with the following proposal:—

"Of two daughters which I have, I am willing to bestow the elder in marriage to the Duke of Orleans, and with her for dowry the State of Flanders, with the style and title of King; so shall Francis have two sons, both kings and neighbours. As for *Milan*, let them not think that I will ever part with it, since it were nothing else than to disjoint all my estates. And let it not grieve the King, for I had it by good and lawful succession, and possess it as belonging to the Empire. Take Milan from me, and you take away my passage between Flanders and Spain, Italy, Sicily, and Germany. This is that I had to say, and if it please you not, there is no occasion to speak more of the business."

Francis at once in a passion and affronted, returned this answer:—"Since he might not have his inheritance, he would have nothing else; neither would he care to speak any more of peace."[3] We shall find him before long trying to negotiate with England.

Meanwhile, Henry being on his journey to York, by the month of August, he sends to Audley, the Lord Chancellor, but with special charge of secrecy, for an ample safe-conduct to be sent for James and

[1] Gov. State Papers, i., p. 665-674. See before also, p. 116., *note* 39.
[2] Acts of Privy Council, vii. p. 100. He was with the Emperor at the Diet of Ratisbon in March this year. *Idem*, p. 152. [3] Herbert.

his train ; though he was still not quite certain of success.[4] In September he was in the city of York, where he remained from the 17th to the 26th of the month, but it was all in vain.[5] Cardinal Beaton, then the prime mover in Scotland, prevailed at last, and upon some frivolous or rather false pretext, James could not leave his kingdom.

Vexed with the disappointment, if not enraged with his nephew, and determined never to forgive or forget Beaton, Henry could only return ; and it may easily be supposed, but ill prepared indeed to meet with any additional mortification. Still the King had no great occasion to regret his journey. On his way north he had received not only the submission of his subjects, but from at least ten different quarters in subsidy, above £2200,[6] a sum equal to above thirty thousand pounds ; and the Queen having accompanied him in his progress, helped to soothe him under his felt affront. Gardiner, too, having arrived from the Emperor, had reached his Majesty about 48 miles from London, at Colliweston, (Weston Colville,) by the 16th of October.[7] He had come home in good time to sympathize with his party, whatever should happen.

In company the King and Queen had arrived at Hampton Court on Monday the 24th, where Cranmer and Audley, or the London division of his Council, first met his Majesty. In the course of the week Henry visited Cheynies and Windsor, but had returned to Hampton Court by Sunday the 30th, when the Council again assembled, and Cranmer, Audley, Gardiner, and others, were in attendance. The Duke of Norfolk was then in London, but the next day he addressed a letter to his Majesty, which, from its spirit and contents, carried unequivocal proof that *he* had no expectation of any impending storm.

What is curious enough, it relates solely to a proposed marriage. The King of France, now broken with the Emperor, was practising on Henry once more. The French ambassador had informed his Grace of Norfolk that " there was never thing that his Master more desired, than a marriage between the Duke of Orleans and Princess Mary of England !" Only he thought that " the communing of the *marriage* and of the *pension* (so far behind and long due by him) should go together." Norfolk replies in a very prompt and summary manner ; and, on account of what immediately happened, it deserves to be noticed, he writes in a cheerful style, ending " scribbled at Exeter-place this Hallow even, with the hand of &c. Norfolk."[8]

In further proof that in the mind of the King also, all things yet ran smooth and quiet, in reference to himself personally ; next day, the first of November, in public he returned his " most hearty thanks for the good life he led, and trusted to live, with his *wife*," commanding old Longland of Lincoln, " to give like thanks with him."[9] Whether he

[4] Gov. St. Papers, i., p. 680. [5] Herbert. [6] Halle. [7] Acts of Privy Council.
[8] Gov. State Papers, i., p. 688. [9] Letter of Council, in Herbert.

and Gardiner, also present, as well as Norfolk still in town, were all *alike* in the dark, does not positively appear; but as to his Majesty, so far from uneasiness, he had never in the course of his reign, so emphatically announced that he was in the enjoyment of personal and domestic happiness. It was next day that he was awaked from his dream of fifteen months' duration. After being at mass, Cranmer delivered into his hands a paper containing information received during his absence, or shortly before his return from York, and the high delight of his Majesty was at an end! To be impartial, the subject was a very painful one, though it was to a man who had so often occasioned anguish to many others. Henry, contrary to his usual, was slow to believe what he now read, but was ultimately overwhelmed. The Queen, it here came out, had been of abandoned character before her marriage, and even since, it was now affirmed, had not improved. An inquiry into the truth or falsehood of the charges was immediately ordered, and the result was, that the King, unable to utter one syllable in reply, burst into tears, which, said his Council, "was strange in his courage." To Norfolk, the uncle of the Queen, to Gardiner, who had so fostered the marriage, to the Earl of Sussex, and Lord Audley, as well as to Cranmer, had been assigned the task of examining the Queen. On the 10th of November, she first denied, but in the evening, to Cranmer, acknowledged the truth of the charges, and signed a written confession.[10] This monarch, however, must ever and anon disclose his entire character to posterity, and it becomes more difficult to hold the pen. In order to obtain if possible a more complete disclosure of guilt, but under an express promise of extending "his most gracious mercy" to the Queen, although her life had been forfeited to the law, the King employed Cranmer to visit her. He conveyed the message, and visited her twice. The object had been to prove a pre-contract of marriage with one Derham, and Cranmer went so far as to declare that he thought the confessions made might be so regarded; but the Queen did not, and denied to the last any guilt, since she had been Queen.

Not less than six weeks had thus passed away, when, on the 15th of December, to the still deeper mortification of Norfolk, the old Duchess Dowager (widow of the commander at Flodden Field,) Lord William

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[10] Idem. Dr. Lingard after stating that the events which led to the Queen's elevation had made the reformers her enemies, had said—"while she accompanied the King in his progress to York, *a plot was woven by their industry*, which brought the young Queen to the scaffold!" In his last edition, constrained to correct the press, he now says—"a *discovery* which they made during her absence with the King in his progress as far as York, enabled them to recover their former ascendancy, and deprived the young Queen of her influence and her life." And then, in a note; "I am aware that there is *no direct evidence* of *any* plot; but if it be considered with *whom* the following enquiry originated, and with *what* art it was conducted, it is difficult to resist the *suspicion* of a political *intrigue!*" It is, however it seems, more difficult to confess a mistake, or acknowledge calumny. Certainly no party could be more mortified at the moment, and the historian of the party may be expected to feel this, even now; but is this candour, or impartiality?

Howard, the Queen's uncle, lately returned from Calais, with his Lady, and various others, were indicted for concealment of the treason. The Duke of Norfolk, who had retired from the scene, eighty miles distant, to Kenninghall, was now at his wits' end, and on the 15th of December writes in the greatest extremity, "prostrate at the royal feet."[11]

The grief of the Royal tyrant being, however, by this time perfectly assuaged, the thirst for such money, jewels, or other *stuff* as belonged to the attainted parties, became the leading feature of his character. Six days only had passed away when there were 5000 merks in money, and a thousand pounds' worth of plate under the care of Wriothesly, the King's Secretary. "Methinks," said he on the 21st of the month, "I would *sleep* the better if it were *delivered*."[12] And he was soon relieved. On the same day, probably before he slept again, he had the reply from Sadler—"As touching the money and plate, his Majesty being in *doubt*, whether it be brought by you Mr. Wriothesly, to his Highness' palace at Westminster, or to *your own* house there, hath resolved, finally, that ye shall deliver the same into the hands of James, Mr. Denny's servant. The money to be in bags, *sealed up with your seal*, and the plate to be put in chests, *also sealed by you*—to remain there in his Highness' palace, till his Majesty's farther pleasure be known."[13] There were to be no more royal tears shed after this.

Henry, however, always in character, must now call another Parliament, and do every thing, as upon all dreadful occasions, under the form of law. As Parliament ever went hand in hand with him in all his ways, the opening of next year will show whether his promise of "most gracious mercy" was sacredly kept; as once given, it ought to have been; but thus closed the year 1541. At its commencement the gentlemen of the old learning, in high spirits, were looking forward in hope; at its close, they were in the lowest deep, and knew not what might come next. Should that cause, therefore, which they all so cordially opposed, have advanced throughout these turbulent months, surely no man can now ascribe this, save to that overruling hand which has been so visible all along.

Considerable interest belongs to this year, as being the last in which Bibles were printed under the present reign, even though Henry had still five years to live. By his "com-

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[11] Gov. State Papers, i., p. 721. It seemed as if every man among them, must, in his turn, pass through his fit of *trembling*. For only two days before this, Cranmer himself was put in great perturbation, and to such a degree that he actually mis-dated his letter to the King by a whole month, writing the 13th of *January* for December. As it was all over with Catharine Howard, this was no other than an Ambassador from the Duke of Cleves, to try and reconcile the King to Anne his sister! Of course there was no reply; but the distress of Cranmer arose from the messenger coming to *him* at all, at such a time, and on *such* a subject. Fortunately he had letters also to the Earl of Southampton.—Gov. State Papers, i., pp. 714-717.

[12] Gov. State Papers, i., p. 724. [13] Idem.

mandment" we have seen both Tunstal and Heath giving in their adherence to the translation, and in an edition certainly finished in November last. It may therefore be presumed that the order to look over it, had come after the book was finished at press, since it did not appear before the 25th of March this year. But this would not suffice for 1541.

By the end of May another edition was ready by Cranmer, thus proving that, for all practical purposes, the version was precisely the same throughout, whether his name, or that of its ancient foe, Tunstal, was affixed. This edition, as if marked out for observation, is particularly dated in red on the *title* page, as well as in black at the end.

"*The Byble in* Englysh, that is to saye the content *of all the holy Scrypture, both of the* olde and newe Testament, with a *prologe thereinto made by* the reuerende father in *God, Thomas* archebyshop *of Cantor*bury. ¶ *This is the Byble appoynted* to the use of the Churches. Printed by Edwarde Whitchurch. Cum priuilegio ad imprimendum solum. *Finished the xxviii daye of Maye,* Anno domini MDXLI." The Colophon is—"The ende of the newe Testament: and of the whole Byble, Fynysshed in May MCCCCCXLI. a dño factū est istud."

Here then was not less than the fifth folio Bible completed, in the short space of less than two years. Nay, four have been completed in thirteen months! We have before us therefore, unquestionably, a magnificent undertaking. Means must be taken for the disposal of these volumes, and provision for this end may well be made by those who had been at *no* expense, should they possess *any* influence. We dismiss, at present, the expense of all other editions, and taking up those only in which we find the names of Grafton or Whitchurch, partners in business as the printers; from that first edition which was imported by them in 1537 down to only the present moment, we have six editions. The impressions thrown off have been rated at from 1500 to 2500 copies; so that if we take the medium, here were twelve thousand volumes. We now know, from Grafton himself that £500 had been embarked by him in the *first* edition, given to Britain; but those that followed after, were still finer books. Granting therefore that there had been here a sum of no more than £3000 incurred, though there must have been more, this, according to the value of money in our day, was equal to forty, if not forty-five thousand pounds! "History, though warm on meaner themes," has hitherto "been cold on this;"

and the reader of the present hour, except the transactions be explained, may pass without notice, the most memorable feature of the times. In the midst of the preceding still nobler struggle, respecting the New Testament only, Sir Thomas More had expressed his astonishment, on account of the *expense* incurred, and so much the more that he could never fathom from *whence* the money came. But what would he have said to this cause now, not seven years after his death? Ah, and what would he have said to his friend Tunstal, who so led him on the ice, by granting him license to "play the Demosthenes," in opposition to Tyndale? And who now, by the command of their common Sovereign, is openly mixed up in the whole concern, though not in one farthing of the expense!

The memorable edition of 1537, and that chiefly printed in Paris and finished in London in 1539, are not to be forgotten; but we now only look to those volumes to which the brief of the *King* on the 7th of May last year, and the names of *Cranmer* and *Tunstal* on the title-page direct us, or four editions. These, according to our very moderate calculation, involved £2000 in advance, or equal to thirty thousand pounds now.

Here, then, was a work of magnitude, to which it would have been quite worthy of any King, or of any Government, to have contributed. But if neither the one, nor the other, bore the burden; if neither had even advanced any funds in the meanwhile; then from this time forth, and ever after, "let honour be given to whom honour is due,"—and posterity venerate the memory of the man, or the men, who so befriended their countrymen and our forefathers.

The *sale*, therefore, of these large volumes, so long loosely styled "Cranmer's Bibles," must now no longer be neglected, lest the noble proprietor, though to us hitherto little more than an unknown private gentleman, should be, as he said himself, *undone for ever*. It was a crisis, in the finest keeping with our entire history. There was no application about to be made by him to Government, for any *pecuniary* aid, and far less to Henry VIII. personally; but it was at least proper that his Privy Council should be reminded of their royal Master's imperative injunctions of May 1540; and so they were in prospect of Cranmer's last impression.

After the death of Crumwell, Henry's Council was divided

into two separate sections; of which one sat in London, the other was with the King; and, what is curious enough, then, for the first time we have regular minutes of his Privy Council.[14] It is from this source, the most authentic of all others, that we hear more particularly of that worthy citizen, *Anthony Marler.* Strange! that for three hundred years he should have been overshadowed, by the King on the one hand, and the Primate on the other; but they are now *both* certainly here present, to witness for themselves, and to be overshadowed in their turn. Thus it is that "time unveils truth."

Minutes of the Privy Council: at Greenwich 25 *April,* 33 *of Henry VIII.*, that is 1541, "It was agreed that Anthony Marler of London, merchant, might sell the bibles of the Great Bible unbound for x s. sterling, (equal to £7, 10s.,) and bound, being trimmed with bullyons for xii s. sterling;" or equal to £9. What then must have been the cost of that splendid illuminated copy, printed on *vellum*, which he had presented to the King? But once more.

Ibid. at Greenwich, 1 *May.* "Whereas Anthony Marler of London, merchant, put up a supplication to the foresaid Council, in manner following,"—"Whereas it hath pleased you, for the commonwealth to take no small pains for the furtherance of the price of *my books;* most humbly I beseech the same, to have in consideration, that unless I have, by the mean of proclamation, some charge or commission that *every* church, not already provided of one Bible, shall, according to the King's Highness' former injunctions given in that behalf, (7th May 1540,) provide them with a Bible of the largest volume, by a day to be prefixed and appointed, as shall be thought most convenient by your wisdoms, my great suit that I have made herein is not only frustrate and void, but also, being charged as I am with an importune sum (troublesome number) of the said books *now lying on my hands,* am *undone for ever.* And therefore trusting to the merciful consideration of your high wisdoms, I humbly desire to obtain the same commission, or some other commandment, and I, with all mine," &c.

Now, in reply to this application, we have not one word from his Majesty, then presiding, from Cranmer, then present, or from any other, as to any advance of money; nor indeed any other mode of relief, except that which was so reasonably requested. Therefore, "It was agreed that there shall be another proclamation made, and that the day to be limited for the having of the said book shall be Hallowmasse," or 1st November.[15] Only five days, therefore, were allowed to pass, when there was issued—

[14] The Register or Book of the Council, does not appear to have been continued for more than a hundred years! That is after 1435, or the 13th of Henry V.; and, with the exception of some original minutes, ordinances and letters, nothing is recorded of the proceedings of the Privy Council until the latter part of the reign of Henry VIII. The Register begins on the 10th of August 1540, *(Sir N. H. Nicolas,)* or twelve days after the death of Crumwell. Hence the value of his sad, but curious "*Remembrances.*" They should *all* be printed verbatim.

[15] Minutes of the Privy Council, printed 1837, pp. 185, 186.

"A proclamation by the King's Majesty, with the advice of his Council, for the Bible to be had in every church, &c., devised the sixth day of May, the 33d year of the King's reign"—That is Friday, 6th May 1541. This proclamation, after referring to the former injunctions, goes on:—"Notwithstanding many towns and parishes within this his realm have neglected their duties—whereof his Highness marvelleth not a little—and minding the former gracious injunctions, doth straitly charge and command that the curates and parishioners of every town and parish not having already provided, shall, on this side of the Feast of All Saints (1st Nov.) next coming, *buy* and provide Bibles of the largest volume, and cause the same to be set up and fixed in every of the said parish churches, there to be used according to the former injunctions—on pain, that the curate and inhabitants of the parish or town shall *forfeit* to the *King* forty shillings (equal to £30) for *every month* after the said feast, that they lack or want the said Bible—one half to the King, and the other half to him or them that first inform the King's Council. That the *sellers* shall not take for the Bible unbound above ten shillings, or if bound and clasped above twelve shillings, on pain of *four* shillings, (£3,) one half to the King, and the other to the informer."[16]

This must have so far brightened the prospect of our patriotic proprietor, as we shall find another edition of the Great Bible soon ready for publication, proceeding from the same quarter, nay, and another still, before the year is done! But in the meanwhile it is now evident, that so far from Henry VIII. being at any *expense* for the Bibles already printed by Grafton and Whitchurch, as our Solicitor-General told Lord Mansfield, and as others, both before and after him, have unwarrantably affirmed, the King was now rather in the way of *making* a little money, by publications in which he had no pecuniary concern! At least every *fine* would bring him £1, for a book which would have cost no more than 10s.; or in other words, the value of £15, for an article at £7, 10s. But if the purchase had been neglected *two* months, then his Majesty would have £30; if *three*, £45! While, on the other hand, for every overcharge he was to receive two shillings, or equal to thirty.

But besides this proclamation, in five days more, or Wednesday, 11th May, came a letter from no other than *Edmund Bonner*, Bishop of London, (still obsequiously so far playing the hypocrite,) for the execution of the King's orders, addressed to his Archdeacon;[17] and so eager must he appear to secure the royal favour, that in September he also put forth

16 Cotton MS., Cleop., E. v., fol. 337. Burnet's Records, B. iii., No. 24. Bonner's Register.

17 Dated, "xi die Maii, Anno Dom. 1541, et nostræ translationis anno secundo."—Foxe, *first* edition, p. 621.

an "Admonition to all readers of this Bible in the English tongue"—"Evermore forseeing that no exposition be made thereupon, otherwise than it is declared in the book itself—that no reading be used in the time of divine service—or, finally, that no man justly may reckon himself to be offended thereby, or take occasion to grudge or malign thereat."[18]

The reading of the Sacred Scriptures, however, it must ever be borne in mind, had now been a practice, not in London merely, but throughout England, and for *fifteen* years; to what extent, indeed, it is impossible to say. But as we have long seen, many of Henry's subjects had truly not waited for his poor permission, whether to read or to hear: and in many a corner, far and near, there were those who knew far more of Christianity, and to better purpose, than did any of the members of Government. Even five years ago, the late Edward Fox of Hereford, a *rara avis* among the Bishops, had boldly told his brethren as much, and it was certainly no more than the truth. On the return of Bonner from Paris, where he had pretended great zeal for the Scriptures, to please Crumwell; and immediately after the King's brief in 1540, to please both, this consummate hypocrite had set up six Bibles in St. Paul's for public reading. The result at once proved, how far the people were a-head of these official men. *They came instantly and generally to hear the Scriptures read. Such as could read with a clear voice often had great numbers round them. Many set their children to school, and carried them to St. Paul's to hear.* It was, however, not long before the language of our Saviour himself—"Drink ye *all* of it," struck them, and very naturally led to discussion. The complaints of some, in lack of argument, of which the adverse party took care to avail themselves, were dexterously conveyed to the King. In *their* eyes, this reading of the Scriptures by the people, and hearing them read in public, was a sore evil; and an opportunity must be sought and seized for putting it down. Crumwell, the terror of the Bishops, was gone; and Gardiner is out of the country; but Bonner, though always false at heart, must still dissemble; nay, moreover, here

[18] Such *public* reading had been enjoined three years before. First by Crumwell in 1538, then by Henry in May 1540, and now by Bonner in 1541, though he very soon not only changed his mind, and bitterly quarrelled with such reading whether in public or private, but persecuted to the death, when the fury and folly of Henry once permitted. See Burnet's Records, B. iii., No. 25, compared with No. 11, and Cleop., E. v., 337.

actually come Tunstal and Heath once more, and with another edition of the great Bible, in November!

"*The Byble* in Englyshe of the largest and greatest *volume, auctorysed and apoynted* by the commandemente of our moost *redoubted Prynce and soueraygne Lorde*, Kynge Henrye the VIII., supreme heade *of this his Church and realme of* Englande: to be frequented and *used in every Churche w̄in this his* sayd realme, accordyng to the *tenour of his former In*junctions giuen in that behalfe. ¶ *Oversene and perused at the co*mmaundmēt of the Kynges Highnes, *by the ryghte rererende fathers in God*, Cuthbert bysshop of Duresme, and Nicolas bysshop of Rochester. *Printed by Rychard Grafton*, 1541." The colophon is —"The ende of the newe Testament and of the whole Byble. Fynyshed in November, Anno MCCCCCXLJ."[19]

Nor would even this suffice. Anthony Marler, the only paymaster as yet named, or to be named, is still ready to proceed; and a final edition was completed before this year was done. It had been going on at press *with* other editions; and, it is curious enough, *from* last year, but it was not finished till the close of the present; at the same time, it may have been only *nine* months in the press, as their year extended to the 25th of March. Cranmer was not to be outdone by these two Bishops, and, therefore, as in May last, so he now follows them up immediately with his usual title, and an emphatic *colophon*, as if he had been in wonder at the compliance of Tunstal and Heath.

"*The Byble in* Englishe, that is to saye, the con*tent of all the* holy *scrypture both* of the olde and newe testament, with *a prologe thereinto, made by* the reverende father in *God, Thomas* archebisshop *of Cantor*bury. ¶ *This is the Byble appoynted* to the use of the Churches. ¶ Printed by *Rycharde* Grafton. Cum priuilegio ad imprimendum solum. An. do. MDXL." The colophon, is—"The ende of the Newe Testament, and of the whole Bible, Finysshed in December MCCCCCXLI. † *A domino factum est istud. This is the Lordes doynge.*"[20]

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[19] In the Bible thus twice sanctioned by these two men, but especially Tunstal, we seem to be reminded of one passage of Sacred Writ, of which different renderings have been given. We now have it, Ps. lxvi. 3—"Say unto God, how terrible art thou in thy works! through the greatness of thy power shall thine enemies *submit themselves* to thee." In the Bible then examined, it is—"Oh! how wonderful are thy works; through the greatness of thy power shall thine enemies be *confounded*." Parker, after this, translated—"Shall thine enemies *be found liars unto thee:*" and Ainsworth says—"feignedly submit themselves, for fear, or other sinister respect, *against their will*." But, certainly, one and *all* of these renderings, had *now been fulfilled* in the persons of these two Doctors of the Old Learning. Tyndale had persevered unto death, and triumphed: and these men, by Henry's command, were now humbled to the level of the Gibeonites of old, who became hewers of wood, and drawers of water, to the congregation of Israel. Tunstal himself now seems to deal out the water of life to the congregation of England! But what, in the end, will be thought of both these men, if, like the Gibeonites, they told a deliberate lie to their royal master, and then printed their names so pompously on the title-page—if, after all, they had *not* actually *perused* the volume! Such, there is reason to believe, was the fact; at least the people of England were openly so told in print, before Henry expired! See anno 1546. The bold assertion was never contradicted.

[20] This motto, taken from the Bible commenced in *Paris*, was strikingly appropriate; but

And thus ended the year; so that we have four of these large folios dated in 1541. It was certainly a strange movement on the part of Henry VIII., and one which must have taken many by surprise, for him first to send Gardiner off to Germany, and then, as soon as he was gone, command his friends, Tunstal and Heath, to give in their adhesion to the Bible, to which Cranmer had bowed; and then also to place their names in the title-page, in token of their full approbation—a translation almost verbally the same in the New Testament, which the King himself, and Wolsey had first denounced, and Tunstal after them, consigned again and again to the flames! Such, however, was the fact. The undertaking was *not* to be denounced, even though Crumwell, now rated as a heretic and a traitor, had imported the types, and pushed forward the printing, not only of these, but of other editions.

But lo! here is Stephen Gardiner, returned in October, and gone direct to the King from Charles V. With what surprise must he have beheld the progress made! On going abroad, his party reigned triumphant; it was now in disgrace, and the Queen, whose marriage he had fostered, is about to ascend the scaffold! But, especially, if he had not been informed, with what feelings must he have gazed on the names of Tunstal and Heath in the very title-page of these Bibles!

Tunstal was now in his sixty-eighth year, and appears to have been in some degree softened with his years; Gardiner never was; and now, though of these volumes there were eight editions in regular series, to say nothing of others, which had received Henry's approval, and two of these carried the obsequious, but well-known attestation of Tunstal and Heath; still this Bishop of Winchester stood resolved to put forth all his strength, in the way of cunning sophistry, against the translation thus acknowledged, and now reading in public, in so many places. Certainly he had owned to the King before, that there were "no heresies in it." But an-

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Cranmer thought it might be also applied to all that *he* issued. It is observable that Tunstal and Heath *left it out*. In the final colophon he not only prints the motto without abbreviation but gives it in *English*, by way of emphasis. He might have completed the sentence, by adding, *and it is marvellous in our eyes;* for, certainly, when the circumstances are observed, they are marvellous still. Cranmer, being an Archbishop, took to himself the title of Reverend only, not most Reverend; and he had said years ago, that he "set no more by any title, name, or style, than he did by *the paring of an apple*." Not so Tunstal and Heath. They were only Bishops, but they must not, on any account, abridge their title of *Right Reverend!* The difference of disposition or character, right or wrong, is often to be descried, even in such trifles.

other Parliament is summoned, and another *Convocation*, where Gardiner anticipated that he might even yet work wondrously. Let him try; that he himself, and his brethren may come to their greatest humiliation, and to their final discomfiture as a Convocation.

SECTION V.

THE ENEMY ON THE RACK—PARLIAMENT OPENED—THE FIFTH QUEEN EXECUTED—HENRY BENT ON WAR WITH SCOTLAND—NEGOTIATING WITH FRANCE AND SPAIN.

CONVOCATION MET—THE BIBLE INTRODUCED THERE FOR DISCUSSION AT LAST—SINGULAR DISPLAY—GARDINER'S GRAND EFFORT IN OPPOSITION—CRANMER INFORMS THE KING—THEY ARE ALL DISCOMFITED, THOUGH YET SITTING, OR BEFORE THE BISHOPS LEFT LONDON—PROGRESS OF THE TRUTH IN ENGLAND.

By this year, such had been the progress made in the cause of Divine Truth, that the imaginations of its enemies were literally put to the rack. Oppose they must; but how to proceed, was a problem not of easy solution. Upon his second return from the Continent, in October last, Gardiner had found far greater occasion for regret, than he had done even before, in September 1538. Then, he could step into his fiery chariot, and bring Lambert to the stake; he and Norfolk had been worming themselves into royal favour ever after; and upon setting off for the imperial Court, in November 1540, whether he should there fully succeed or not, every thing at home seemed to promise other, and, as he thought, better days; now that Cromwell was gone, and his Majesty so delighted with the Queen which had been furnished to him by the old learning party. She was their first and *only* choice, on whose sway depended anticipations not a few. But now, that mainstay had fallen; Gardiner's friend, the Duke of Norfolk, had been trembling for his personal honours, if not his life; while, to crown all, that pillar of strength, Cuthbert Tunstal, had not merely given way, but his name had been employed, by royal authority, as though he had personally gone over to the other side. Still the party must rally once more. By this time, it might have been supposed that

their arrows would have been expended and their quiver empty; but, subtle and ingenious in the extreme, their sophistry prevailed once more. If the peculiar situation of the King be taken into account, it must appear surprising that they should have been successful in swaying his mind now; though, in the end, we shall leave it to the judgment of the reader, whether the whole proceeding, on the part of Henry, does not carry very much of the appearance of a *snare*, in which, when caught, the Bishop of Winchester, from being the most conspicuous character, became the most ridiculous. Be this as it may, these men will not stop till they have exposed themselves to the derision of posterity; and as soon as we have briefly disposed of the civil events of the year, the entire scene will come before us.

Parliament having assembled on Monday the 16th of January, proceeded immediately to the loathsome and revolting affairs connected with the royal household. Among the members present, was to be seen the son of Crumwell, and sitting as a Baron; so strange were the movements of our capricious Monarch. Commissioners having been appointed to examine the Queen once more; on the 28th, she repeated her confessions, though to what extent is not recorded.[1] Both Houses declared her guilty; and in the Act passed, they petitioned the King, at once, "not to be troubled, lest it might shorten his life!" and that the Queen and all the others attainted, "might be punished with death!" The bill was passed by the 8th of February; on Saturday the 11th, Henry gave his assent; and on Monday the 13th, without any regard to his express promise of *mercy*, blood was shed.[2] That infamous woman, Lady Rochford, had been an accomplice; and thus, she who had acted so dreadful a part towards her own husband, and his sister Anne Boleyn, now righteously perished on the same scaffold with the Queen, to whose ruin she had also contributed. The property of the other branches of the Howard family being once secured in his Majesty's Palace at Westminster and elsewhere, the public censure of such severity led Henry to pardon those, whom Parliament in the perfection of its servility had condemned to death, though some of the parties were left to linger long in prison.

For shame, or rather some fear of consequences, Henry could not come forward to demand a subsidy, and Crumwell was no more; but as he was now bent upon war with Scotland, he wished the Commons would only condescend to meet his inclination, by offering him money,

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[1] The Commissioners were the Duke of Suffolk, the Earl of Southampton, Cranmer, and Thirlby. [2] Journals of Parliament.

without its being asked. He gave them a broad hint; but however ready they were to bow to his sanguinary proceedings, this being an affair affecting themselves personally, for once they feigned not to understand him, and the House rose without voting one farthing. At the same time, however, so far to please the ever-craving Monarch, they had consented to pass an Act by which his Majesty might possess himself of the revenues attached to *Colleges and Hospitals;* an Act which made both Oxford and Cambridge tremble, and an affair of which we shall hear again in 1545, when Henry has farther advanced on the road to ruin.

All offence with the Duke of Norfolk at present, had been conveniently passed over, as his services were demanded to head the army against Scotland. A country so divided at the moment, whose nobility were striving to secure their independence of the Crown, while the power of Beaton and his adherents contended for the superiority, was quite unable to resist. The expedition, in its results, so affected the Scottish monarch, that he fell a sacrifice to his vexation. James sunk into a low fever, and expired on the 14th of December, leaving his only daughter "*Mary*, Queen of Scots," an infant of eight days old.

With regard to Continental affairs, it may only be observed that the strange negotiations of Henry with the King of France, respecting the marriage, of which Norfolk had written in December, between the Duke of Orleans and the Princess Mary, as well as the arrears of Henry's pension, and even proposed war with the Emperor; they were carried on till so late as the 15th of May. But in the very same month Commissioners had been appointed to enter into other negotiations with Capuis, the Imperial Ambassador, at Stepney, the result of which will appear with the ensuing spring.[3]

A new Parliament having assembled, on the following Friday, or the 20th, the Convocation also met; and as it sat till the 29th of March, of course it proved, as usual, though only *apparently*, a critical period for the Sacred Scriptures. After so many storms, as all along there had been no *real* danger, so there will not be any now. At the opening, Richard Cox, Archdeacon of Ely, had preached to the House, of course in Latin, and if he had intended his text to be satirical, he could not have been more severe. It was "*Vos estis sal terræ*,"—"ye are the salt of the earth!!"—and no doubt a very different sermon from that of Latimer six years ago.[4]

[3] Gov. State Papers, i., pp. 739-740—*notes*.

[4] Latimer, who had pled so boldly for the Scriptures above eleven years ago, and in 1536 so pointedly inquired *what* they had ever done, was now in the Tower. This *Cox* had been one of the original canons in Wolsey's College, as formerly noted, and was preceptor to King Edward. His conduct at Frankfort proves that he was of a violent temper, and, as Chancellor of Oxford, he has been greatly blamed. Somewhat softened by time, he lived to the advanced age of 81.

After being detained for some time by the King's personal unhappy affairs in Parliament, these men proceeded to business in the Convocation; and at their third session, on Friday the 17th of February, the Translation of the Scriptures, so often discussed there without any result, must once more come before them. The reader cannot have forgotten their former abortive attempts, and may be the more curious to observe what happened now. They appear ever to have been afraid to look any farther than the *New* Testament, and it was of this they felt most apprehension. Upon this day, therefore, Cranmer required the bishops and clergy to revise the translation of the New Testament, and so successful had been the votaries of the "old learning," that this was done in the *King's* name. It must have been no welcome proposal to the Archbishop, after he had so fully committed himself. However, as usual, he must obey; and therefore having divided the volume into fourteen parts, he allotted them to fifteen Bishops, as follow:—

Matthew	to *himself*, Cranmer of Canterbury.
Mark	to *Longland* of Lincoln.
Luke	to *Gardiner* of Winchester.[5]
John	to *Goodrich* of Ely.
The Acts	to *Heath* of Rochester.
Romans	to *Sampson* of Chichester.
Corinthians, 1 and 2	to *Capon* of Salisbury.
Galatians to Ephesians	to *Barlow* of St. David's.
Thessalonians, 1 and 2	to *Bell* of Worcester.
Timothy to Philemon	to *Parfew* of St. Asaph.
Peter, 1 and 2 . .	to *Holgate* of Llandaff.
Hebrews	to *Skip* of Hereford.
James to Jude . . .	to *Thirlby* of Westminster.
Revelation . . .	to *Wakeman* of Gloster and *Chamber* of Peterboro.

Here, let it be observed, were two notable and curious omissions. What had become of *Tunstal and Bonner*—the former once so outrageously zealous *against* the Scriptures in London; the latter as much so *for* them while in Paris? Tunstal having but recently committed himself to *two* editions of the Bible, by express *commandment* from the King, must have either declined; or, with his characteristic "stillness," perhaps expected to "oversee" once more the wished-for revisal. Bon-

[5] Poor man! He had been "bestowing a great labour" upon the very same Gospel, seven years ago, to no purpose. See vol. i., pp. 446, 453.

ner, though a canonist and wily politician, was very probably no scholar; or, like his predecessor, John Stokesly, would have no connexion with the affair.

At their sixth meeting *Gardiner* came forward, therefore, with the fruit of his own counsel, and made a proposal perfectly characteristic, which he was sure to carry triumphantly within the Convocation. It was at best a puerile design, and to us now, a most contemptible one, with a view to keep the people of England in their ancient ignorance. He then read a list of not fewer than one hundred and two *Latin* words, that "for their genuine and native meaning, and for the *majesty* of the matter in them contained," might be retained in the English translation, or be fitly *Englished* with the least alteration. For the sake of illustration, only a slight specimen will be sufficient.

Ecclesia, pœnitentia, pontifex, olacausta (so in the record) *idiota, baptizare, sacramentum, simulacrum, confiteor tibi Pater, panis, prœpositionis, benedictio, satisfactio, peccator, episcopus, cisera, zizania, confessio, pascha, hostia.*

The bearing of the entire list is very apparent. Gardiner, indeed, had talked of "majesty" in the words, but there was something else than *majesty* in view. "Witness," says old Fuller, "the word 'penance,' which, according to the vulgar sound, contrary to the original sense thereof, was a magazine of will worship, and brought in much gain to the priests, who were desirous to keep *that* word, because *that word kept them.*"

Cranmer, however, being now at his post, and retaining influence with his Majesty, although he had once more dealt out the books of the New Testament among his fellows, soon observed from their discussions, what would be the result; and therefore determined to wait upon Henry, and inform him how matters went. The Bishops, therefore, were now relieved from their several tasks, and they were, moreover, *no more* to be consulted on the subject! They must be overruled, to a man, though in Convocation assembled. After entering the House, on Friday the 10th of March, Cranmer informed his brethren "that it was the King's will and pleasure, that the translation both of the old and the New Testament, should be examined by both *Universities!*" In vain did the House oppose, and in vain protest; for *all* the Bishops present did so, with only two exceptions, viz., Goodrich of Ely, and Barlow

of St. Davids. Cranmer, who saw that his brethren only desired to get rid of the translation altogether, then finally told them that he "would stick close to the will and pleasure of the King his Master, and that the Universities should examine the translation." This, however, after all turned out as though it had been simply an expedient adopted for putting an end to the foolish proposal of submitting the Word of God to the revision of any such men; for even the Universities never were consulted!!

To have ruined *Marler*, the worthy member of the Haberdasher's Company, in the eyes of the Convocation, would have been quite an achievement; but Anthony's precious property was now safe, and it seems that something more must instantly be said respecting it. It is singular that *forty-eight hours* were not allowed to pass away! Cranmer must have immediately informed the King of his final reply; and now, so far from looking to any University, out came the following authoritative communication, dated on (*Sunday*) the 12th of March 1542; thus verifying the old proverb—"the better day, the better deed."

"Henry the Eighth &c.—To all Printers of books within this realm, to all our Officers, Ministers, and Subjects, these our Letters, hearing or seeing, greeting. We let you wit, that we, for certain causes convenient, of our Grace special, have given and granted to our well-beloved subject, *Anthony Marler*, citizen and Haberdasher of our city of London, only to print *the Bible in our English tongue*, authorised by us, himself or his assigns. And we command that no manner of persons within these our dominions shall print the said Bible, or any part thereof, within the space of *four* years next ensuing *the printing of the said book, by our said subject* or his assigns. And further, we will and command our true subjects, and all strangers, that none presume to print the said work, or break this our commandment and privilege as they intend eschewe our punishment and high displeasure. Witness ourself at Westminster the xii day of March. *Per breve de privato sigillo.* 1542."[6]

But why could not his Majesty have shown a little more delicacy? Why could he not wait, but a little while, till the

[6] Patent Rolls, 33, H. VIII. Rymer's Fœdera, xiv., p. 745. "Though," says the editor of the Privy Council Minutes in 1837, "a great deal has been written about the early editions of the Bible, much still remains to be said, and it would otherwise be singular that Marler's connexion with those of 1540 and 1541 should now for the *first* time be pointed out, and more especially as the proclamation just cited was in Rymer above a century ago." Marler is indeed mentioned by Rapin and Ames; but the *connexion* has never before been fully explained. The editor, however, throws out a conjecture that Henry's letters *may* have been issued in 1541; but without positive evidence, the Patent Roll must not be questioned; more especially as the history now given shows that in March 1542, such letters had become more important than ever. After these Bishops had attempted to disturb all that had been done since 1537, it was far more necessary for the King to be imperative at *this* crisis, and settle the business. The sanction to Marler did so at once, and effectually.

Convocation was dissolved, and the Bishops had left the capital? They were still sitting, and continued to do so for more than a fortnight, or till the 29th of the month! Did his Majesty intend to pour contempt upon them, and hold them up to derision even while thus assembled? Whatever was his motive, certainly no mortification could be greater—no humiliation more complete. Their indignation, however, they must suppress for the present; though it will not be surprising should it burst out with great violence, as soon as they meet again. But let them do what they please, the sacred text will never again be submitted to *their* consideration. They may rave about Tyndale, execrate his name, wreck their vengeance upon his writings, and thus unwittingly, once more hold up to posterity the man to whom the nation stood most of all indebted; but his work will abide and prosper, and long after they have gone down to the grave.

As there were no more folio Bibles printed in Henry's reign, it has often been supposed that this was owing to the strength of the opposing party; but the fact has now been accounted for in a manner more satisfactory. Let it only be observed that by the end of last year, or only four years and four months from August 1537, of Tyndale's translation, and based on Tyndale's, there had issued from the press not fewer than *twelve* editions of the entire Bible, ten in folio, and two in quarto. And it was well they had; they were laid up in store, like Joseph's *corn* in Egypt, for the next four years. The impression of each of those Bibles has been calculated as ranging from 1500 to 2500 copies: but say that there were 2000 copies on an average, here were more than *twenty thousand* Bibles, a most memorable fact, under all the circumstances. Many of the copies which had been printed since 1539 may have been yet for sale; and Marler, it is evident was so overstocked, that he was afraid of ruin by his outlay. The King's letters in his favour now extended his privilege to December 1545, immediately after which we shall find that Grafton was at work again, with an edition of the New Testament.

But independently of this ample supply in folio and quarto, it must ever be remembered that there were many thousands of the New Testament long circulated, and reading far and wide throughout the country. We shall take the proof from one of the best of witnesses, and as it

came from the press in London, this very year. An admirer of Latimer's, who, in 1526, when only sixteen years of age, used to hear him preach, and George Stafford read lectures, at Cambridge, had then received certain impressions which were never to be erased from his mind. After mentioning Latimer's discourses, both in English and Latin, he then adds—"at all of which, for the most part, I was present; and although at the time I was but a child of sixteen years old, (anno 1526,) yet I noted his doctrine as well as I could, partly reposing it in my memory, and partly committing it to writing. I was present, when with manifest authorities of God's Word, and invincible arguments, he proved in his sermons that *the Holy Scriptures ought to be read in the English tongue by all Christian people*, whether priests or laymen, as they are called." "Neither was I absent when he inveighed against empty works." "He so laboured earnestly, both in word and deed, to win and allure others into the love of Christ's doctrine, and his holy religion, that there is a common saying, which remains unto this day: when Master Stafford read and Master Latimer preached, then was Cambridge blessed." Stafford, of whom we heard before in 1526, had died soon after; but Latimer was still in the Tower, where he will remain till after the death of his ungrateful Monarch.

This youth was Thomas Becon. Born about 1510, he was now 32, and proved, throughout life, one of the most laborious and useful men of his time. Last year, as well as this, he had been busy at the press, even in London, and had published three small pieces, two of which had, next year, already reached a second edition. In one of these he says,—

"I think there is no realm throughout Christendom, that hath so many urgent and necessary causes to give thanks to God, as we Englishmen have at this present. What ignorance and blindness was in this realm concerning the true and Christian knowledge! How many (speaking ironically) savoured Christ aright? How many walked in the straight pathway of God's ordinances? How many believed Christ to be the alone Saviour? How many trusted to be saved only by the merits of Christ's death, and the effusion of his most precious blood? How many ran to God alone, either in their prosperity or adversity? How many amplexed Christ for their sufficient Mediator and Advocate unto God the Father? How many felt the efficacy and power of the true and Christian faith? *But now*—Christ's death is believed to be a sufficient sacrifice for them that are sanctified. THE MOST SACRED BIBLE IS FREELY PERMITTED TO BE READ OF EVERY MAN IN THE ENGLISH TONGUE. Many savour

Christ aright, and *daily the number increaseth*, thanks be to God. Christ is believed to be the alone Saviour. Christ is believed to be our sufficient Mediator and Advocate. The true and Christian faith, which worketh by charity, and is plenteous in good works, is now received to justify."[7]

Notwithstanding this attestation, however, let there be no surprise, though the clouds should still be gathering, and another storm await us soon.

SECTION VI.

PARLIAMENT OPENED—THE CONVOCATION BAFFLED, ACKNOWLEDGE THEIR INABILITY TO STAY THE PROGRESS OF DIVINE TRUTH BY APPLYING NOW TO PARLIAMENT—PARLIAMENT DISGRACES ITSELF BY MALIGNANT BUT VAIN OPPOSITION—BONNER WITHDRAWN OR SENT ABROAD—EXTRAORDINARY ARRANGEMENT OF ALL THE EUROPEAN POWERS—HENRY'S SIXTH MARRIAGE.

Parliament was assembled this year on the 22d of January, and sat till the 12th of May.[1] The long-suffering of Heaven with such a Government, was, by this time, eminently conspicuous; but as the King on the throne had been overruled, and the cause of Divine Truth had hitherto not only baffled the Convocation, but laid it prostrate; so if there were any remaining branch of authority about to prove so infatuated as to interfere, it was fit that it should be left to expose both its folly and weakness to posterity, by so doing. Its interference, however, may be traced to the infatuation and enmity of the Convocation; for these being once infused into Parliament, there was nothing so foolish and contemptible, which they might not entertain and even enact. The Convocation as such, could not, of course, cross the threshold of the Senate; but its *leading* members the Bishops might, being members

7 From "The Right Pathway unto Prayer, by Theodore Basille, 1542." Under this assumed name Becon now published, and under this name his books will enjoy the honour of being condemned by Henry's final proclamation. There was a second edition of this tract *next* year, as if in defiance of the power vainly arrayed against the truth. In reading Foxe, it might be supposed that in 1541 Becon, apprehended by Bonner, was compelled to recant and burn his tracts, which had been much read; but this, of course, could not have happened before they were printed. The persecution of Becon has been more certainly ascribed to 1544, his writings being denounced two years after.

1 The session, therefore, began in the 34th and ended in the 35th of the King's reign. If both Parliament and the Convocation be about to grant subsidies to the King to pay him for his war with Scotland, let us watch and observe how he proceeded to treat his own English subjects in return for the money.

also of the Upper House, or Lords of Parliament. Hence the consequences.

In opposing the Sacred Scriptures in the vernacular tongue, the Convocation having so repeatedly discovered itself to be a powerless body, and more especially since the scene, or unceremonious treatment of last year; it had now seemed to the Bishops that only one mode of attack remained. It was their forlorn hope. They must admit, and now, in effect, acknowledged their own inefficiency, as a body, by introducing the subject into Parliament; but they will try what could be accomplished there. Providentially, however, by this time *Tyndale's* translation had been printed under *other* names, such as Matthew, Taverner, Cranmer, *Tunstal* and *Heath;* for this translation having been retained in *all* the English Bibles, with very little variation, it was now *impossible to reach it.* It so happened, too, that there were, by this time, various editions of the Bible printed *without note and comment.* Marler's editions, as well as others, were of this character, and, backed by the stern authority of the King, there was no possibility of touching any of them. To show, however, to what a low pitch the miserable spite of the enemy was now reduced, as well as to display the servility of Parliament, now become proverbial, an Act was introduced which was actually entitled—"An Act for the *advancement of true Religion!*"—and what were its provisions, nearly ten years after Henry had declared himself Head of the Church of England, and seventeen years after the New Testament had been introduced into our native land?

The name of *Tyndale* was the rallying point, and, in effect, the English Parliament must now furnish their tribute to his memory and talents. Upon setting off, by this Act *his* translation was branded and condemned as "*crafty, false, and untrue;*" although the translation actually reading in the churches! though the translation which Tunstal had been constrained to sanction! though the translation which had been read with avidity since 1526, and that to which the people had discovered such attachment as to perish at the stake, sooner than abandon it![2] Parliament durst not con-

[2] To say nothing of its being the very translation, which, in the Psalms, many of the people in England read to the *present hour*, both in public and private.

demn the Bibles to which the names of Taverner or Cranmer or Tunstal had been affixed, nor even that of *Matthew* by name; because this last had been so pointedly sanctioned by his Majesty, and *it* had prepared the way for all that followed! But, once more roused by the name of Tyndale, it was then enacted,—

"That all manner of books of the Old and New Testament in English, of *this* translation, should, by authority of this Act, clearly and utterly be abolished and extinguished, and forbidden to be kept and used in this realm, or elsewhere, in any of the King's dominions." But it was provided, "that the Bibles and New Testaments in English, *not* being of Tyndale's translations, should stand in force, and not be comprised in this abolition or act. Nevertheless, if there should be found in any such Bibles or New Testaments, any *annotations or preambles*, that then the owners of them should *cut or blot* the same in such wise as they cannot be perceived or read, on pain of losing or forfeiting for every Bible or Testament forty shillings; (or equal to £30,) provided that this article should not extend to the blotting any quotations or summaries of chapters in any Bible."

It was farther enacted,—"That no manner of persons, after the 1st of October, should take upon them to read openly to others, in any church or open assembly, within any of the King's dominions, the Bible or any part of Scripture in English, unless he was so appointed thereunto by the King, or by any ordinary, on pain of suffering one month's imprisonment!"

But then "the Chancellor of England! Captains of the Wars! the King's Justices! the Recorders of any city, borough, or town! and the Speaker of Parliament! *may use* any part of the holy Scripture as they have been wont!"[3] And "every nobleman or gentlewoman, being a householder, *may* read or cause to be read, by *any* of his *family servants* in his house, orchard, or garden, to his own family, any text of the Bible; and also every merchantman, being a householder, and any other persons, *other than* women, apprentices, &c., *might* read to themselves *privately* the Bible. But *no* women, except *noble* women and *gentle*women, might read to themselves alone; and no *artificers*, *apprentices*, *journeymen*, serving-men of the degrees of *yeomen*, (officers in the King's family between sergeants and grooms,) *husbandmen or labourers*, were to read the Bible or New Testament *to themselves or to any other*, *privately or openly*, on pain of one month's imprisonment."

The burning of the Alexandrian Library, and heating its baths with the books, has been often reprobated as barbarous, but the aim of Parliament was impious in the extreme. As far as they durst venture, they intended to take the bread of life out of the mouths of the common people. The Act has been described as "a net *contrived*, to catch or let go, whom-

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[3] It was usual, says Collier, for the Lord Chancellor, judges, recorders, &c., to take a text for their speeches on public occasions; but that the *captains of the wars*, adds Todd, thus opened a campaign, or that the Speaker of the House of Commons thus regulated a debate, the historian does not pretend.

soever they pleased;" but still it may well be inquired, where was "the wisdom of their wise men, or the understanding of of the prudent," when they *contrived* it; as the folly displayed was in equal proportion to the malignity. It might have been compared to an act framed to bind the wind, or intercept the light of day; and whatever may have been its vexatious consequences, it was by far too late in being framed.

Observe its contents. It denounced the translation of Tyndale, and enforced it almost in the same breath; for not only was it his translation, under another name, which was to stand in force, but many of his New Testaments had no such name attached to them. As to the second provision, whether any copies of the Bible were so *blotted* or *cut*, is nowhere recorded. If they were, they must have been consumed afterwards, for it is certain that scarcely any copies of all that survive, bear the positive proof of having been so treated.[4] But the folly of the statute is still more glaring, when both the *manner* and the *degree* of reading comes to be regulated by an act of Parliament. While reading in the parish *church* seems to be in part abridged, the reading at *home* in thousands of instances, is legalised if not enforced; and reading in the house, as being more deliberate and more retired, was better than reading in the church. Every one knows with what avidity men read, and will read, an interdicted book; but this was only half interdicted! *half* in numerous families, and *half* as it regarded the community at large. This was better still. Thus, in the former case, as *any family servant* was authorised to read the Scriptures to Master or Mistress, of course he might not only repeat what he read, but could the other servants be effectually prevented from snatching a perusal in the morning or evening, or at midnight? And if every nobleman and gentlewoman, every merchant, or any other, being a householder, were fully authorised to possess, and read the Bible, how were the *women* of the household, how were the *apprentices*, and journeymen, or other domestics to be guarded and prevented from looking between the Sacred leaves?

But beside these absurdities, there were certain clauses introduced, in mitigation of severity, not unworthy of notice.

[4] There are indeed imperfect copies, but these do not convey *such* proof.

Offenders, if ecclesiastics, were not to suffer death till the *third* offence; and the punishment of any others was never to extend beyond the forfeiture of goods, and imprisonment for life. The party accused also might bring witnesses, and the accused must be tried within a year after the indictment, while the Parliament, as usual, had to leave the act in the King's power, to annul or alter it at his pleasure! The bloody statute of six articles was in fact thus invaded and softened.

Such a mixture of folly and contradiction demands some explanation. Had Gardiner and his party obtained *all* their wishes, the Scriptures had been suppressed, and wholly interdicted: but it is curious enough that it was *Cranmer* who had introduced *this* act, with the view no doubt of legalising what he had enforced in his prologue to the Bible—the perusal of the Sacred volume *at home*, and hence the mystery of its *title* is explained. But once introduced into Parliament, and thwarted in his endeavours, it had, in passing through the house, assumed such a grotesque appearance, as to carry in its various clauses, the evidence of two hostile parties fighting with each other. To Cranmer, therefore, may be ascribed the credit of obtaining as much as might be, and of then stultifying the act, to disappoint the devices of the crafty, or carry the counsel of the froward headlong. In short, the passing of this act has been represented by Rapin, as a "mortification" to the adverse party, which "checked their hopes." That its vexatious operation was at least impeded, there can be but little doubt, from what was taking place at the very moment, as well as what soon followed.[5]

With regard to the time when Parliament was thus acting; it cannot have escaped recollection that we have been called again and again to observe, at certain critical periods, either formerly, when the Scriptures were to be imported from abroad, or since then, when those who prized them were in danger of being molested, that one or more of the bitterest persecutors were either put in check, or sent *out* of the kingdom, in the character of ambassadors to foreign parts. So it had happened

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[5] The only thing left for Gardiner to do was to infuse as much of the old leaven as he possibly could, into what he delighted to style *the King's Book*. This was the treatise already referred to, "The necessary doctrine and erudition of a Christian Man," now coming forth. And here he fully *succeeded* against Cranmer, who charged him afterwards, under Edward's reign, with having *seduced* the King. But never must such a man put forth his hand, and corrupt the *Scriptures!*

with Tunstal and Gardiner, and so it happened now. The focus of persecution had ever been in London, just as it was in Jerusalem of old; and of all men living, Bonner at this moment was most blood-thirsty. He had been very busy for more than a year in his favourite employment of persecution, and would have been so now. But no sooner had they begun to wrangle in Parliament, than he was sent off the ground by the Supreme Ruler.

The occasion of Bonner's removal must not pass unnoticed. It had ever been the policy of Crumwell to cultivate alliance with France and the German princes, with the design of keeping the Emperor in check; but we have seen the first symptom of a change so long ago as 1540, when the Imperial ambassadors suddenly arrived in London, in time to witness his execution, if they were so disposed. Long before then, however, and ever since, the gentlemen of the old learning had been sighing for full alliance with Charles. In such a case, they calculated that their cause *must* eventually triumph. This year they were to obtain their wishes, and we shall soon see whether the event answered their expectations.

The spring and summer of 1543 exhibited the authorities of Europe in one of the most extraordinary positions. It was a lesson of instruction, which could scarcely pass unimproved by those who thought at all. So far as the power of Sovereign princes was concerned, there were *three* systems of opinion before the world: that of the Pontiff—of Henry the Eighth—and of the Grand Turk. Francis and Charles were, professedly, alike votaries of the Pontiff, and by him Henry the Eighth had been branded for years as an anathematized heretic; while they *all* agreed in regarding the Turk as an Infidel, with whom no alliance of any kind, *could* be formed. Now immediately before Henry determined to espouse his sixth Queen, who was to lean decidedly to the side of the *new* learning, the position of all these Powers, is well worthy of distinct observation.

At the time in which Parliament was assembled, a very intimate connexion between Henry and the Emperor was already agitated; a circumstance which was the joy of Gardiner's party, in consequence of their *ultimate* intentions, but most offensive to the Pontiff, who could not know them. He, on the contrary, eager to prevent this step, proposed to buy off the Emperor by an annual payment of 150,000 crowns, and a promotion of Cardinals, such as Charles chose to name! But then it so happened that Charles longed for nothing more eagerly, than a league with the English heretic. Henry's uniting with France and the German princes, had been the Emperor's perplexity for years, as retarding the march of his ambition; but union with England would enable him to bring the

King of France to his knees, and at once destroy all hope of ever recovering Milan by force of arms. By the 11th of February, therefore, a treaty was framed in London, and Bonner, (the most furious persecutor in England,) as ambassador, must be sent off and out of the way, as its bearer. It was sworn to, says Lord Herbert, by the Emperor near Barcelona, on the 8th of April, "in presence of Edmund Bonner, Bishop of London, our King's ambassador;" and it was ratified by Henry on Trinity Sunday, or the 20th of May, though, for certain reasons, it was not made public till June. On the other hand, Francis, the adherent of Rome, to strengthen his hands, had formed alliance with Solyman, the Turkish Sultan; and though the zealous Cardinals took high offence at this "most Christian King," the old Pontiff himself was far from being inimical to the Porte!

Here then was the King of France standing out in alliance before the world, with the PONTIFF *on one side, and the* TURK *on the other! While Charles, the imperial son of* ROME, *visibly stood in closest union, offensive and defensive, with the condemned* HERETIC *Sovereign of England! They* were now united to oppose and humble them all! To finish the picture it should be observed that while the Emperor had joined with Henry, one of his grounds of complaint against Francis was thus distinctly stated—that "he had not *deserted* the Bishop of Rome, and consented to a *reformation*, as he once promised."[6] No wonder than the Pontiff was enraged with the Emperor; but then *he* had his answer ready—that he might with more reason avail himself of the English King's assistance, than Francis, could do of the *Turk's*.

This singular array of parties may not last long, and the figures may soon change their positions; but it was sufficient that it should be exhibited for ONCE, in the eye of the world, had it been for no other purpose than to show, that there is ONE, who, as "He spreadeth abroad the earth by Himself," so, at any moment, he can expose the hollow hypocrisy of nations, or more correctly speaking, of their rulers.

The wishes and long-cherished aspirations of Gardiner and his adherents were however now, at last, in part fulfilled. They had "set up their *rest*," says Burnet, "on bringing the King and the Emperor to a league, which we may reasonably believe was vigorously driven on by Bonner." But then this royal Master of their's, who was "every thing by turns, and nothing long," *may*, by only one movement, darken all their prospects; nay, he *will* soon, to their vexation, take his first step, and Gardiner himself must be called in to bow, and reverentially acquiesce in it!

Parliament had risen on the 12th of May, and Henry having secured an enormous subsidy,[7] as well as settled his foreign affairs on the 20th,

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[6] Herbert.

[7] To show their good will to the Imperial league, though the Pontiff was in opposition, the

the month of June arrived when the fact was announced ; but then at the same time all was preparation for his sixth marriage ; and on the 10th of July, to Gardiner was assigned the unwelcome task of espousing the King to *Catharine Parr*. The Queen, as already mentioned, favoured the *new* learning ; and though she proceeded with caution so as not to offend Henry, and therefore could not prevent the burning of three worthy men at Windsor, by Gardiner's instigation, only eighteen days after her marriage ; yet happily, through one of the Queen's servants, the plot which had already involved these men in ruin, and would have swept away others of higher rank, was detected. The King was so offended as to degrade and punish the agents employed.

It was in the last month of this year that Cranmer's palace at Canterbury was destroyed by fire, when his brother-in-law and some other persons perished in the flames. This prevented him from entertaining Gonzaga, the Viceroy of Sicily, who had arrived from the Emperor, with a view to strengthen the *league*, and urge to greater exertions against France. During the whole campaign between Charles and Francis, all that Henry had done was to furnish a small army under Sir John Wallop ; but vast preparations must now be made for this continental war, and the English Monarch will now proceed, for the rest of his reign, to *drain* the kingdom.

SECTION VII.

PARLIAMENT ASSEMBLED—HENRY'S STYLE AND TITLE—LONGS TO BE KING OF FRANCE !—WAR WITH SCOTLAND—HENRY IN FRANCE—GARDINER—CRANMER—HENRY'S CONFESSION OF IMPOTENCE IN ALL HIS INJUNCTIONS TO HIS BISHOPS—HIS INCONSISTENCY—NEW TESTAMENT OF TYNDALE'S, A FOREIGN PRINT.

THAT cause to which these pages have been specially devoted, had, as we have seen, been dragged into Parliament last year, but we shall have the evidence before us presently, that it continued to stand, as it had always stood, independently of frown or favour. Parliament had disgraced itself, it is true, as well as earned the contempt of posterity, by its interference ; but as for any fury involved in its proceedings, it will be evident that it could not this year be of much force,

Clergy had granted ten per cent. on their income for three years, beside the deduction of the tenths already vested in the Crown, and the laity granted him a tax on real or personal property, rising gradually from 4d. to three shillings in the pound. All foreigners paid double rates. Stat. 34, Henry VIII. 27.

in either burning, or blotting, or cutting the Sacred Volume. A variety of circumstances, involved in the state of the country, will make this apparent, and prepare us for whatever may have occurred in the cause itself; while a remarkable *confession of impotence*, on the part of his *Majesty*, as far as his *proclamations respecting religion* were concerned, will also come before us. So little had *Royal authority* to do with the progress of Truth, and that by its own *recorded confession*.

It was upon Tuesday the 14th of January, that Parliament had again met, and it continued sitting till Saturday the 29th of March, when the proceedings, as usual, assumed the shape of *whatsoever* had occurred to the fancy of the Sovereign. As the first Act introduced to the House regarded the Crown, in which the possibility of Princess Mary's ultimate succession was pointed at, the gentlemen of the old learning were not a little pleased, to say nothing of the compliment thus paid to the Emperor, who had long expressed his desire on the subject.[1] About the same time, Henry was resolved not to forget his much-prized *style* or title as King. An act was therefore passed, declaring that this should now be —" King of England, *France*, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith ; and on earth the Supreme Head of the Church of England and Ireland." Few moments certainly could have proved more awkward for the assumption of such a style. Its very sound, its grotesque appearance, as well as palpable arrogance, must have afforded ground for many an observation at the time, since it has drawn forth remark from the historian ever since. " King of England" Henry certainly was, as all his subjects deeply felt ; and having smitten Scotland, after seeing his nephew sink into an early grave, " his heart was lifted up ;" he might have " gloried in this, and tarried at home ;" but as for France, he was only girding on his harness to fight her Sovereign, and, before long, this will have cost him and his son a sum equal to about *forty-five millions* of our money sterling, without any advantage whatever in return ! And with regard to Ireland, this was the first Englishman who chose to style himself her King ; but seven years before this, as " Lord of Ireland," he had inflicted a vital injury, from which she has not recovered to the *present hour*.[2] The rest of his Majesty's style has already come before us ; and it was now finally confirmed by Act of Parliament, at the moment when Henry

1 Wriothesly, who had been created a Baron on the 1st of January, and is just about to come into power, must have been not the least gratified. Lord Audley was fast declining in health, after having held the seals as Lord Chancellor for above twelve years. On the 30th of April he died, and on the 3d of May Wriothesly, a very different man, succeeded.—Gov. State Papers, i., p. 763, *note*.

2 His barbaric, though impotent, *Act* for abolishing the *language* of the native Irish, the aborigines of that beautiful island—a language now spoken daily to a far greater extent than it was in Henry's reign. For *one* who then spoke Irish, there are now nearly *ten*.

was at open war with Rome, and quarrelling with the King of France because he had not deserted the Pontiff. In other words, "Defender of the Faith," a title which the Court of Rome had conferred upon him for defending *her* claims, was now to be worn, in union with another, "the Head of the Church of England," which usurped them *all*. By this time, however, it must be evident, that such a Parliament would have assented to *any* style his Majesty had been pleased to dictate.

The session had not concluded before Henry was resolved to wreak his vengeance on his nearest neighbour; for, on the eve of a continental war, Scotland must be prevented from giving any annoyance. Besides, his Majesty's proposal of a marriage between young Edward and the infant Mary of Scotland had been thwarted and opposed by Beaton. The ostensible object, therefore, was to extort a ratification of the matrimonial treaty, or rather the surrender of the young Queen. The uncle of Edward, or Seymour Earl of Hertford, with Talbot Earl of Shrewsbury, and Dudley Lord Lisle, the Lord Admiral, were despatched with a fleet and troops direct for the Scotish capital. Immediately on the Earl of Arran's refusal, the troops were landed at Leith, on the 4th of May, and 5000 horse from Berwick having joined next day, Edinburgh was attacked the day following. The Castle defied all their efforts; but after employing four days in the plunder and conflagration of the city, the army, in returning, consigned Haddington and Dunbar to the flames. On the other hand, the fleet was employed against Leith, where, having burnt the town, demolished the pier, and swept both sides of the Forth as far as Stirling, Lisle returned with his ships to Newcastle.

But the expedition to the Continent, in union with the Emperor, was to form Henry's grand exploit for this year; and as he had just asserted his right to the French throne, he must now go to make his title good. Charles and he were to march direct to Paris. Before setting off, however, the English Monarch, now especially in want of the needful, must devise some expedient for defraying all expenses. Afraid to risk the refusal of last Parliament, after so large a subsidy, granted only the previous session, and for three years; with equal disregard to the public at large and his successor on the throne, as Henry was *his own* minister, he at once raised the value of money and adulterated the coin! A strange preparation for a foreign war; one, too, which will not meet his exigencies, and a measure the results of which will be heavily felt for years after the monarch is in his grave.

In June the first division of the English army had landed at Calais; and having appointed the Queen as Regent during his absence, Henry set off, sailing, on the 14th of July, for France, in a ship rigged with cloth of gold! The Duke of Norfolk was with the army, and Stephen Gardiner had happily preceded, on his way to the Emperor's court; for though the King had begun to regard him with a jealous eye, his services as an

ambassador could not be dispensed with. Henry was now within the French frontier at the head of 45,000 men, of whom 30,000 were English troops, and the rest Imperial. The Emperor having been much the earliest in the field, had commenced with sieges while waiting for his ally, and three fortresses had already fallen before him. Henry must not be beaten, and therefore resolved to commence after the same fashion. Sitting down himself before Boulogne, he gave Montreuil in charge to Norfolk.

It was while thus engaged, before performing any feat, and without knowing whether he should succeed or not, that our English Monarch began to feel that he must have more money still! That he should ever be King of France, yet remained to be decided; but without delay he must signify to his people from a distance, that he certainly was King of England. Unfortunately for his oppressed subjects, the *graduated* tax of last year had *disclosed* the value of every layman's estate, and thus, if now disposed to make personal application, his newly created Chancellor, Lord Wriothesly, knew full well *where* to apply. In August, therefore, came the royal letter, demanding the *loan* of a sum of money. It was a regular circular, with blanks to be filled up; a royal personal application from the King direct, for a loan of money from the individual, not one farthing of which was ever to be restored, although he now said —"we promise you assuredly, by these presents, to cause the same to be repaid again unto you, within ——— after the date hereof!" How much was gained in this way has not been stated; it may have been only like a drop in the ocean, but whatever was the amount, Parliament will of course interpose and relieve the crown of all that was borrowed.

It had certainly been no small effort on the part of Henry to go abroad, as he had become so corpulent, not to say feeble, through self-indulgence; so that should he not succeed to his wishes, the mortification must be extreme, though as yet there seemed to be no reason to fear the result. Charles had reached within two day's march of Paris, which had taken alarm, and even Francis had begun to tremble. Meanwhile, a Spanish dominican, in the service of France, had whispered to Charles something about overtures of peace. The season was advancing, great arrears were due to the Imperial army, and the Emperor could not winter in France. An ambassador must be sent, for form's sake, to Henry, requiring him to fulfil his engagement, and meet with Charles before Paris. In the siege in which he was engaged, Henry's honour was at stake, when Charles, who felt no scruple in breaking a treaty at any moment, went on with his negotiation. It was soon signed. The Emperor found it perfectly convenient to make peace with Francis at Crespie near Meaux, on the 19th of September, leaving our English Monarch to settle his own affairs, and return home as he best could! It was only the day before that Henry had been riding in great triumph into

Boulogne, and with this he must now be satisfied, instead of the capital and crown of France. By the 30th of September he had re-embarked and returned, says Halle, "to England, to the great rejoicing of his loving subjects!" He had lost his Imperial ally, and was now embroiled in a war with France by sea and land! Great boast, indeed, was made of his Majesty's siege and conquest; but immediate consideration must be given to the means by which even this was to be retained. As a proof that the power of France was not impaired, and that even aggressive steps on her part were anticipated, the rest of the year was busily occupied in fortifying the coasts of England.

Several of the movements of Government this year naturally lead to the conclusion that there could not be much, if any time left, to attend to the business of persecution for the Truth's sake; although in the spring, while Parliament was sitting, the House discovered, as usual, the discordant materials of which it was composed.

Their very first bill, involving as it did, the prospect of Princess Mary's possible succession to the throne, seems to have inspirited the gentlemen of "the old learning;" for although Cranmer had triumphed over his accusers last year, it was during this Parliament that the minion of Norfolk and Gardiner, Sir John Gostwyck, of whom we have already heard enough, as the accuser of Crumwell, ventured to accuse the Archbishop of *heresy*, openly in the House of Commons; but the knight, whom his Majesty instantly denounced as a *varlet*, had to repair forthwith to Lambeth, to humble himself there, and crave forgiveness. On the other hand, Gardiner was about this time placed in very awkward, if not critical circumstances, by his kinsman, some have said nephew, and secretary, Germain Gardiner. Once the feeble opponent of John Fryth, having been apprehended for denying the King's supremacy, he suffered the penalty of death as a traitor on the 7th of March. However, the Bishop contrived, as usual, to make his peace with the King, and happily he was soon to be despatched upon foreign affairs; though still, if Gardiner failed in any way, he sunk; while Cranmer remained or rather advanced in royal favour.

To the latter, therefore, the present moment appeared to be a favourable one for the farther mitigation of the bloody statute, which had been already somewhat softened last year; and Cranmer succeeded in carrying a new Act this session.

By this, in future, no individual was to be brought to trial under that statute, till after he had been legally presented, on the oaths of *twelve* men, before such commissioners as are mentioned in this Act, and referred to in another; nor was he, *till then*, to be imprisoned. No reputed offence of an older date than *one* year was to be actionable; nor was any preacher to be indicted, if *forty days* had elapsed after any sentiment he had uttered in the pulpit. The accused might also challenge any juryman.[3] These provisions formed so many very important alleviations in the fury of persecution; though two years hence, as in the cases of Anne Askew and others, they were most scandalously disregarded.

By the time that Henry departed from France, also, it will be observed, that not only were Norfolk and Gardiner withdrawn from the country, but the Queen was Regent; and with Cranmer at the head of her Council, the chief man bent upon cruelty and mischief, or Bonner of London, must have been under certain restraint. Nor was this all. Just before his Majesty left, it deserves notice that prayers in the *English* tongue were directed to be generally used. This fact in itself was important; but in reference to past times, and royal influence, not so much so as another, which now comes out incidentally—

"We have sent unto you," says the King to all the Bishops of his realm, "We have sent unto you these suffrages, not to be *for a month or two* observed, and after *slenderly* considered, *as other our injunctions, to our no little marvel hare been used*, but to the intent that as well the same, as other our injunctions, may be earnestly set forth," &c.

Thus it was officially acknowledged that the King's former injunctions had carried no powerful or prolonged influence. Before this we have frequently had occasion to observe, that the cause of God and his truth had been so peculiarly conducted, as to have no leaning or dependence on him whatever. We have seen, by many striking proofs, that it went on in its course, first in defiance, and then independently of royal interference. But now, towards the close of his reign, lest posterity should mistake, or not observe it; as far as his own name and authority had been employed, here is an artless and very frank confession of *impotence*, on the part of his

[3] Statutes at large, 35 H. VIII., cap. 5.

Majesty, if not also of Cranmer, who is supposed to have drawn up the injunction.

So far, indeed, from being a consistent friend to the progress of Divine Truth amongst his subjects, only last year Henry had lent his authority to the reprobation of the original translator, at whose death he had winked so hard; and frowned upon the *poor* for *reading the Sacred Volume.* His injunctions, like himself, staggering from side to side, must have confounded the public mind; and considering what had passed in Parliament last year, in reprobating the name and writings of Tyndale, it was not wonderful that the indignity should be resented. Tyndale's very name had become precious to many, and his translations of Scripture were now carefully preserved or hoarded in many a corner throughout England, far beyond the ken of Bishop, or King, or any underling.

Meanwhile, there seems to be no account whatever upon record of the seizure or burning of the New Testament, though there might have been, had foreign politics and preparations for war not engrossed attention;[4] but Lewis and some others have gone too far when they have stated that Day and Seres printed the Pentateuch this year. Day had not yet begun to print at all, and the volume must belong to a subsequent impression, or that of 1549. It is, however, curious, and more to the purpose, that a foreign press was at work even this year, and with an edition of Tyndale's New Testament. This must have been in the face of the recent anathema. A copy, once in the possession of the Earl of Oxford, is mentioned in the Harleian Catalogue, with this remark—"it seems to be a foreign print."[5] Indeed it must have been so; and it may be put down in these troublous days, as a serenade from Antwerp or elsewhere, in answer to the contemptible brawl in Parliament last year.

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[4] It is true that in Herbert's Ames, under 1544, (p. 1555) there is mention made of one burning of the New Testament by Somersand sixteen others; but this refers to an earlier period, in the days when the possessors were condemned to throw them into the fire prepared at Cheapside.

[5] Bibl. Harl., vol. i., No. 428.

SECTION VIII.

WAR WITH FRANCE—EXHAUSTED STATE OF ENGLAND—UNDERMINING CRANMER—HIS ENEMIES COVERED WITH SHAME—HENRY ADDRESSING HIS PRIVY COUNCIL—HIS OPINION OF IT—ADDRESSING HIS PARLIAMENT FOR THE LAST TIME.

We are now within two years of the King's death, and the entire period was fraught with great misery to his subjects, though, generally speaking, not after the fashion in which they had been tormented in past times. His Majesty and the government, with all the strength of the kingdom, were at present fully occupied in preparing for self-defence. Such was the consequence of Henry's visit to France!

France had not been so exhausted by the double invasion of last year, as to be incapable of retaliation. Francis, having now only one enemy before him, had resolved to attack Boulogne by land, to block it up by sea, and even invade England. His army was to amount to above 50,000 men, and he fitted out a fleet of ships, large and small, amounting to above 200 sail, besides twenty-five gallies. It was the greatest effort that France had ever made by sea.

By the middle of July 136 sail had arrived within sight of Portsmouth, where the English fleet of only sixty sail lay to defend the kingdom. The sands, however, proving their grand defence, the French were unable to dislodge them; though the contrast between last year and the present, must have been striking in the extreme, to him who witnessed both. Precisely a year ago, Henry having sailed in his ship rigged with cloth of gold, was upon French ground at the head of 45,000 men, proposing to march to Paris: and now, at no small expense to his subjects, he was standing on the shore at Portsmouth, the fleet of France braving him to his face, and riding triumphantly in the British Channel! One of the English vessels too, the Mary Rose, with her captain, Sir George Carew, and *seven hundred* men on board, went down before his eyes; and though the ship was very partially recovered afterwards, all on board perished![1] The skirmishing between the two fleets was in-

[1] The French insisted that they had sunk her by their fire; the English said she had gone down from being overloaded with ordnance, and having her ports very low. We have said that she was *partially* recovered; but who would have supposed that the remains, could have been brought to light in our own day, after lying for nearly *three hundred years* under water? The timber and relics recovered from the Mary Rose, sunk in 1545, were recovered only in 1840, and being sold by auction in November, brought great prices. The heel of the oak mast sold for £30. Stone and iron shot, for from twenty to thirty shillings *each*. Common glass bottles and warrior's bows, from ten to fifteen shillings, and other articles in proportion. One brass and twenty iron cannon have been recovered.

significant at that moment, but no time was to be lost in farther preparations; although no sooner had his Majesty left the ground than "many of his mariners and soldiers had fallen sick, and many were not able to continue the seas."[2] Still, by the 10th of August, the English fleet had amounted to 104 vessels of all descriptions, with 12,738 men on board; and reprisals must be sought for on the coast of France. On the 2d of September about seven thousand men were landed in Normandy, and after burning the seaport and Abbey of Treport, the fleet returned in a condition sufficiently miserable, owing to sickness and disease. Lord Lisle, the Lord-Admiral, in writing to the Privy Council on the 14th of September, tells them "of the number of the men who came home with me, there were found in the musters, 12,000 sick and whole. And because there was *no money* to pay the army at the said musters, there was new musters taken the 13th of the said month, at which day were mustered of whole and able men 8488!" so that it doth appear there were sick, dead, and dismissed by passport 3512![3]

With the most savage barbarity, during all this month, the war in Scotland had been pursued, under Seymour, Earl of Hertford, to which some reference must be made at its close next year.

Throughout this busy year, and indeed ever since the death of Cromwell, there had been no man at his Majesty's right hand, fruitful in expedients to supply his exchequer; so that the state of his finances will forcibly explain the condition into which he had now brought himself, as well as the people under his sway.

When in France the King had procured money by "loans," never to be repaid. He could not, within a few months only, solicit loans a second time; nor does he seem to have been willing to face Parliament at its usual period of assembling in the beginning of the year. As for that species of assistance, strangely enough styled *benevolences*, time there was when the spirit of the people of England put an end to their imposition, and they had been declared by Parliament to be illegal; but the iron sway of this Monarch was such, that should any man dare to resist a "benevolence" *now*, we shall soon see the consequences. Upon any emergency whatever, and much more when money was wanted, law was now a trifling hindrance. Henry had been in the habit of making and unmaking laws for many a day, as to heresy, and why not, when his coffers were empty?

Early in the month of January, therefore, his Majesty coolly told his subjects, that he had "forborne, at this time, to trouble Parliament with their repair to the Court." He now merely addressed a "Minute of a letter to divers Lords," &c., for a benevolence! In this he adverted to the "importable charges" which he had "borne, upon the league with the

[2] Gov. State Papers, i. vol.

[3] Idem, i. and v., 475.

Emperor for the benefit of Christendom, and for the recovery of his right to the *Crown of France!*" He then calls on all those to whom the letter was addressed to "contribute such sums of money as they *conveniently* may, by way of benevolence, *as if* the same were granted by Parliament!!"[4] Amongst others, of course the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of London were not forgotten; but two of the latter had not found it "convenient" to comply. One of them, Richard Reed, before the month was ended, had been sent off to join the *ranks* of the army in Scotland. He was made prisoner in the very first engagement, and had to pay a heavy fine for his ransom! Sir William Roach, the other Alderman, suffered a confinement of three months under a charge of seditious words, and no doubt paid sweetly for his liberation. Such were the consequences of resisting Henry's "benevolence, if it were convenient."[5] The sum thus raised amounted to £70,723, 18s. 10d., or equal to above a million of our present money; but this proved only a mere driblet, when compared with the expenses incurred by the war with France. If the true condition of the country is to be known, and as descriptive of the reign of Henry the Eighth, it is important. Without any historical narration, the better way will be to repair to my Lord Chancellor Wriothesly, and inquire what he has got to say by the month of September. In self-defence, he will tell us far more than his Majesty would have ever chosen to disclose to posterity. He is writing to the Privy Council, on Monday morning the 7th of September, and the information will be new to most readers of English history.

"My Lords, if I had my horses here with me, I would be with you this night; but the same standing so far abroad that I cannot conveniently so do, I shall not fail to set forward on Wednesday, according to the King's Majesty's pleasure and my former advertisement.

"As concerning the preparation of money, I shall do that is possible to be done; but, my Lords, I trust your wisdoms do consider what is done and paid already. You see the King's Majesty hath, *this year and the last year*, spent £1,300,000 or thereabouts, and his subsidy and 'benevolence' ministering scant three hundred thousand thereof.[6] So the lands being consumed, the plate of the realm molten and coined, whereof much hath risen, I sorrow and lament the danger of the time to come; wherein is also to be remembered the money that is to be repaid in Flanders, and what is as much, or more than all the rest, the

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4 See Gov. State Papers, i., 789, *note*.

5 By the 21st for June, while the French fleet was in the act of preparing to pay Henry their visit, in return for his intrusion, we find the Duke of Norfolk writing to Paget the King's Secretary—"I have had here with me the collectors of this shire, Norfolk, and greatly blamed them for that the *benevolence* was not yet all paid. And their excuse was, that a great number of people have lamentably complained unto them, that for lack of payment for such grain, *as is taken of them for the King's Highness' use*, they have *no money* to pay the same; but *notwithstanding*, I have and shall this week, take such *order*, that I trust it shall be shortly paid!"—*Gov. State Papers*, vol. i., p. 789, 790.

6 That is, an amount, in our day, equal to nineteen millions and a half, of which four and a half had been received, while he saw not where the remaining sum, equal to fifteen millions, was to be found!

great scarcity that we have of corn ; wheat being, in all places, Norfolk excepted, at 20s. the quarter, and a marvellous small quantity to be gotten of it. And though the King's Majesty should have a greater grant than the realm could bear at one time, it would do little to the continuance of these charges, which be so importable that I see not almost how it is possible to bear the charges this winter, till more be gotten ; the great part of the subsidy being paid, the revenue received before hand, and more borrowed of the Mint than will be repaid these four or five months !

" Wherefore, good my Lords, though you write to me still, '*pay, pay, prepare for this and for that*,' consider it is your parts to remember the state of things with me, and, by your wisdoms, to ponder what may be done, and how things may be continued. I have done nothing in these matters *alone*. You were all privy to the state of them, before and after the King's Majesty came to *Portsmouth*, at which time things were considered and drawn to the uttermost."[7]

Among the other sources of perplexity, it will be observed that *Flanders* is mentioned. It was a branch of Henry's pretensions to the crown of France. In order to defend Boulogne he had hired 14,000 Germans, who, having marched to Fleurines, in the district of Liege, found they could advance no farther, the Emperor not allowing them a passage. The want of occupation and of pay soon produced mutiny ; and money not arriving at the time appointed, they seized the English Commissioners as their security, and retreated. It was an ill-managed as well as expensive armament. The only consolation was, that Henry was now *his own Minister*, and no single man besides could be blamed. Wriothesly, we have seen, declined all personal responsibility.[8]

Nearly two months after this the Chancellor reports progress to the King—" It may like you to declare to the King's Majesty that, against Monday next, he shall have in a readiness to be conveyed, whither it shall please him, the sum of £20,000, which is gotten after this sort ; the Mints, our *holy anchor*, doth prepare £15,000 ; the Augmentation, £3000 ; the Dutchy, £1000 ; and the Wards, £1000. The tenth and first-fruits hath *nothing*, the Surveyors *nothing*, nor the Exchequer above £1000, which must serve towards the setting forth of your *ships* now in preparing to the seas, to relieve the debt of the ordinance, and to help other necessaries !"[9]

By the 11th of November our Lord Chancellor is addressing Paget, the King's Secretary, very much in the same strain. " First, touching the Mint," (*their holy anchor*,) " we be now so far out with it, that if you take any penny more of it these three months, in which I think they shall be able to pay half the debt, you shall utterly destroy the trade of it, and men shall clearly withdraw their resort thither ; which what it would import ye know." And after referring to the Court of Augmenta-

7 Gov. State Papers, i., p. 830.
8 Herbert. Hume.
9 Idem, i., p. 835.

tions—of tenths and first-fruits, and the Exchequer, &c., he then adds—"I assure you, Mr. Secretary, I am at my *wit's end* how we shall possibly shift for three months following, and especially for the two next. For I see not any great liklyhood that any good sum will come in till after Christmas, and then no more than the relevainthes, whereof before I have made mention which is no great matter.[10] And yet, if ever I offended men in any thing, I offend in this matter. I am, as some think, *too sore* in it, but I serve him that I trust will sustain me, doing nothing but for *his* service."—"I would I and all men were bound to drink water twice a-week while we lived, upon condition that his Majesty might compass all things to his heart's ease and contentacion!"[11] These were nothing more than empty compliments, but, no doubt, intended for the royal eye.

This state of wretchedness and beggary had at last obliged his Majesty to summon Parliament and the Convocation. They met on the 23d of November; and the last subsidy for three years being now far more than expended, both Lords and Commons, clergy and laity, must come forward once more. The Convocation granted fifteen per cent. on their incomes for two years, and the Commons two tenths and fifteenths. The latter, indeed, added to this an additional subsidy from real and personal property, which they intreated his Majesty to accept, "as it pleased the great Alexander to receive thankfully a sup of water of a poor man by the highway-side."[12] To ward off, however, the recurrence or necessity for another "sup of water," the House proceeded one step farther, to the alarm of many who were not present to oppose, nor had ever been consulted. To his Majesty's sovereign disposal they subjected all colleges, chantries, and hospitals in the kingdom, with their manors, lands, or hereditary estates. From a monarch who never repaid his "loans," and crushed his subjects to the ground if they declined a "benevolence," they were satisfied with a promise, that he would not now abuse the confidence of his subjects, but employ the whole "to the glory of God, and the common profit of the realm!" Cambridge and Oxford, however, immediately took the alarm, and approached the throne, craving mercy and forbearance. By this time it has been extremely difficult for historians to find the slightest occasion for offering incense to the memory of Henry, but several have seized the present moment for want of a better, and simply because he left these two Universities in full possession of their revenues!

Among the acts passed at this time, there was one for conveying *seventy* manors to the Crown belonging to the see of York; one for punishing those who took above *ten* per cent. interest for money; and a third for

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10 *Relevainthes*—the revenue derived from *reliefs*; fines payable by a tenant on the death of his ancestor.

11 Gov. State Papers, i., p. 840.

12 Stat. of Realm, 1016.

settling the *tithes in* LONDON in proportion to the RENTS of the houses.[13] On the 24th of December Parliament rose, when Henry delivered the *last* oration he ever addressed to it; a strange production, which will be glanced at presently.

In the course of a year so pregnant with misery and confusion throughout the kingdom as this, it may appear difficult to imagine where one moment was left for the gentlemen of the "old learning" to display their hostility; but in the autumn, after the King's return from the mortifying scene at Portsmouth, such a moment was found.

Cranmer had not failed to improve the absence of Gardiner and Norfolk. Last year, as we have seen, the former had been in Germany or Flanders, the latter in France; and up to this period the Duke had been very busy at home, surveying the sea-coast, and harassed by the war of defence. But now in September or October, a select number of the Privy Council had found a little space to breathe and look round, when an opportunity seemed to present itself, for trying their skill once more. It was to be concentrated on the Archbishop, and for the last time. The incidents are important, not in reference to the accusers only, but as giving farther insight to the character of the King himself, in connexion with his precious Council.

In the afternoon of the 22d of August, Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, died; perhaps the most powerful friend that Cranmer now had.[14] The companion of the King from his earliest youth, and possessing throughout life considerable influence over him; Henry was sitting in Council when first informed of his decease, and could not suppress his feelings. He then declared that during the whole course of their friendship, the Duke had never made *one* attempt to injure an adversary, nor had ever whispered a word to the disadvantage of *any* person. "Is there any of *you*, my Lords, who can say as much?" When his Majesty had uttered these words,

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[13] See the Supplication of the Poor Commons, under next year.

[14] Gov. State Papers, v., p. 496.—Suffolk had been General of the English army in France, and was the first man who entered Boulogne. He it was who, in 1529, so incensed Wolsey, by exclaiming—"It was never merry in England whilst we had Cardinals amongst us,"—and it was to him and Norfolk, that the Cardinal at last delivered up the Great Seal. The Duke's last letter is dated from Portsmouth on the 7th of August, where he had remained behind the King, deeply interested in trying to recover the hulk of the Mary Rose; so that he had been but a short time unwell.—See State Papers, i., pp. 796-798, 808.

he looked round in all their faces, and saw them confused with the consciousness of secret guilt.[15]

Thus so emphatically checked, one might have supposed that they would have been careful not to verify the character which their Sovereign had seemed to insinuate; but no; it was but shortly after the Duke's remains were interred with splendour at Windsor, that certain Privy Counsellors had resolved to move. When the King gave his significant look round the Council, there can be little or no doubt that his Grace of Norfolk, Wriothesly the Lord Chancellor, and even Stephen Gardiner were present; for the latter had returned in spring, and been ever since actively engaged.[16] The fears of the party must have led them to exaggerate; but from the expressions employed, the reader will at least learn what was *their* estimate of the progress now made, in a cause which they denounced as heretical, and so detested. Another mistake they made, not unwillingly, was their ascribing so much to *one* man, and that one man the Archbishop; but he was near to them, and a perpetual eye-sore; they hated him from the heart fervently, and must play their last game, under Henry, with a view to his ruin.

Being, as they imagined, now fully prepared to carry their purpose into effect, the Privy Counsellors waited on his Majesty, when they grievously accused Cranmer; saying, "that he, with his learned men, had so infected the whole realm with their *unsavoury doctrines*, that THREE PARTS of the land were become abominable *heretics;* and that this might prove dangerous to the King, as likely to produce such commotions and uproars as had sprung up in Germany." They therefore "requested that the Archbishop might be committed to the Tower, till he might be examined." To their mode of procedure the King at once objected, when they told him, "that the Archbishop being one of the Privy Council, no man dared to object matter against him, unless he were first

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15 Coke's Inst., cap. 99.

16 It has been stated in the British Biography and elsewhere, that Gardiner did not return from Flanders till about Jan. 1546, but this is a mistake. As early as May this year, he had returned; and it is perfectly characteristic, that the first time his name appears again in the Privy Council, is by his signature in reply to the proposed murder of Cardinal Beaton. Again, his name is at the letter from Oking, 25th Aug., to the Earl of Hertford down in the north, informing him of the death of Suffolk on the day preceding. Sadler was with the Earl, and so was *Tunstal*, so that *he* must not be implicated in the scene about to be described.—*Gov. State Papers*, v., pp. 451, 491-496. The truth might be stated as—"Bishop *versus* Archbishop;" for Tunstal had *his* eye upon *Beaton*, and Gardiner *his* upon *Cranmer*, about the same moments.

committed to durance; but that if this were done, men would be bold to tell the truth, and deliver their consciences!" Yet Henry still would proceed no farther than this—that Cranmer should appear next day before the Council to be examined by themselves, and should they *then* judge it to be advisable, so commit him to the Tower.

His Majesty, however, knowing the men well, and reflecting on what he had done, about midnight ordered Sir Anthony Denny to cross the river to Lambeth, and command Cranmer's immediate attendance at Whitehall. The Archbishop was in bed, but, of course, instantly rose, and presented himself before his royal Master, whom he found in the gallery of the palace. Henry very frankly told him the whole, and what he had done in granting their request; but concluded by saying—"Whether I have done well or no, what say you, my Lord?" Cranmer, having first thanked his Majesty for the information, went on to say, that he was well content to be committed to the Tower for the trial of his doctrine, if he might be *fairly* heard, not doubting but that his Majesty would see that he was so treated. Upon hearing these words, Henry, with a profane exclamation, immediately burst forth, after his own characteristic manner—

"What fond simplicity have you, so to permit yourself to be imprisoned, that every enemy of your's may take advantage against you! Do you not know, when *they have you once in prison*, three or four false knaves will *soon* be procured to witness against you, and condemn you; which else, you being now at liberty, dare not open their lips, or appear before your face? No, not so, my Lord; I have better regard unto you, than to permit your enemies so to overthrow you; and, therefore, I will have you to-morrow come to the Council, which, no doubt, will send for you; and when they break this matter unto you, require of them, that being one of them, you may have so much favour as they would have themselves; that is, to have your accusers brought before you. And if they stand with you, without regard of your allegations, and will, on no condition, condescend to your request, but will needs commit you to the Tower—then appeal you from them to our person, and give to them this my ring, by the which they shall well understand that I have taken your cause from them into mine own hand. This ring, they *well* know, I use for no other purpose but to call matters from the Council into mine own hands, to be ordered and determined." Cranmer having received the ring, humbly thanked his Majesty, and withdrew for the night.

Next morning, and by eight o'clock, a message arrived from the Privy Council requiring Cranmer's attendance. It was immediately obeyed, but when the Primate made his appearance in the ante-room, he was not permitted to proceed

any farther. There he was kept waiting, among servants and ushers, nearly an hour, while other members of Council were, in the meantime, passing both in and out. Fortunately, Ralph Morrice, the Archbishop's secretary, was with him; and indignant at this treatment, he slipt off, and informed a warm friend of his master, Dr. William Butts, the King's physician. He first came, and once witness to the fact, proceeded to the royal presence. Having informed his Majesty what a strange thing he had seen. What is that? said Henry. "My Lord of Canterbury," replied the physician, "if it please your Grace, is well promoted; for now he has become a lackey or a serving man; for yonder he hath stood this half hour at the Council Chamber door among them."—"It is not so," said Henry; "the Council hath not so little discretion as to use the metropolitan of the realm after that sort! But let them alone; it is well enough—I shall talk with them by and bye."

At length Cranmer was called in. Their Lordships then informed him that great complaints were made of him, both to the King and to them; that he, and others by his permission, had filled the land with heresy; and, therefore, it was the royal pleasure that he should stand committed to the Tower, there to await his trial and examination. As a Privy Counsellor, the Primate first demanded that his accusers should be immediately called before him, using many arguments against their proceeding to such extremity; but all was in vain—he *must* go to the Tower. "Then," said Cranmer, "I am sorry, my Lords, that you drive me to this exigent, to appeal from you to the King's Majesty, who by this token (holding up the ring,) hath resumed this matter into his own hand, and dischargeth you thereof." The royal signet once delivered, produced more than its usual effect; the Council were amazed, and the first man who broke silence was Lord John Russell, afterwards Earl of Bedford:—"When you first began this matter, my Lords, I told you what would come of it. Do you think that the King will suffer this man's finger to ache? Much more, I warrant you, will he defend his life against brabbling varlets! You do but cumber yourselves to hear tales and fables against him. I know, right well, that the King would never permit my Lord of Canterbury to have such a blemish, as to be imprisoned, unless it were for high treason."

This, however, was no time for confabulation. The Counsellors, to a man, must rise instantly, and carry both the ring and the cause into the royal presence. Henry, of course, was now fully ready for them.

"Ah, my Lords, I thought that I had had a discreet and wise Council, but now I perceive that I am deceived. How have you handled here my Lord of Canterbury? What make ye of him? A slave?—shutting him out of the Council Chamber among serving men! Would ye be so handled yourselves? I would ye should well understand, that I account my Lord of Canterbury as faithful a man towards me, as ever was prelate in this realm, and one to whom I am many ways beholden, by the faith I owe unto God, (laying his hand upon his breast,) and, therefore, whosoever loveth me, will upon that account regard him."

Something must be said in reply, when Norfolk answered for himself and his fellows:—"We meant no manner of hurt unto my Lord of Canterbury, in that we requested to have him in durance; which we only did, that he might, after his trial, be set at liberty to his greater glory." Henry, however, was not to be befooled, and only added—"I pray you, use not my friends so: I perceive now well enough how the world goeth among you. There remaineth *malice* among you, one to another; let it be avoided out of hand, I would advise you."[17]

His Majesty immediately departed, when all the accusing gentlemen, so stern of late, are said to have shaken hands, hypocritically enough, with Cranmer, who was to be troubled no more, after this fashion, for above seven years to come.

It has been thought difficult to say whether Henry, overpersuaded by this junto, was at first in earnest, and afterwards changed his resolution; or whether he took this method to check the forwardness of the Archbishop's enemies; but let this have been as it may, who does not see, and in the King's own language, a hideous picture of the past? Here was the base manner in which many precious lives had been sacrificed. The Council, stript of its disguise, by its own Sovereign, exhibits a shocking spectacle; but above all, what can be said as to the character of the Monarch himself, who, in amazement at Cranmer's simplicity, was perfectly familiar with the unprincipled cruelty of his own Ministers? "Do you not know,"

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17 Strype, Foxe. Though this strange affair derives not a little point from the time and circumstances in which it occurred, it has been frequently misplaced. Strype, in his Life of Cranmer, placing it in 1544, and Burnet in 1546—from both of whom, others have copied. It is fixed by the death of Suffolk, and that of Dr. Butts. Archbishop Parker informs us that the Duke had died but a short time *before*, and we have seen the part which the King's physician acted. He had been knighted by Henry VIII. before this, and dying on the 17th of November 1545, lies interred in Fulham Church. The scene must have occurred, therefore, in September or October of that year.

said Henry, "that *when* THEY *have you once in prison*, three or four false knaves will *soon be procured* to witness against you?" Such, no doubt, on many a melancholy occasion, had been the tender mercies of both King and Council.

Having thus schooled his *Privy Council*, by the close of the year his Majesty felt no less disposed to lecture his *Parliament*. We have already heard, from the Lord Chancellor himself, what was the miserable state of Henry's finances; we have seen Parliament strain every nerve, and even exceed their powers, in trying to improve them; and as there was no subject which made its way so directly to the royal heart, as that of pecuniary supplies, the King professed to be uncommonly pleased with his most compliant House. He had, indeed, no idea of blotting out from his style, the monosyllable "France;" but by this time, there is not only no more lofty pretensions to that crown, but he very frankly characterises the adverse turn which the war had taken—"not for our pleasure, but your *defence;* not for our gain, but to our great *cost*." Still the whole House had done its utmost, and since they had laid at his feet all the Universities, as Henry had no intention of levelling to the dust either Cambridge or Oxford; after taking full credit to himself for being a "trusty friend," a "charitable man," a "lover of the public wealth," and "one that feared God," he proceeds—

"Now, since I find such kindness on your part towards me, I cannot choose but love and favour you, affirming that no prince in the world more favoureth his subjects than I do you, nor any subjects or commons more love and obey their Sovereign Lord, than I perceive you do me, for whose defence my treasure shall not be hidden, nor, if necessity require, shall my person be unadventured!"

The way being thus smoothed, his Majesty proceeds to reprimand the whole House, and nothing will satisfy him short of exposing to the public eye what he thought of them all, as a body. If any benefit was to accrue to posterity, from Henry's own opinion before quitting the stage, he now gives it; and the pith of his address must not be withheld.

He commences with quoting Scripture, and his *text* is "Charity is *gentle*, charity is *not envious*, charity is *not proud*, and so forth in that chapter." But he had seen malice in his Privy Council, and now saw it in Parliament, whether Lords or Commons, Clergy or Laity.

"Behold, then, what love and charity there is amongst you—I see and hear daily that you of the CLERGY preach one against another, teach one contrary to another, inveigh one against another, without charity or discretion—Alas! how can the poor souls live in concord when you preachers sow among them, in your sermons, strife and discord? They look for light, and you bring them into darkness. Amend these crimes, I exhort you, and set forth God's Word, both by true preaching and good example giving; or else I, *whom God hath appointed his Vicar* and high minister here, will see these divisions extinct, and these enormities corrected, according to my very duty!

"Yet you of the TEMPORALITY be not clean and unspotted of malice and envy —And although you be permitted to read Holy Scripture, and to have the Word of God in your mother tongue, you must understand it is licensed you so to do, only to inform your own consciences, and to instruct your children and family. I am very sorry to know and hear how unreverently that most precious jewel, the Word of God, is disputed, rhymed, sung, and jangled, in every ale-house and tavern, contrary to the true meaning and doctrine of the same."

Old John Foxe cannot permit his Majesty to escape with such credit as he would here arrogate to himself. "Charity and concord in Commonwealths, be things most necessary; but in matters of religion, charity and concord be not enough, without verity and true worship of God. And wherein consisteth all this variance, but only because *God's word hath not its free course*, but that those who set it forth are condemned, and therefore burned?" "How are they permitted to hear God's word, when no one is permitted to read it (as far as Parliament had enjoined,) under the degree of a *gentleman?*" Truth and error he regarded "as two mighty flints smiting together, whereupon cometh out the sparkle of this division," and "there is no neutrality, nor mediation of peace, nor exhortation to agreement, that will serve between these two."

Parliament, of course, durst not reply—"Physician, heal thyself;" but such language from *such* lips, has seldom if ever been equalled. Some may conjecture that Cranmer must have helped his Majesty to several of his expressions; but if this was indeed Henry's own unaided production, as he himself distinctly intimates, could we obliterate from our minds all the cruelty and wrong, all the reckless and unprincipled despotism of the past, then might we suppose that this was merely the last exchange of civilities on the part of a benignant monarch, concluding the whole with his final and faithful counsel. But as the past cannot be forgotten, and the speaker has yet another year to live, then does the language afford a display of the superlative deceitfulness of the human

heart, equal to any in English history. There was evidently as much need as ever for the dying prayer of Tyndale—"Lord! open the eyes of the King of England;" for this exhorter of other men to "gentle charity," was himself not yet done with the shedding of blood! not yet done with breathing after the blood of the living, nor with expressing his enmity towards the original translator of what he now had styled "that most precious jewel the word of God!" Such blindness in any man as to himself, is deeply instructive, and forcibly reminds one of the language of another King—"His own iniquities shall take the wicked himself, and he shall be holden with the cords of his sins. He shall die without instruction, and in the greatness of his folly he shall go astray." To all this, the last year of Henry's life will lend but too ample illustration.

SECTION IX.

WAR WITH SCOTLAND—PEACE WITH FRANCE AND SCOTLAND—ENGLAND EXHAUSTED AS THE RESULT OF WAR—PERSECUTION REVIVED—ANNE ASKEW—HER HEROIC CONDUCT UNDER ILLEGAL PERSECUTION—SHOCKING CRUELTIES INFLICTED—HER MARTYRDOM, ALONG WITH THREE OTHER INDIVIDUALS—LATIMER STILL IN PRISON—ENMITY TO ENGLISH BOOKS.

THE IMPOTENCE OF HUMAN MALICE—THE SUPPLICATION OF THE POOR COMMONS—THEIR GRIEVANCES—TUNSTAL AND HEATH EXPOSED—THE QUEEN IN DANGER—GARDINER IN TROUBLE—NORFOLK AND HIS SON, SURREY, ARRAIGNED—DUKE OF NORFOLK AND HIS FAMILY—EXECUTION OF SURREY—NORFOLK DOOMED TO DIE, AND ONLY ESCAPES BY THE DEATH OF THE KING HIMSELF—HENRY AND HIS COURTIERS—HENRY, FRANCIS, CHARLES—RETROSPECT.

NOTWITHSTANDING Henry's earnest exhortation to "gentle, unenvious, and humble charity," only a few days since, the Monarch pursued a course, from which he never swerved, to his dying hour; but the miserable condition into which he had now brought the kingdom requires first to be explained.

Down to the month of June, England was still embroiled in war both with France and Scotland. To the *latter* we slightly alluded in 1544; but as this war had proved so illustrative of the personal character of his Majesty, it demands a slight review, and more especially after his oration to Parliament.

Ever since the disappointment at York in not meeting with James V., Henry had burned with rage against Cardinal Beaton. *His* character was certainly bad enough; but whatever may be said of it elsewhere, we have now to do with that of Henry the Eighth.

Upon the Earl of Hertford first proceeding to Scotland in 1544, the following language is to be found in the commission then given to him by the *King*, of which previous historians were not aware.

"You are there to put all to fire and sword; to burn Edinburgh town, and to raze and deface it, when you have sacked it, and gotten what you can out of it; as that it may remain for ever, a memory of the vengeance of God alighted upon it, for their falsehood and disloyalty! Do what you can out of hand, and without long tarrying," (as he was going to France,) "to beat down and overthrow the Castle, sack Holyroodhouse, and as many towns and villages about Edinburgh as ye conveniently can. Sack Leith, and burn and subvert it, and all the rest, *putting man, woman, and child to fire and sword without exception*, when any resistance shall be made against you! This done, pass over to the Fife land, and extend like extremities and destructions in all towns and villages whereunto ye may reach; not forgetting amongst all the rest, so to spoil and turn upside down the *Cardinal's* town of St. Andrew's, *as the upper stone may be the nether*, and not one stick stand by another, sparing *no creature alive within the same*, specially such as *either in friendship or blood be allied to the Cardinal.* This journey shall succeed most *to his Majesty's honour.*"[1]

Shocking in the extreme as were these instructions, it will be remembered that the Castle of Edinburgh had defied Hertford. He never reached St. Andrews; and for the honour of humanity, it may be hoped that the heart of man revolted at literal obedience to these dreadful instructions; but great as was the misery inflicted, it did not equal that which awaited other parts of Scotland in 1545, or last year.

For months, however, before Henry once more vented his vengeance on the country, he breathed with ardour after the death of Beaton, by any means, foul or fair; and the prospect of reward from his exchequer, however exhausted, had begun to operate. The Earl of Cassillis, as early as May last, 1545, had written to Sir Ralph Sadler, who, with Tunstal and the Earl of Hertford, formed the Council of the North. In this letter he very deliberately made "an offer for the killing of the Cardinal, if his Majesty would have it done, and would promise, when it were done, a reward!" In the guilt of such a nefarious proposal, Henry's Northern Council felt no scruple in bearing a share, by immediately transmitting the letter to Paget, his Majesty's Principal Secretary; and what was the answer from Greenwich by the 30th of May, to the Earl of Hertford?

"His Majesty hath willed us to signify to your Lordship, that his Highness

[1] Hamilton MS. recently brought to light by Mr. Tytler.

reputing the fact not meet to be set forward expressly by his Majesty, will not *seem* to have to do in it ; and yet *not misliking* the offer, thinketh good that Mr. Sadler, to whom that letter was addressed, should write to the Earl, (Cassillis) of the receipt of his letter containing such an offer, which he thinketh not convenient to be communicated to the King's Majesty !" (this had been already done, and here is his reply !) " To write to him what he thinketh of the matter, *he shall say*, that if he were in the Earl of Cassillis's place, and were as able to do his Majesty good service there, as he knoweth him to be, and thinketh a right good will in him to do it, he would surely do what he could for the execution of it : believing, verily, to do thereby not only an acceptable service to the King's Majesty, but also a special benefit to the realm of Scotland ; and would trust verily, the King's Majesty would consider his service in the same ; as you doubt not of his *accustomed goodness* to them which serve him, but he would do the same to him !"[2]

To say nothing of the falsehood and prevarication practised throughout, it appears that every movement in this deliberate purpose of murder, long carried on, was directed by the King personally. Hertford made no scruple in writing to him direct, and was never left without a reply ; while not fewer than twenty individuals were involved with Henry in the same condemnation. They not only entered cordially into the nefarious project, but gloried in the idea that they were doing God service.[3] Sadler, in particular, the mouth-piece of his royal Master, made no scruple in speaking out boldly. He is writing in July to Crichton, the proprietor of Brunstain Castle, near Edinburgh.[4]

" I am of your opinion, and, as you write, think it to be acceptable service to *God* to take him out of the way. Albeit the King's Majesty, whose *gracious nature and goodness* I know, will not, I am sure, have to do nor meddle with this matter touching your said Cardinal, for sundry considerations ; *yet* if you could so work the matter with those gentlemen your friends, which have made that offer, that it may take effect, you shall undoubtedly do therein good service to God and to his Majesty ! Wherefore, like as if I were in your place, it should be the first thing I would earnestly attempt—so I shall give you mine advice, to travel in the same effectually with the said gentlemen, and to cause them to put the matter in execution ; *assuring you that I know* the King's Majesty's *honour, liberality, and goodness* to be such, (which also is *not unknown* to you,) as you may be sure his Majesty will so liberally reward them that do his Highness *honest* service as they shall have good cause to be *contented*. And if the execution of this matter do rest only upon the *reward* of the King's Majesty, I pray you advertise me what reward they do expect ; and, if it be not unreasonable, I will undertake *it shall be paid immediately upon the act executed*, though I do myself bear the charge of the same ! "[5]

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2 Gov. State Papers, v., p. 449. 3 Besides the King, we find ten noblemen, three knights, several commoners, and the two *Bishops*, Gardiner and Tunstal, *all alike* conversant with the affair. See the State Papers, vol. v.

4 Brunstain Castle, between Edinburgh and Musselburgh, now tenanted by a private family, and then the patrimonial residence of the Crichtons, was at a later period occupied by John Duke of Lauderdale. 5 Gov. State Papers, v., p. 471.

An Englishman named Thomas Forster had already been despatched by Sadler to the Earl of Cassillis and Sir George Douglas; and from the latter he brought back the following message—"That if the King would have the Cardinal *dead*, if his Grace would promise a good reward for the doing thereof, so that the reward were known what it should be, he thinketh that that adventure would be proved."[6]

To quote such language is no pleasing task, and we may well forbear; but there can be no doubt that we have now before us above twenty men, with his Majesty of England at their head, like "a troop of robbers waiting for a man, to murder him in the way by consent;" and yet this is the very same King who, *after* all this, had the face to come forward and complain of "malice" in his Privy Council, and want of "charity" in his Parliament!

Meanwhile, and before Henry can obtain his wishes, the Earl of Hertford must enter Scotland once more. At the head of an army, consisting not only of English, but a great many mercenary troops, Irish and Spaniards, Germans, and even Italians, the Earl began to move on the 5th of September. After destroying the abbeys of Kelso, Dryburgh, and Melrose; plundering, by fire and sword, every village and farm, castle, or mansion, on the beautiful banks of the Tweed, the whole country had become a desert! When, without a farthing to pay the troops, and their own victuals being entirely spent, the army was obliged to return. Hertford, in exultation, wrote to his royal Master that more damage had been done by fire in Scotland, than had been done for the last hundred years. In describing the horrors of war, the Earl on his way homeward must discourse "such music as might suit the Sovereign's ear."

"Yesterday, in the morning, sending the horsemen along the waters of Kaile and Bowbent, (Bowmont,) they forrayed, burnt, and wasted a great part of East Teviotdale; and, for the better execution, I sent with them 100 Irishmen, because the Borderers will not willingly burn their neighbours. Marching with the army towards Wark, we burnt and devastated the country on our way three or four miles on each hand, cast down sundry piles and stone houses, and burnt and destroyed such a deal of corn, as well in towns and lying in the fields, as also hid in woods and caves, that the Scots say themselves that they received not half so much loss and detriment by the last journey that was made to Edinburgh as they have done by this."

"Surely the country is very fair, and so good a corn country, and such plenty of the same, as we have not seen the more plenteous in England. Undoubtedly there is burnt a wonderful deal of corn; for, by reason that the year hath been so forward, they had done much of their harvest, and made up their corn in stacks about their houses, or had it lying in shokes in the fields, and none at all left unshorn. 18 *Sep.* The burning whereof can be no little impoverishment to them, besides the burning and spoil of their houses. When the journey is

[6] Gov. State Papers, v., p. 467.

ended, we shall make unto your Majesty a full declaration of the whole that hath, or shall be done in the same."[7]

Some idea may be formed of all this misery, when it is stated, that by the 23d of September, they had burnt, razed, and destroyed, in the counties of Berwick and Roxburgh alone, 7 monasteries and friaries; 16 castles, towers, and piles; 5 market-towns, 243 villages! 13 mills, and 3 hospitals. The Scots, in retaliation, had been doing what damage they could in the north-east parts of England; though the *raids* of the Scots could by no means prove so wasteful as the *forrays* of the English.

September thus spent, by the 6th and the 20th of October it comes out that the project for murdering Beaton had been resumed, at the very period when Henry was reproving malice in his own Privy Council; and though the Scotish Cardinal, by his cruelty and persecution, raised up other enemies in his own country, and fell at last as the immediate result of another quarrel, which we must not here anticipate, still the transactions of this period bear immediately on the characters of both Henry and his ministers.[8] Upon his Majesty coming down to Parliament with his last oration, Hertford and Sadler, Wriothesly and Paget, Gardiner and Tunstal, with all the rest, were present. To say nothing of their being accomplices, what must *they* have thought of *him*, when he burst forth and read the whole House a lecture upon *charity*?

It was in the beginning of June this year (1546) that Henry was at last informed of the murder of Beaton, on Saturday morning the 29th of May, in his castle of St. Andrews; but, worn out with this double and expensive war into which he had plunged his country, he had begun to long for peace. Negotiations had commenced, indeed, in April, when, after "long debating, and divers breaches," peace was concluded with France. The Emperor was comprehended by both Princes, and Scotland also was included, *if* no new occasion were given—the latter being in fact, a hollow and crafty clause to serve for the future; but, to France, peace was as welcome as to England.

It was professedly agreed that Francis should pay to Henry the arrears of pension due by the treaty of 1525; that commissioners, mutually appointed, should sit in judgment on a claim of debt due to England of 512,022 crowns; that, eight years hence, the King of England should receive 2,000,000 of crowns, as a compensation for arrears of pensions, and the charges of repairing and preserving Boulogne, which was to be restored to France.

In the foolish hope that this treaty was to be literally fulfilled, the peace was now proclaimed in London, and with great solemnity, on the 13th of June. It deserves notice merely on account of an incident per-

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[7] Gov. State Papers, v., p. 523.

[8] See the scene in the Privy Council, under last year, pp. 174, 178.

fectly characteristic of Henry after his wars were ended. On this occasion, the richest *silver crosses*, and the finest embroidered copes, collected from the different churches in London, were displayed; but, the sight once over, it had proved too much for the envious eye of our ever-needful monarch. They were to grace processions no more! This was the last time. His subjects, who ought to have been more cautious of displaying their finery, might have anticipated the result; for, soon after, the whole of these splendid decorations, as well as the plate belonging to the churches, were ordered to be deposited in the royal treasury and wardrobe, Henry assigning no other reason than his will and pleasure. This, however, was a mere trifle, caught in passing. If we desire to know the true state of things once more, we may again first inquire what my Lord Chancellor was saying, now that his Majesty had finished his royal game. For above two years past he had sought diversion, both by sea and land, and made the sorrows of mankind his sport.

The reader will not forget how much Parliament had done for the King last December, and for which he had stretched a point and came down, first to thank the House, and then charge all present with such lack of charity; but now, nine months after, Wriothesly is in no better humour than before.

"As for money," says he to the Privy Council on the 4th of September, "all the shift shall be made that is possible, but yet the store is very small. The contribution cometh very slowly in, which we shall help with letters if it amend not. The Mint is *drawn dry*, and much owing for bullion. The rest allege that they have little, but they shall have little rest unless we see they bestir them as appertaineth." Three days after this—"We cannot yet recover the money of the Mayor and City of London, due for corn, wherewith to pay the labourers at *Boulogne*. We caused £5000 to be delivered to the Admiralty yesterday for the alleviation of the King's Majesty's charges that way." Only three days later, or the 10th—"As touching the calling on the Mayor of London (Sir Martin Bowes) for the money due, we shall not fail to call, and *cry* till we get it."—"The Exchequer is closed up, and will help with nothing till the term come."[9]

Day after day Wriothesly sings the same song; and a fortnight later, or on the 25th of September, he is thus joined by Paulet and Gardiner in writing to the Council with the King:—"Mr. Coferer hath declared to us this day his great lack of money for the King's Majesty's *household*; alleging that there is owing at this day above twelve thousand pounds, besides two thousand six hundred pounds to be paid this Michaelmas for *wages*, which men look certainly to receive herein." In short, they add—"if the *conduits* be stopped, we shall be driven, of necessity, to tarry for the *water!*"[10]

When Michaelmas-Even was come, to which they had alluded, Wri-

[9] Gov. State Papers, i., pp. 854, 861, 865, 878. [10] Idem, i., 879.

othesly was then in as great a passion as he dared to utter, for he was writing in reply to Paget, the King's Secretary.

"With our answer to your strange letters I have thought meet to require you to consider that, travailing here, as we do, in things displeasant to all men whom we call before us, and devising how things may be answered, which must, of necessity, be dispatched, this kind of writing was no small discomfort to us all, whereby all our good will seemeth to be otherwise taken than we trust we have or shall deserve. What this matter of money importeth you know, and how slowly it cometh in, do we what we can. Even now we be advertised by Sir John Gresham that he shall not be able, from the allum and fustians, to pay Barth-Compain, but he must have £2000 by warrant. And in February we have £80,000 to pay, which must be provided for, or your credit will be in danger. It must be made of your half-year's rent, the tail of the Contribution, and some help of the Mint, for the subsidy is not payable till Easter, and the 'fifteenths' after. My Lord Great Master lacketh for victualling, and a great many poor men in England would be holpen that have delivered their victuals *long since*, and remain yet unpaid? I write this to you as to myself, that you may the rather weigh things thoroughly: and remember that all things must in time be foreseen, or else it may chance you shall lack suddenly, even when you would fainest have. Would to God the King's Majesty had a *sore present*—to rid us in this mean time of some of our care."[11]

Such expressions are far more significant of the real state of things than any general description in modern language; but still they convey no full idea of the extent of that expense and misery into which the Monarch had now plunged his kingdom. The storm he had raised besides was merely abated, not finished; and although the King of England be about to die, as well as the King of France, the burden which the former entailed on his son and successor, Edward VI., must be taken into account before we can judge of the merits or demerits of Henry VIII. when acting as his *own* Minister.

If we only glance at his Majesty's operations as a financier, we refer to a department entirely his own; and in the adulteration of the coin we see a series of measures which could only have been pursued in obedience to royal dictation. It was a course of proceeding by which, at every step, Henry at once defrauded the public, created commercial embarrassments innumerable, and involved his successors on the throne in serious difficulties long after he was gone. At his accession the ounce of gold and the pound of silver were worth forty shillings each. By his successive proclamations they were raised to forty-four, forty-five, and finally to forty-eight shillings. Contriving also, by a premium, to collect the old, he issued a new coinage, with no small proportion of alloy; and, once begun, he had gone on debasing it, till, at this moment, after such a ruinous war, the alloy exceeded the silver in the proportion of *two* to *one!* And what were the results to his successors? The nominal value

[11] Gov. State Papers, i., 880, 881.

of his shillings had to be reduced, first to *nine* pence, then to *six* pence, and finally to be withdrawn. The corruptions which he had introduced into English coin were not rooted out till the reign of Elizabeth!

Base as these operations were, they still but very partially explain the extent of Henry's powers; who, after all this, had come down, and told Parliament, when taking leave of it for ever—"that no prince in the world more favoured his subjects than he did." Even since 1542, the indelible marks of his favour had cost his subjects, for naval and military expenses alone, a sum equal to more than thirty-two millions of our present coin. To this must be added, the amount in which he involved his son by this war with France, and this cannot be estimated at less than another million then, or fifteen millions more. But, to crown all, what shall we say, when only three years after, or in January 1550, Henry the Second of France not only disdained to fulfil the treaty his father had signed, and to pay the sums to which he had agreed; but even the pensions alluded to before, must no more be mentioned in his treaties? So far from any mutual umpires sitting to judge respecting debt due to England, the two millions of crowns formerly specified, have now sunk down to a fifth part of the sum, and Boulogne must be restored, on payment of the last item of 200,000 crowns! Thus, all the blood and treasure spent by his Majesty to secure a yearly tribute, in lieu of his foolish pretension to a foreign crown, were spent in vain; and Edward was left with the word *France* in his style, and stamped upon his father's debased coin, as an expressive and disgraceful memorial to himself and to posterity, of the closing years of Henry VIII.[12]

In days of old, when in trying circumstances, a despised state-prisoner once tendered his advice to a Roman centurion—"Nevertheless, the centurion believed the master and owner of the ship, more than those things which were spoken by Paul." And as Paul was reputed to be no judge in regard to the weather or the sea; so what, it must have been thought, could such a man as Tyndale know about the policy of govern-

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[12] The late war with France, says Lord Herbert, cost Henry £586,718 sterling, and the keeping of Boulogne £755,833, or £1,342,551, which is equal to above 20 millions. Strype and Rapin affirm that the warlike expenses of Edward, by the year 1549, had cost him £1,356,687, which, added to those of Henry, would make £2,699,238, or above forty millions. But in strict justice both to Henry and his son, these statements admit of some correction. Among the Domestic State Papers, happily, we have one authentic document on this subject, *detailing*, from 1542, the entire Military and Naval expenses incurred by Henry VIII. and Edward VI. during their wars with France and Scotland, with the expenses of both Calais and Boulogne; and at the close we read,—"The sum total of the charges contained in this book, £3,491,471, 19s. 5d.: whereof in the time of the late King £2,134,784, 12d., in the time of the King's Majesty that now is £1,356,687, 18s. 5d. and some fraction of a penny." It may have been from this document that Strype took his sum; but the MS. embraces the charges *beyond* 1549, or from September 1542 to September 1552. It is grounded on this manuscript that we have spoken of Henry's expenses from 1542, the sum of £2,134,784 being equal to £32,021,760, of the present day. On the same principle, the entire amount in this MS. of twenty-three large pages, will be £52,372,075, 11s. 3d. for Military and Naval expenses.

ment, or affairs of state? As in the former case, however, so in the latter, it would have been well for Henry VIII. had he condescended to listen to the advice given to him, in print, sixteen years ago. "We," said Tyndale, "having nothing to do at all, have meddled yet in all matters, and have spent even to the utter beggaring of ourselves. For the Frenchmen, as the saying is, of late days, made a play, or a disguising at Paris, in which the Emperor danced with the Pope and the French King, and wearied them; the King of England sitting on a high bench, and looking on. And when it was asked, why *he* danced not, it was answered, that he sat there, *but* to pay the minstrels their wages only! As one should say, *we* paid for *all men's* dancing."[13] This war, it is true, had cost Francis also no small sum; but his son refusing to fulfil all previous obligations, there was no choice left to young Edward. He must sustain the expense of his father's "minstrels," and could only console himself with the reflection, that Calais was quite sufficient for a landing-place in France. By and bye this also was lost, which led Mary to say, that if they opened her body after death, they would find *Calais* written on her heart.[14]

By this, the evening of his life, it might seem that nothing was now wanting to complete the character of Henry the Eighth; a character which, notwithstanding all the past, it was customary to eulogise at the moment, and strange to say, by far too common, to soften down, or even eulogise, since. Some excuse may be pled for such writers as Becon, and Udal, and Foxe, who stood, as it were, *too near* the object, to be able to distinguish and define it: but the confounding of vice and virtue in human character, which is not a venial offence against historical narrative, should certainly be corrected as the truth comes out, so that some fixed opinion may be at last obtained. Accordingly, the character of this Monarch is far more correctly estimated now, than it has been at any former period; for notwithstanding all the verbiage, not to say unconscious errors, which have been printed by some historians respecting him, the stubborn facts of his reign preserve a uniform and awful consistency to his dying hour. It is idle to listen to what men may have *said*, now that we have

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[13] Tyndale's Practice of Prelates.

[14] One of the most ridiculous features of Henry's pretensions to the French crown was this, that it had become *penal* to give Francis his own title! And hence, in the end of next year, Edward's Parliament were obliged to enact, that "those who called the *French* King by the title of *King of France*, were *not* to be esteemed guilty of the pains of *translating* the King's authority or titles on any other!!"

gained access to the Monarch's own language, and almost all that he *did* or sanctioned, until he breathed his last in blood.

Before that Henry was gratified by the death of Beaton at a distance, there had been misery contemplated, of a darker hue; and after it, blood was shed of far greater value, in which the Crown and certain courtiers were immediately concerned. Wriothesly and Gardiner had sat at the Council table, advising as to the murder of the Scotish Cardinal; but they, with Bonner and Richard Rich, had since then been busy with several victims nearer hand, and under their own eye.

One of these suggests the idea that there must be a climax in human depravity. The first female martyr of rank or family, tormented and burnt to ashes, for no alleged crime, save stedfast adherence to the truth of Scripture, is here referred to; and if justice be done to the entire narrative, she occupies a place all her own. Among recorded martyrs in London, she had but one predecessor, and this was John Fryth. As in his case there was to be no abjuration, no recantation of the faith, nor any fear of the enemy; so it was with the devout and determined Anne Askew.

In noticing this unprecedented instance of female faith and fortitude, it must be remembered that for about twelve years past, the reputed heretic had been, by Parliament, taken out of the hands of the Bishops *as such*, or the Archbishop's Court, so that the case could not now resemble the course pursued with Fryth. The accused party, by this time, if any regard were to be paid to legal enactments, must be presented on the oaths of twelve men, before any imprisonment could ensue.[15] There was indeed an Inquest in London, probably a standing one, for the examination of the accused; but the last year of Henry's reign was to carry with it the highest possible degree of illegality, and of Satanic rage against the Truth. Witness the following narrative.

Sir William Askew of Kelsey in Lincolnshire, a gentleman of family, had two sons, Francis the eldest, and Edward, who was one of his Majesty's body-guard.[16] These young men had three sisters. The eld-

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[15] See 1534, or vol i., pp. 403, 404; and anno 1544, or p. 167 of this volume.

[16] "Whereas I am informed that this bearer, Edward Askew, my *servant*, son unto Sir William Askew, knight, is by some nobleman preferred unto the room of one of these *new spears* in the Court, which because it is done without my knowledge and his, I shall beseech you my Lord, inasmuch as I *have no friend to sue unto* for me and mine, but only unto your Lord-

est having died, after her father had already advanced money in prospect of her union with a gentleman of opulence in the same county, Mr. Thomas Kyme; Anne the second, in obedience to her father's wishes, was married to him, and became the mother of two children.[17] Her superior natural abilities had been greatly improved by education. The English Scriptures engaged her serious and frequent attention, and the result was, an earnest reception of the truths contained in them. Her husband, a devoted adherent of "the old learning," excited by such a decided change, in the excess of his passion absolutely drove her from his house; and, thus harshly treated, she had repaired to London to seek some redress, by suing for a divorce. Through her brother Edward, she could have no difficulty in being introduced to those of her own sex in the Court circle, who were in favour of the Scriptures; but, by whatever means it was, she became known to them all, including even the Queen herself. It was not long, however, before one so ardent in the faith was ensnared by the bloody Statute, or Act of six Articles; and Cranmer was now to witness a series of proceedings in gross violation of the bill which he had carried through Parliament two years ago.

It appears to have been on Friday the 12th of March, that this heroic young woman was first examined by one Christopher Dare, of the London Inquest, at Sadler's hall, Cheapside. The questions put, betrayed at once the ignorance of her examiner and Anne's thorough acquaintance with the sacred Volume; but she was immediately conveyed to the Lord Mayor, Sir Martin Bowes, a boisterous devotee.[18] Bonner's Chancellor, Thomas Bage alias Williams, was there to record what passed. After a few words on transubstantiation, in which, by her replies, his Lordship was made to look very foolish, she was *illegally* committed to prison.[19] She offered sureties, but he would take none, and sent her to the counter. There she remained eleven days, without one friend being allowed to see her. At last, on Tuesday the 23d, a cousin, Mr. Brit-

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ship, that you will, at this my request bear unto him your lawful favour and furtherance in the same; assuring your Lordship, that he, the young man, is of a very *gentil* nature, right forward, and of good activity, so that I think he shall be meet to furnish such a room, and to do to the King's Majesty diligent and faithful service."—*Cranmer to Crumwell*—at Forde 28th December 1539. MS. Chapter-house. This refers to Henry's personal guard, as before explained, p. 93.

[17] The third sister, Jane, was married first to Sir George St. Paul, and then to Richard Disney, Esq., of Norton Disney, ancestor of the present John Disney, Esq. of the Hyde, Essex.

[18] But a famous man in his day, among the Goldsmith's Company. He was sub-treasurer of the Mint under both Henry and Edward; and as the King can do *no wrong*, so in 1550 was granted to him a *pardon* of all treasons, trespasses, and contempts done by the said Martin concerning the money and coin of the King's Majesty and his father's before the date of these presents; and of all *unjust and false making of money and payments of the same*, contrary to common law, or any statute, act, provision or proclamation. *See Strype's Eccl. Mem.* 1550. Such was the commentary on Henry, the original offender, and cause of all the injustice done. Sir Martin left a sum for an Anniversary Sermon to be preached in St. Mary, Woolnoth, where the venerable John Newton so long proclaimed such doctrine as the poor Mayor never heard. Bowes lies there interred, under a close marble tomb.

[19] Before this was done, by the Act of 1544, she ought to have been legally presented on the oaths of twelve men.

tayne, was admitted. He went to the Lord Mayor, who referred him to the Bishop, and, next day, at three o'clock, was appointed for an examination before Bonner. The Bishop called for her at one, but this noble-minded woman would never, from first to last, submit to any private examinations, by any individual; and, therefore, declined answering till the hour appointed, when all interested would be present. While waiting, Bonner's Archdeacon, John Wymmesly, began to converse with her respecting a book he saw in her hand.[20] It was no other than one of *John Fryth's*, for Anne had nothing to conceal. The eye of these myrmidons had been upon her for some time, and Bonner, in full possession of all the slander, began, when the hour came, by urging her to know "wherein her conscience was burdened." She replied—"My conscience, I thank God, is burdened with nothing—and to lay a plaster to the whole skin, it might appear much folly." This arch-hypocrite then pretended, before her friends who stood ready as bail, to be *driven* to bring forth the budget, gathered for his use; and to which, (according to his Majesty's already expressed persuasion,) certain knaves would *easily* be found ready to swear. After denying the first expressions laid to her charge, having never uttered them, one mighty offence came out. She had on one occasion, very appropriately, quoted those sublime words—"*The Most High dwelleth not in temples made with hands*," and this, in Bonner's esteem, militated against his profane figment of transubstantiation! The Inquest, she owned, had asked her—"whether private mass did relieve souls departed?" "To whom I answered, "O Lord, what idolatry is this! that we should rather believe in private masses, than in the healthsome death of the dear Son of God!" Then said Bonner, "what an answer is that?" "Though it be but mean," said she, "yet is it good enough for the question." The Bishop then upbraided her, for having reported that there were "bent against her *threescore priests at Lincoln*." A noble testimony, at least, to Anne's zeal and fortitude in her own county. "Indeed," she replied, "I said so. For my friends told me, if I did come to Lincoln, the priests would assault me, and put me to great trouble, as thereof they had made their boast: and when I heard it, I went thither indeed, not being afraid, because I knew my matter to be good. Moreover, I remained there nine days, to see what would be said unto me. And *as I was in the Minster reading upon the Bible*, they resorted unto me by two and two, by five and six, minding to have spoken, yet went they their ways again without words speaking. There was one of them at last who did speak to me indeed; but his words were of small effect, so that I do not now remember them." Bonner, who was as holy in his own estimation, as his Majesty himself, replied—"There are *many* that read and know the

[20] This Wymmesly, alias *Savage*, was a natural brother of Bonner's.

Scripture, who live not according to it," which was at least a confession that the readers were numerous. At the close, a written declaration was offered for subscription. " I believe," said Anne, " so much thereof as the holy Scripture doth agree unto ; wherefore I desire you, that ye will add that thereunto." They add, she wrote—" I, Anne Askew, do believe all manner of things contained in the faith of the Catholic Church."

Bonner was far from being satisfied ; but said, " she might thank others, and not herself, for the favour found at his hand ; as he considered she had good friends, and also came of a worshipful stock." Still, however, to show his spite, he remanded her, to appear at Guildhall next day ; nor would this suffice, for the day after, or the 26th, she must also appear at St. Paul's. He had now finished, and the bail-bond being granted, so ended her first examination.[21]

After this, three months had not elapsed when this young lady, of about twenty-five, must be again molested. Her appearance now was not before any Bishops, *as such*, but before the Privy Council at Greenwich. It was on Saturday the 19th of June, when Mr. Kyme, as well as his wife, were called before them. Wriothesly and Rich, *Gardiner and Tunstal*, the Lord Great Master of the King's Household, Paget and Sadler, with six others, were present ; but *Cranmer* was not here, nor does he *ever* appear throughout. Kyme was " appointed to return to his country till he should be sent for ;" but Anne, " for that she was very obstinate and heady in reasoning of matters in religion, seeing no persuasion of good reason could take place, was sent to Newgate, to remain there to answer to the law."[22]

Her next examination was on Friday the 25th. Upon being asked as to her husband, she declined, saying that the Lord Chancellor, Wriothesly, already knew her mind. They said it was the *King's* pleasure that she should now open that matter. She answered, " she would not do so ; but if it were the King's pleasure to hear her, she would shew him the truth." They said, " it was not meet for the King to be troubled with her." She replied, " Solomon was reckoned the wisest King that ever lived, yet misliked he not to hear two poor common women ; much more his Grace a simple woman, and his faithful subject."

Wriothesly then inquired as to the sacrament. " I believe," said she, " that so oft as I, in a Christian congregation, do receive the bread in remembrance of Christ's death, and with thanksgiving, according to his holy institution, I receive therewith the fruits also of his most

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[21] It was printed by November this year, at Marburg in Hesse. The account inserted in Bonner's Register is unquestionably incorrect, or false, not only as to the substance, but, we have presumed, the day of the month, viz., 20th of March. Its only value consists in its confirming the time of the *first* examination. This was in March 1545 of *their* year, *i. e.* 1546.

[22] Harl. MS. 256, fol. 224, b. The *second* examination was printed at Marburg, 15th January 1548.

glorious passion." Gardiner then told her to give a direct answer; but she "would not sing a new song in a strange land:" on which he retorted that she spake in *parables*. "I answered—it was best for *him*; for if I shew the open truth, ye will not accept it." He then said she was a parrot: when she told him, "I am ready to suffer all things at your hands, not only your rebukes, but all that may follow besides, and that gladly."

The Council kept her before them for *five* hours, and, not satisfied, next day commenced, once more, with the sacrament. Anne replied, that she had already said what she could; after which they put her aside to confer among themselves. The Earl of Essex, the brother of the Queen, with Lord Lisle, and Gardiner, then came to her, requiring that she would confess the sacrament to be flesh, blood, and bones! Lord Parr, the uncle of the Queen, then on the very brink of the grave, was also standing by. With the character of all these men Anne was well acquainted, and for that of Gardiner she entertained due and merited contempt. To the Lords Parr and Lisle, therefore, she seized that opportunity of saying, "that it was a great shame for *them* to counsel *contrary* to their knowledge;" but with Gardiner she declined to hold any separate conversation, though he pressed it. He had said that he would speak with her familiarly. She replied—"So did Judas, when he unfriendly betrayed Christ." Then he desired to speak with her alone; but she pointedly refused, adding, "that in the mouth of two or three witnesses every matter should stand, after Christ's and Paul's doctrine." Matt. xviii., 16; 2 Cor. xiii. 1.

Wriothesly once more began the oft-repeated subject, and Gardiner followed, by saying "she should be burned."—"I have searched all the Scriptures," said this intrepid woman, "yet could I never find that either Christ or his Apostles put any creature to death. Well, well," she added, "God will laugh your threatenings to scorn." Paget, the King's Secretary, Cox, the tutor of Edward, and a Dr. Robinson, then spoke to her in succession; but, in the end, she was sent back to Newgate, and by this time very unwell. This was on Saturday the 26th of June. "Then on the Sunday," says Anne herself, "I was sore sick, thinking no less than to die; therefore I desired to speak with Mr. *Latimer*, (still in the Tower,) but it would not be;" and on Monday the 28th she once more had to appear at Guildhall.

By Act of Parliament, Anne Askew was now entitled to a jury, and to have challenged any one of them; but instead of this, she, with two other individuals, were at once condemned for the denial of the real presence; or, in the language of the contemporary manuscript—"On Monday, Mrs. Askew, Christopher White, and a tailor, (Adlam, or Adams,) who came from Colchester or thereabout, were arraigned at the Guildhall, and received their judgment of my *Lord Chancellor* (Wri-

othesly) *and the Council*, to be burned, and so were committed to Newgate again."[23]

Had the illegal procedure terminated here, it would have been bad enough; but the brutal servants of this monarch must reach the climax to which we have alluded. The examinations, tedious and frequent, were now supposed to be over; the trial was ended, and Anne had been sentenced to the flames. The sentence of death once passed, was it to be imagined that examinations of any sort were to be RESUMED? But so they were indeed. Fifteen days after Wriothesly had pronounced sentence, he must degrade himself below the vilest of men. On Tuesday the 13th of July Anne was taken from Newgate to the Tower, alternately the Bastile and the palace of Henry the Eighth. Having stopped first at the sign of the Crown, there Bonner and Richard Rich, that thorough-paced persecutor, awaited her, and spent their flattery in vain, attempting to turn her from the truth. Nicholas Shaxton, too, having now *recanted* and obtained his pardon, also came and presumed to address her. After many faithful monitions, she closed by saying—"It had been good for him never to have been born!" Rich then sent her on to the Tower, thus affording another specimen of his legal views; but at three o'clock commenced one of the most cruel and shameful scenes on record. Rich, by that hour, had followed the prisoner, and he was accompanied by no other than my Lord Chancellor once more. Some device, full of Satanic malignity, was now in view. They began by charging her to name any man or woman of her *sect* that she knew. In the legal sense of the term she knew none. That interesting lady, the Duchess-Dowager of Suffolk, the Countesses of Sussex, Hertford, and Southampton, and Lady Denny were then named to her; when she replied, that if she should pronounce any thing against them, (in their estimation,) she could not *prove* it. They then said, "The *King* was informed (by themselves or Gardiner, no doubt) that she could name, if she would, a great number of her sect." Here was employment for a Lord Chancellor and a Privy Counsellor *after* sentence of death had been pronounced! But Anne only replied—"The King was as well deceived in that behalf, *as dissembled with in other matters.*"

Thinking to discover and ensnare the ladies, on whom their eyes were fixed, they then tried another course. Little, if any, prison allowance seems to have been granted for Anne's support, as they then commanded her to show *how* she had been maintained. This was her answer—"As for the help that I had in the Counter, *it was by means of my maid. For as she went about in the streets, she made moan to the prentices, and they by her did send me money; but who they were I never knew.*" Ten shillings

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[23] Otwell Johnson to his brother, 2d July. See also *MS. Records in the Tower.* Ellis's Letters, sec. ser. ii., p. 177. After her condemnation, Anne addressed a letter to the King, and another to the Lord Chancellor; but whether the former was ever delivered is uncertain.

had been sent to her from Lady Herbert, and eight from Lady Denny; but as these examinators could not reach the ladies, the gentlemen came next; for they then said, (with an eye to Cranmer or some other,) "there were of the *Council* that did maintain her." She only answered, "No."

"Then," says the heroic sufferer herself, "then they did put me on the *rack*, because I confessed no ladies or gentlemen to be of my opinion, and thereon they kept me a long time; and because I lay still and did not cry, my Lord Chancellor and Master Rich took pains to rack me *with their own hands* till I was nigh dead! Then the Lieutenant (Sir Anthony Knevet) caused me to be loosed; incontinently I swooned, and then they recovered me again.[24] *After that* I sat *two long hours*, reasoning with my Lord Chancellor, on the bare floor, where he, with many flattering words, persuaded me to leave my opinion. Then was I brought to a house, and laid in a bed, with as weary and painful bones as ever had patient Job."

That two such human beings should have been found, and these two sustaining the offices of Lord Chancellor and a Privy Counsellor, may appear incredible: but Rich, as we have seen already, had shown himself, in point of baseness, capable of any thing; and as for Wriothesly, it is in vain, after this, to talk of his general character. Burnet allows that he was "fiercely zealous for the old learning;" and Rapin describes him as "extremely ambitious, very conceited of his own merit, haughty, imperious, and very angry that his advice was not always followed—but he showed his heat and passion chiefly on occasion of *religious* matters." The entire narrative of Anne Askew carries with it such verisimilitude, that no candid reader can fail to perceive that far more agony was inflicted, than meets the ear. Let not Henry VIII. therefore sustain more than his own share of blame, which was more than sufficient for a multitude; though "if a ruler hearken to lies, all his servants are wicked;" but there is reason to believe that when the King was informed of all this, even *he* was shocked; and Wriothesly, as well as Rich, somewhat afraid of the consequences. The reader can feel no surprise, if, soon after this, he should hear Henry designate this Lord Chancellor as a *beast*. Let this horrible scene serve, in part, as a key to the epithet.[25]

Three days after this, or on the 16th of July, the tragedy came to an end! The entire proceedings had formed one continued series of deeds of *darkness*, and in perfect consonance with this term, instead of the morning of the day, as usual, they deferred the execution till *night-fall*,

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[24] "The lady hath been racked *since her condemnation*, as men say, which is a strange thing in my understanding; the Lord be merciful to us all!" Otwell Johnson, 2d July, as formerly quoted.

[25] By his Lord Chancellor indeed the King was repeatedly provoked. Thus on Wednesday, or the very day after this horrid barbarity, he had condemned to the flames a gentleman of the King's Privy Chamber, *Sir George Blage*, who had been committed to Newgate only on Sunday last. He was rather a favourite of Henry's, and the tidings having reached his ear, Blage was saved, and went immediately to the royal presence; but Wriothesly had greatly offended his royal Master.

to make the sight more terrific. Upon a bench, apart and elevated, sat this man Wriothesly once more; his Grace of Norfolk; John, Lord Russell; Bowes, the Lord Mayor, and others, as if they had come to see a pageant. To the spot, Anne, her bones being dislocated, required to be carried in a chair, and there, in the gloom of night, she was joined by three companions; Mr. Lascelles, one of the King's household, John Adams from Colchester, already mentioned, and a priest named Belenian of Otterden, who were all to suffer. Before the fire was kindled, it having been whispered that gunpowder was to be employed in some manner, several of these cowards sitting on high, began to be afraid, lest the faggots on fire should come whizzing about their ears; but upon Lord Russell informing them that the gunpowder was not deposited under the faggots, but attached to the bodies of the martyrs, the murderers sat still.

That wretched being, strangely named Bishop Shaxton, who, after seven years' confinement, had abjured, stood in a pulpit on the scaffold, fronting this young woman, to preach. In full possession of her mental powers, Anne listened, and whenever he uttered any sentiment inconsistent with the Scriptures, she dissented. "There," said she, "he misseth, and speaketh without the book." Once finished, Wriothesly's last act followed, that of presenting, and to her first, the King's pardon, if she would recant. "I came not hither," said Anne, "to deny my Lord and Master." Her fellow-sufferers, greatly encouraged by her fortitude and firmness, would not look on the instrument presented for their acceptance. Bowes, the ignorant and brutal Mayor, then called out with a loud voice—"*Fiat Justitia!*" and the flames were kindled.

A scene more disgraceful to the persecutors of the human mind, had never before occurred, nor one in which the power of Divine Truth was more conspicuous. A weak and unprotected female, abandoned to all the fury of the enemy, stood, like a pillar of brass, while other men were proving traitors to the cause, and falling around her. On the day before her trial, Crome was reading his recantation in public, and White, tried on the same day with herself, had also failed and followed his example. As for Shaxton, so refuted by her, only a few moments before she went to the immediate presence of God, he lived for ten years longer, but proved a miserable character ever after. Lascelles, who suffered with her, having before that night, expressed some anxiety respecting her constancy—"O friend," she replied in writing, "most dearly beloved in God—I marvel not a little what should move you to judge in me so slender a faith as to fear death, which is the end of all

misery. In the Lord, I desire you not to believe in me such wickedness." The fact was that Anne Askew was in such perfect self-possession, as even to become poetical in the prison, amidst all the rage of her persecutors. It has been said that she actually sang her stanzas at her death; but be this as it might, to say nothing of the simple beauty and sublimity of the sentiment; when compared with the rhyme of more than a century later, even in point of euphony, they appear extraordinary. The following specimen, in which Henry and his Council occupy no enviable place, will speak for itself.

On thee my care I cast,
For all their cruel spite;
I set not by their haste,
For thou art my delight.

I am not she that list
My anchor to let fall
For every drizzling mist;
My ship's substantial.

I saw a Royal throne,
Where justice should have sit,
But in her stead was one
Of moody cruel wit:

Absorpt was righteousness,
As by the raging flood;
Satan, in his excess,
Suck'd up the guiltless blood.

Then thought I, Jesus Lord!
When thou shalt judge us all,
Hard is it to record,
On these men what will fall—

Yet Lord I thee desire,
For that they do to me,
Let them not taste the hire
Of their iniquity.

Before the flames of persecution for the Truth's sake, were kindled for the last time, under this reign, the only thing now to be desired was the testimony of some noble martyr to *the all-sufficiency of the Sacred Volume.* And here it is from the pen of Anne Askew, before she suffered.

"Finally, I believe all those SCRIPTURES to be true, which He hath confirmed with his most precious blood. Yea, and as St. Paul saith, those Scriptures are *sufficient for our learning and salvation, that Christ hath left here with us;* so that I believe we need NO UNWRITTEN VERITIES to rule his Church with. Therefore, look, what he hath said unto me with his own mouth in his Holy Gospel, that have I, with God's grace, closed up in my heart; and my full trust is, as David saith, that it shall be a lantern to my footsteps."

As far as fire and faggot were employed, so ended that war of opinion under Henry the Eighth, which, from the arrival of Tyndale's New Testament in England, had now lasted for twenty years.[26]

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26 One artist has begun to pay the homage due to this the highest of all subjects; leading the way, no doubt, to other efforts of the pencil.—In the beautiful historical painting by Harvey of Edinburgh, now finished, "*The first reading of the* BIBLE, *in the Crypt of Old St. Paul's, in* 1540," just before the downfall of Crumwell. To Munmouth, as the representative of TYNDALE, then gone to his reward, whom he had so befriended, has been given, most deservedly, a very conspicuous place.—*See* vol. i., p. 187. *Munmouth,* as one at the commencement, and the intrepid *Anne Askew,* as one at the close of the sufferers under Henry VIII., lend a peculiar charm to

The hardened cruelties of the monarch are, it is true, not even yet at an end; but these were the last *martyrs* under his reign. The termination is very observable. To these men it had seemed a most grievous offence, that even *women*, and those of good families, had begun to have any fixed opinions gathered out of Scripture; and it was therefore worthy of the majesty of Divine Truth, that, before the tempest ceased, the savage fury of this final storm should be braved by a female mind and frame. It was an eminent instance of the Almighty choosing the feeble things of the world to confound the things that were mighty; and that also, just before his blessed Word was on the eve of being more generally circulated and read, than it had ever yet been.[27]

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the entire group, here listening with so much eagerness to the Word of Life. This picture, now in the hands of the London engraver, when once published, cannot fail to prove an appropriate household ornament, not only in this kingdom, but wherever the English Bible is now being read, whether at home or abroad. In the grand battle, however, *previously* fought and won, there is yet to be found more than one heart-stirring scene, worthy of the pencil of our highest artists. It is now more than time that TYNDALE and FRYTH in *England*, as well as ALES and HAMILTON, about to be noticed in *Scotland*, should occupy that place, whether in painting or poetry, which ought to have been assigned to them long before the present day, in the sober prose of authentic history.

[27] This revolting tragedy has proved rather an awkward subject for the pen of Dr. Lingard. In his first edition, he had said of ANNE ASKEW—"She was, after *two* recantations, condemned to the flames by the same Prelate, (*Cranmer!*) and several other Bishops!" Obliged to alter this, in his fourth and last edition, after alluding to her case, he adds—"Numerous examinations followed: those who submitted to a recantation, were remanded to prison; the more obstinate were sent before *the Ecclesiastical Court*, of which the Archbishop was *probably* the chief judge; and *that* court excommunicated them as incorrigible heretics, and delivered them over to the civil power. Among the former were *Latimer* and Crome himself, who by submission escaped the flames: the sufferers were *Askew*," &c. That a historian, not indisposed to research at other times, should make the first assertion, and by way of correction substitute the second passage in explanation, seems to force upon us the conclusion, that there must here be some secret invincible prejudice.

It was too much to expect that the Doctor should appear in any sense as a lady's man, except, perhaps, in the case of Catharine Howard, on account of her party; but we have a right to look for some regard to impartiality, when he refers to a conscientious martyr, of either sex. The double recantation has been given up. It was a calumny, which Anne repelled, in writing, at the moment. "As the Lord liveth," said she, "I never meant a thing *less* than to recant," and this all her examinators had felt; but still Lingard is extremely reluctant to let Cranmer go. He now talks of *an Ecclesiastical Court*, of which Cranmer *probably* was the President! Forgetting to observe, that these Bishops were not now standing on the high ground they too often occupied before and after. The hand of Crumwell had been upon them in 1535, and even that of Cranmer in 1544; and up to this moment no suspected heretic could *legally* be brought before any Bishop, *as* in former days. Mr. Todd, to extricate Cranmer, repels the assertion of Lingard, by referring to Bonner as the *Ordinary*, and that the Archbishop therefore could not descend to the court of a suffragan. But the fact was, that Anne was not, as in former days, called before a suffragan court at all. She was first before the Inquest, such as it was, for even they acted illegally; and of this Inquest Bonner was merely one member; but when he attempted to insinuate himself personally, the heroic martyr treated him as he deserved; and would say nothing till the hour fixed for all others to be present. In other days, Stokesly before, or Bonner, some years after, would have sent her to the Coal-house, or Lollard's Tower; but at this moment the Bishops were muzzled. It was the Lord Mayor or Inquest who committed Anne to prison under the *first* examination; and the Lord Chancellor acting with the Privy Council, who, under the *second*, sent her to Newgate and the Tower. These were the parties, not Bishops, who examined and condemned her to the flames. It is true that *as* Privy Counsellors, two Bishops, and *only* two, were present; and why could not the Doctor, when he

Although these four were the principal individuals now put to death for opinions held, those gentlemen of the Privy Council had been extremely busy with various other examinations.[28] Besides Crome who recanted openly; on the 13th of May, say they, "we look for *Latimer;* for the Vicar of St. Bride's, (*i. e.* John Taylor, who, eight years after, suffered at the stake,) and some others of those that have specially comforted Crome in his folly."[29] When the first, or by far the most illustrious of these appeared, they put him on his oath, as to his intercourse with Crome, and presented him a string of questions, which he was to answer in writing. Latimer retired, and began to reply; but he had not proceeded beyond two or three queries, when the Council were informed, that, without an interview, he could not go on. Tunstal of Durham, and Sir John Gage, the comptroller, were then deputed to converse with him. In his own frank manner, he told them it was dangerous to answer to such questions, and that the course pursued was more extreme than it would have been, *if he had lived under the Turk.* Besides, "he doubted whether it were his Majesty's pleasure, that he should be thus called and examined." He wished to speak with the King *himself*, before he made farther answer, as he had been once deceived in that way, when he left his bishoprick. It had been intimated to him, by *Crumwell*, "that it was his Majesty's pleasure he should resign it, which his Majesty

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saw their names in the manuscript which he quotes, have rather mentioned *them?* These, however, were *Gardiner and Tunstal;* and they must be passed over in silence, in order to reach Cranmer by a *probability!* But to erect an Archbishop's Court, and put Cranmer in the chair, was too bad. He had quite enough to answer for, in the death of Joan Bocher, under the next reign; but the present far nobler martyr was the victim of Gardiner's and Wriothesly's malice. Cranmer had nothing to do with the shocking business, from beginning to end.

It is curious enough to see the caution of Dr. Lingard in questioning the fact of Anne having been subjected to the *rack*, on the ground of its *illegality* without an order from the Council! and that under a Monarch who so sported with law, as well as humanity and common sense; with a Council most of whose members were so virulent and cruel. But "the Archbishop's Court," having had no existence here, we have nothing but the *Council* before us, by whose authority poor Anne was tormented from first to last. As for *illegality*, the steps taken from the beginning to the end, were in the face of two Acts of Parliament, one in 1535, and especially that of 1544. This last, too, was carried through Parliament by *Cranmer;* and had it been obeyed, the life of Anne Askew had almost to a certainty been saved. It happens unfortunately for the Doctor's last edition, that he has made what was incorrect, still more so; while not satisfied, he must now, moreover, defame Latimer. As for *his* "recanting, and *so* escaping the flames!" he will come before us presently.

[28] According to Foxe, there was one other martyr,—"Like as Winchester, and other bishops did set on King Henry against Anne Askew and her fellow martyrs, so Dr. Repps, Bishop of Norwich," (a successor worthy of the old blind Bishop Nix,) "did incite no less the old Duke of Norfolk against one *Rogers*, in the county of Norfolk; but within half a year, both the King himself, and the Duke's house, decayed."

[29] Gov. State Papers, i., p. 846.

after *denied*, and pitied his condition."[30] In fine, "he thought there were some who had procured this against him for malice;" and then he named Master *Gardiner*, the Bishop of Winchester; specifying two instances of his ill-will in former days: the first occurred in a conversation they had held, in Henry's presence; and the second was evident, in that he had *written to Crumwell* against his (memorable) sermon in the Convocation! On the *latter* he dwelt, as a grievous proof of malice.[31] By this time Latimer had been again introduced before the Council, when Gardiner immediately replied, and in a style worthy of his deep hypocrisy. "I declared plainly," says he, "how much I had loved, favoured, and done for his person, and that he had no cause to be offended with me! though I were not content with his doctrine." They then repeated Latimer's allusion to *Turkey*—said that the interrogatories were not captious; and told him that he spoke "as though no credit or estimation should, now-a-days, be given to his Highness's *Council* or his Highness's *Ministers*."[32] But all was to no effect. Latimer, indeed, finished the writing he had commenced; but they were then obliged to report—"for *the* purpose, we be as wise almost, as we were before!" In the afternoon of the day, they remitted him to Henry Holbeach, then Bishop of Worcester, (originally recommended to the King by Latimer himself,) who, with the rest of the doctors, and in the elegant language of the Privy Council, were "to fish out the bottom of his stomach." But as far as all the official records go, they had fished in vain.[33] No more mention is made of Latimer; and although Lingard has chosen to say that he now recanted, it is but a groundless assumption. Once indeed, it is to be regretted, he did subscribe certain articles, and crave forgiveness; but this was fourteen years ago, and the days of recantation were with him long since past. Crome had fallen a second time, but Latimer never again; on the contrary, he was left in prison nine months longer. Like one of old, who, "to do the Jews a plea-

30 See under 1539, p. 68, *note*.

31 See what a watchful eye Gardiner retained over England while in France. No wonder than he *dwelt* on the sermon. It was now ten years since it had been delivered, and as a sermon delivered in St. Paul's, addressed to bishops, it stands by itself, to the present day. Gardiner did not himself hear it; but it had been printed in *English* after its delivery in Latin, and must have rung in the ears of these men for many a day.—*See* vol. i., pp. 490-491.

32 And this was very much in harmony with what his Majesty, in person, had already told them. What he had said to Cranmer respecting them was still worse. See before, pp. 176-179.

33 Gov. State Papers, i., pp. 848-849.

sure, left Paul bound;" so perhaps to please others, Henry left this, the most faithful subject of his realm, in the Tower. At least this much is certain, that to the man whom he had so courageously warned in 1530, Latimer was not to be indebted for deliverance from durance vile; so that every thing conspired to tinge with a darker shade the evening of that monarch's life. On Sunday the 20th of February 1547, or the day on which Edward was crowned, a general pardon was granted to all prisoners, except Norfolk, Pole, and Courtney, the eldest son of the Marquis of Exeter, at home; and Throgmorton and Pate abroad. It was then that Latimer, released from his honourable imprisonment of more than six years, went to Lambeth, to live for some time privately, under Cranmer's roof.[34]

In the very midst of all this fixed enmity to moral worth, there was still time found for Henry to vent his final malice to the dead, as well as the living; and among them all, special reference must be made to by far the greatest benefactor of his reign—William Tyndale. It seems to have been for the express purpose of lending additional terror to the night in which Anne Askew and her companions were to illuminate Smithfield, by being consumed in the flames, that a proclamation had been devised and issued against *books*. Authorised by the King's name, it was dated the 8th of July, just eight days before the martyrs were burnt.

"From henceforth no man, *woman*, or person, of what estate, condition, or degree, he or they be, (to reach the highest ladies or gentlemen about the Court,) shall, after the last day of August next ensuing, receive, have, take, or keep in his or their possession, the text of the New Testament of *Tyndale's* or *Coverdale's*, nor any other than is permitted by the Act of Parliament made in the session of the Parliament holden at Westminster in the thirty-fourth and thirty-fifth year of his Majesty's most noble reign.[35] Nor, after the said day, shall receive, have, take, or keep, in his or their possession, any manner of

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34 There is, however, reason to suppose that the Vicar of St. Bride's recanted three months after this. At least Wriothesly and Gardiner, on the 10th of September, tell the Privy Council,—"It may like your Lordships to declare to the King's Majesty that Dr. Taylour, upon further conference with Mr. Shaxton, hath subscribed all Mr. *Shaxton's* articles. He was never indicted; whereupon he is put to liberty, with bond not to depart from London."—*State Papers*, i., p. 866. The editor there, indeed, supposes this to have been Tailour, afterwards Bishop of Lincoln; but from what we have related, there can be little doubt that John Taylour, *alias* Cardmaker, the Vicar of St. Bride's since November 1543, is the person now referred to. See *Wood's Fasti*, by Bliss., p. 92, or Bonner's Register. He died at the stake, however, on the 30th of May 1555.

35 As this Parliament sat from January to May 1542, it embraced both years. Henry's regal year commenced with April 22.

books printed or written in the English tongue, which be, or shall be set forth in the names of *Fryth*, *Tyndale*, *Wicliffe*, *Joye*, *Roye*, *Basil* (*i. e.* Becon) *Bale*, *Barnes*, *Coverdale*, *Turner*, *Tracy*, or by any of them ;—but shall, before the last day in August next coming, deliver the same English book or books to his master, if he be a servant, or dwell under any other ; and the master or ruler of the house, and such others as dwell at large, shall deliver all such books to the mayor, bailiff, or chief constable of the town where they dwell, to be by them delivered over openly to the sheriff, bishop's chancellor, or commissary,—to the intent that they may cause them incontinently to be *openly burned* ; which thing the King's Majesty's pleasure is, that every of them shall see executed in most effectual sort, and thereof make certificate to the King's Majesty's Most Honourable Council, before the *first day of October* next coming."

Providentially, however, once more, before "the first of October next coming," both Council and King will have widely different subjects to engross their attention, rather than the burning of books. During the month before, Wriothesly and Gardiner will be worried out of their lives to provide the needful, even to pay the *wages* of the royal household ! The fiery Lord Chancellor, at his wit's end, shall not know what is before him, and Gardiner be sinking, to rise no more in the favour of Henry VIII. ; while the poor King, fractious and full of disease, will be entering on the valley of the shadow of death. Meanwhile, let it be observed, we have now a most expressive intimation of the *impotence* of all former denunciations. The proclamation itself, indeed, at this late period, is a proof of this ; but see the tameness of what follows. It is like the giving up of the ghost in despair. Before Henry dies he is constrained to crouch before the power of the new learning.

"And to the intent that no man shall mistrust any danger of such penal statutes as be passed in this behalf, for the keeping of the said books, the King's Majesty is most graciously *contented*, by this proclamation, to pardon that offence to the said time appointed by this proclamation, for the delivery of the said books ; and commandeth that *no* bishop, chancellor, commissary, mayor, bailiff, sheriff, or constable shall be CURIOUS *to mark* WHO bringeth forth such books, but only order and burn them openly, as is in this proclamation ordered."

With this proclamation, or immediately after it, there was published a long list of the books interdicted. It was the *last*, and is only to be found in the first edition of Foxe's Acts and Monuments, where, with his too frequent indifference to the order of time, he has inserted it under 1539 ! From the books mentioned he might have seen that it could not have

been issued before the preceding proclamation.[36] The proclamation itself is a proof of the spirit which was conquering "the old learning," and, in farther illustration, it is only necessary to glance over the publications in English from 1542, as given in Herbert's Ames, while this list of books serves as a commentary on the names denounced.[37]

Already sinking under the weight of mortal disease, such was the last public manifestation of the monarch's malicious folly. Not that the proclamation could have much effect, if indeed any, beyond the precincts of London. The only reported notice of books having been consumed at this period is confined to that city, and this was probably to give some eclat to the vain and expiring effort. A copy of the different publications having been obtained, "soon after this proclamation," says Collier, "the books of the authors mentioned were burnt at Paul's Cross, by the order of (Bonner) the Bishop of London."[38]

Thus Henry, at the very close of life, and his Council, as such, were drawing afresh the line of demarcation between themselves and all the good that had been effected. As much as to say, "let no future historian confound *our* names with it; or, above all, ascribe to *us* the commencement and progress of a cause against which we fought to our dying day! The Bible of Tyndale had, indeed, been sanctioned; "but in this," might his Majesty have added, "I was little else than

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[36] This list may now be seen, under its proper year, in the octavo edition of Foxe, published by Seeley and Burnside.

[37] Among the dead were Wickliffe, Tyndale, and Fryth, Tracy, Barnes, and Roye; but Coverdale and Joye, Basil, *i. e.* Becon, Bale, and Turner, were alive. At the same time it is easy to see the hand of *Gardiner* in the parties denounced. Besides his share in the deaths of Tyndale and Fryth, that of Barnes was still ascribed to him; while Joye, and Bale, and Turner were his chief opponents in print at this moment. The name of *Wickliffe* is here noted, probably because his "Wicket" had been printed *this* year at Nurenburg, along with *Tracy's* Testament, expounded by *Tyndale*. The name of *Roye* may have been owing to the republication of his famous Satyre, and more especially as it was now made to apply to the bishops *generally*, instead of its more powerful application to Wolsey at first. It is, however, more important to observe that, at the very top of this list of interdicted books, stands "*The whole Bible, by Miles Coverdale.*" He had been patronised by Crumwell, with whose name great liberties were now used. The New Testaments only of *Tyndale* are denounced, in *divers* prints, at the head of his other publications; but his translations entire were secure in those Bibles which no Gardiner, Tunstal, or Bonner dared to remove, and thousands of his Testaments, away down throughout all the country, could never be reached. Indeed, in *four months* only, after the 1st of October, they were not *seizable*, but might be read in open day, and were so everywhere.

[38] Collier's Ecc. Hist., ii., p. 211. As a signal proof that it was *vernacular* literature before which the old learning party now trembled, we have, in the list already referred to, not fewer than eighty-five items, or distinct publications in *English*, not one in Latin. Lutheranism, as such, never prevailed in England, nor was *Lutheran* the name of terror now employed. In this list, indeed, we have *one* small tract of Luther's, a translation; but of the publications of Tyndale and Fryth we have at least a *score*. Of Becon's small pieces about fourteen; of Coverdale's, ten; of Joye's, seven; of Bale's, four; and of Dr. William Turner's, two.

a passive instrument—I was superintended—I was, to all intents and purposes, only a man overruled."

The enmity now shown was not, however, suffered to pass without notice, and that in a style and manner confirmatory of that marked distinction which we have seen to prevail throughout. So far from confounding the Government, or the King and his advisers, with the progress of Divine Truth, that cause appears to be now, as it had ever done, an entirely separate concern. Accordingly, by one contemporary writer, and in the name of many other individuals, the Government, in its widest sense, of which Henry was the determined head, was then placed in *contrast* or opposition to the Sacred Scriptures, and their unfettered perusal by the people at large.

The reader cannot have forgotten what a commotion was excited in 1526, just at the moment when the New Testament of Tyndale had been introduced into England, by a very small publication, entitled *the Supplication of Beggars*, which Sir Thomas More laboured to answer. But it is curious enough that, as the commotion at first was thus distinguished, so its close was marked by a second supplication, entitled, "*The Supplication of the poor Commons to the King.*" The author of this last has never been ascertained, but *both* supplications were now published in one book, being alike distinguished for the same boldness of style.[39]

His Majesty well knew, having read for himself the former publication—whether he ever saw the latter is uncertain—but, in conjunction with the Government State Papers, it finishes the picture of his times. While from these papers it has appeared that the Lord Chancellor was "crying" to the Lord Mayor and Aldermen for money, that the Mint was "drawn dry," the Exchequer shut, the other courts of revenue able to afford but little, "that the conduits being nearly run dry, his Majesty's servants were tarrying for the water;" from this last Supplication it is no less evident that the "Commons," and especially the inhabitants of the metropolis, were groaning under certain burdens, and greatly exasperated by one measure relating to *tythes* in London, sanctioned by Henry's final Parliament in November last. As the House had been so

[39] This Supplication is not to be confounded with "An Information and Petition against the Oppressors of the poor Commons," by Robert Crowley, in 1548.

liberal to his Majesty, perhaps he had winked at this bill, if he did not intend it as a compliment in return to the Convocation, and especially to the clergy then living in the immediate vicinity of the throne.

This "Supplication," says the industrious Strype, "is a notable piece, and it gives such a light into the affairs of those days, that a *better* history can scarce be given thereof, being writ in those very times." It was printed and published this year, 1546; but in Strype's time, hardly to be met with. Two or three extracts will here be sufficient. After alluding to the first Supplication, circulated in 1526, and now republished, and to "the great and infinite number of 'valiant and sturdy beggars' who *then* had got into their hands, more than the third part of the yearly revenues and possessions of his Highness' realm;" and from whose exactions his Majesty had *delivered* his kingdom; still both the country, and more especially the capital, were *now* again suffering from another quarter.

"Instead of these sturdy beggars, there is crept in a sturdy sort of extortioners. These men cease not to oppress us, your Highness' poor Commons; in such sort that many thousands of us, which here before lived honestly upon our sore labour and travail, bringing up our children in the exercise of honest labour, are now constrained, some to beg, some to borrow, and some rob and steal, to get food for us, and our poor wives and children."—"Such of us as have no possessions left to us, can now get no farm, tenement, or cottage, at these men's hands, without we pay unto them more than we are able to make. Yea, this was tolerable, so long as after this extreme exaction we were not, for the residue of our years, oppressed with much greater rents, than hath of ancient times been paid for the same grounds: for then a man might, within a few years, be able to recover the fine, and afterwards live honestly. But now these extortioners take of forty shillings fine £40, and of five nobles rent £5; yet not sufficed with this oppression, they buy, at your Highness' hands, such abbey lands as you appoint to be sold. And *once* full seized therein, they make us, your poor Commons, so in doubt by their threatenings, that we dare do none other, but bring into their courts our copies taken of the convents and monasteries, and confirmed by your High Court of Parliament. They make us believe that, by virtue of your Highness, all our former writings are void and of no effect: and that if we will not take new leases of them, we must forthwith avoid the grounds. Moreover, when they can spy no commodious thing to be bought at your Highness' hands, they labour for, and obtain leases for twenty-one years, on such abbey lands as lie commodious, and then dash us out of countenance, making us believe that our copies are void: so that they compel us to surrender our former writings, whereby we ought to hold, some for two, some for three lives; and to take by indenture for twenty-one years, overing both fines and rents, beyond all reason and conscience."

"Defer not, most dread Sovereign Lord, the reformation of these so great enormities, for the wound is even unto death. We mean the great and mighty

abomination of vice that now reigneth within this your Highness' realm. Simony hath lost his name—usury is lawful gains. Last year they obtained by their importunity (in Parliament) a grant, which if it be not revoked, will, in continuance of time, be the greatest impoverishment of us your poor Commons, and chiefly in the *City of London*, that ever chanced since the first beginning thereof. They have obtained, and it is enacted, that every man within the said City, shall yearly pay unto them sixpence *ob.* of every ten shillings' rent. So that if the lord of the grounds please to double and treble the rents, as they do indeed, then must the poor tenant pay also double or treble tenths, as due increase of their riches. Have compassion upon us, most gracious Sovereign; suffer not these insatiable dogs to eat us out of all that we have. Consider, that it is against all reason and conscience, that we, your poor Commons, should be thus oppressed; that where the landlord demandeth of us double and treble rent, that then we shall pay also to the *parson* double and treble tenths. But, most dear Sovereign, how craftily have they wrought this feat! They require not the tenths of the *landlords*, that have the *increase*, but of the tenants, who, of necessity, are constrained to pay to the lords their asking, or else to be without their dwelling-places! They know right well, that if they should have matched themselves with the *landlords*, they happily would have been too weak for them at the length: but they were in good hopes that we, poor Commons, should never be able to stand in their hands."—"If we have not wherewith to pay them, they may, by virtue of the Act, distress such implements as they shall find in our houses."

Throughout this Supplication, that the parties petitioning were not now all of the same sentiments with those of whom they complain, is manifest, and will soon be more so. This, of course, rendered such exactions peculiarly grievous. They saw their oppressors to be men of immoral conduct—they complain of their not even "taking the pains to *bury* a dead corpse, unless they had their *duty, as they call it*;" and thus proceed—

"Judge then, most victorious Prince, what an unreasonable sum the whole and gross sum of these enhanced tenths, with other their *petty briberies*, draweth to. They receive of every hundred pounds £13, 15s., and of the thousand, £137, 10s.: then may your Highness soon be certified what they receive of the whole rents of the city. No doubt, they receive of us yearly more than your Highness did at any time, when you were beset on every side with mortal enemies."

"Help, merciful Prince," they had said, "in this extremity. Suffer not the hope of so noble a realm utterly to perish, through the insatiable desire of the possessioners. Remember that you shall not leave this kingdom to a stranger, but to a child of great towardness, our most natural prince EDWARD. *Employ your study to leave him a commonweal to govern, and not an island of brute beasts, among whom the stronger devour the weaker. If you suffer Christ's members to be thus oppressed, look for none other than the rightful judgment of God, for your negligence in your office and ministry. Be merciful, therefore, to yourself and us, your most obeisant subjects. Endanger not your soul by the suffering of us, your poor Commons, to be brought all to the names of beggars, and most miserable wretches. Let us be unto your Highness, as the inferior members*

of the body unto their head. Remember that your hoar hairs are a token that nature maketh haste to absolve the course of your life."

These pointed warnings, were rendered much more so, from the petitioners having laid before his Majesty their grievances and complaints in reference to the SCRIPTURES. Indeed it was with this subject they had *begun;* and we have reversed the order, simply to show, that these were not the mere ebulitions of discontented or worldly men, who did not know their value; or of men who cared nothing about the recent base attempts to take the Sacred Volume out of the hands of the useful orders of society. This they placed in front of all their complaints. Hear what they said to Henry on this subject—

"The remnant of the sturdy beggars not yet weeded out—tell us, that vice, uncharitableness, lack of mercy, diversity of opinions, and other like enormities, have reigned *ever since men had the* SCRIPTURES IN ENGLISH. And what is this other, than to cause men's consciences to abhor the same, as the only cause and original of all this? They say, it sufficeth a layman to believe, *as they* teach; and not to meddle with the interpretation of Scripture. And what meaneth that, but that they would have us as blind again, as we were?"—"They have procured a law, that none shall be so hardy as to have the Scripture in his house, unless he may spend £10 by the year," (*i. e.* equal to £150 now.) "And what meaneth this, but that they would famish the souls of the residue, withholding their food from them?—Hath God put immortal souls in none other but such as be possessioners in this world? Did not Christ send word to John the Baptist, that *the poor received the gospel?* Why do these men disable them from reading the Scriptures, that are not endued with the possessions of this world? Undoubtedly, most gracious Sovereign, because they are the very same that shut the kingdom of heaven before men. They enter not in themselves; nor suffer they them to enter that would.

"But some will probably say, they were not *all* sturdy beggars, that were in the Parliament, when this law was established: for many of them, and the most part, were *secular* men; and *not of such ability,* that this law would permit them to have the Scriptures in their houses.[40] Wherefore this law is indifferent (impartial) and taketh not the Word of God from us; but we, with our full consent, have committed it to them, in that said law limited. Whereunto we answer, that if we have given it over from us to the possessioners of this world, we may be well likened to the *Gadarites,* (Mark v.) which desired Christ to depart from their country; and the lurking birds, which cannot abide the brightness of the sun. If we have rejected this merciful proffer of our most merciful Father, to have the Scriptures, the declaration of God's will, *when* HE *used your Highness, as* HIS *instrument* to publish and set forth his most lively

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[40] The *ten-pound* qualification must have been some popular version of the Act of Parliament, as no such sum is therein mentioned. But this, incidentally, is a curious disclosure, as to the M.P.s of the day, and shows how far such a sum then went. It was an amount, it seems, not unworthy of a King to bestow, as an annual pension; for this was the royal annuity bestowed by Henry VIII., through Paget, upon Roger Ascham. Hence the princely character of Humphry Munmouth in giving the same sum to Tyndale, on his setting off for the Continent to translate the English Bible. But here were M.P.s who could not "spend £10 by the year."

word—let us fall down prostrate with repentance of this contempt of his merciful gift: most humbly beseeching him to behold the dolours of our heart, and to forget our obstinacy therein—giving your Highness such desire of our salvation; and that you will as favourably restore unto us the Scripture in our English tongue, as you did *at the first* set it abroad. Let not the adversary take occasion to say, the Bible was of a traitor's setting forth, and not of your Highness' own doing: for so they report that Thomas Crumwell, late Earl of Essex, was the chief doer, and *not* your Highness, but as *led* by him.[41]

"When your Highness gave commandment that the Bishops and Clergy should see that there were in every parish *one Bible* at the least, set at liberty; *so that every man might freely come to it and read therein*—many of this wicked generation, as well priests as others, their faithful adherents, would pluck it, either into the choir, or into some pew, where poor men durst not presume to come; yea, there is no small number of churches, that hath no Bible at all. And yet not sufficed with the withholding it from the poor of their own parishes, they never rested till they had a commandment from your Highness, that no man, of what degree soever, should read the Bible in the time of God's service, *as they call it*. As though the hearing of their *Latin* lies, and conjuring of water and salt, were rather the service of God, than the study of his most holy Word. This was their diligence in setting forth the Bible. But when your Highness had devised a proclamation, for the burning of certain translations of the New Testament, they were so bold as to burn the whole Bible, because they were of those men's, Tyndale's or Coverdale's translation; and not the New Testament only.[42]

"We heard say that they proffered your Highness, that if you would please to call in the Bible again, forasmuch as it was not faithfully translated in all parts, *they would oversee it, and within seven years* set it forth again! Your Bishops, most victorious Prince, if they might have gotten in the Bible for seven years, would have trusted, that, by *that* time, either your Highness should have been dead, or the Bible forgotten: or they themselves out of your Highness' reach; so that you should not have like power over them, as you have now.

"When your Majesty appointed two of them, TUNSTAL AND HEATH, to overlook the translation of the Bible, they said they had done your *Highness'* commandment therein: yea, they *set their names thereunto:* but when they saw the world somewhat like to wring on the other side, they *denied* it; and said, *they never meddled therewith.* Causing the printer to take out their names, which were erst set before the Bible, to certify to all men that they *had* diligently perused it, according as your Highness had commanded!!"[43]

The outrageous advisers of Henry the Eighth, taking every advantage of his failing strength, having run riot with the

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41 And he as *led* by Cranmer, then in despair of all official men; though not until the New Testament had passed through at least *twenty* editions, and had been reading in England for above *ten* years, independently of all the three—King, Primate, and Vicar-general; nay, in spite of all opposition. This flying *report*, however, accounts for Henry's command to *Tunstal and Heath*, and for their names inserted on the title-page of two editions.

42 The whole Bible refers to Coverdale's, as "The whole Bible by Miles Coverdale," stood at the top of the list of books, now prohibited and condemned.

43 This bold and distinct statement, as to the two Bishops, published in open day, was never met or contradicted by either the one or the other; and what does it import? That Tunstal and Heath had felt no scruple in thus falsely lending their names to Henry's mandate; nor, what was infinitely worse, no scruple in thus treating the Sacred Volume! The printer, however, *durst not* obey them, and so there the names remain, to the indelible disgrace of both the men, throughout all time.

body and blood of his subjects, were now hastening to that righteous retribution, which, even in this life, so often falls on the head of the wicked. Too long had they walked after the lusts and devices of their own hearts. Neither Wriothesly nor Gardiner, nor their ducal leader his Grace of Norfolk, must be permitted to escape. The long-suffering of God was now very nearly exhausted. These men had walked in pride, and they must be abased. As the enemies of light and of all moral excellence, but especially *of the Sacred Scriptures in the vernacular tongue, and of all who prized them*, having now vented their malice, it was time that there should be some *reaction*; and what must have rendered it peculiarly galling, was the quarter from whence that reaction came. Instead of committing other people to the flames, they must now look after their own personal safety; and, instead of hunting after books to burn them, the question will be, what is to be the term of their own official, or even actual existence.

Perhaps the last occasion on which the King appeared in gorgeous array was on the 24th of August, when he met the French ambassador, d'Annebaut, and the recent treaty of peace was ratified; as from that period he gradually sunk into a state of complicated misery. For some time, however, this was a subject of such delicacy that no man near the throne dared to commit himself in writing; so that the first recorded hint of failing health is from the pen of a foreigner, in writing to Paget, as late as the 17th of September.[44] The most partial historians have allowed that Henry had been distinguished for sensuality, and that, as a natural consequence, he became a mass of disease, so unwieldy as to be moved from room to room only by the aid of machinery. His temper, always headstrong, now displayed itself by sudden paroxysms of resentment or fury. From the state of his body, to approach and wait upon him soon became a loathsome task, to which, however, the Queen herself submitted, and with most commendable perseverance. Katherine's influence, in these circumstances, was considerable. She used to converse freely with the dying man, and had ventured occasionally to express her own opinion in distinction from his. One day, however, having, as his Majesty thought, gone too far, he became irritated; and Gardiner coming in the way afterwards, of course chimed in with the King's humour; nay, at last, even pressed the propriety of some investigation into the

44 Gov. State Papers, i., p. 868. Nicasius Yetsweirt to Paget. Nicasius became Clerk of the Privy Seal under Elizabeth. He and his son Charles were, in succession, her Majesty's Secretaries for the *French* tongue. Charles and his widow Jane were also *printers* under the same reign.

opinions of her Majesty. The fractious patient, unmindful of his obligations to his assiduous nurse, who had not unfrequently soothed his anguish, actually complied ; and Wriothesly, as well as Gardiner, were busy once more in their favourite sphere of action. But the tide was now in the very act of turning against them, so that, so far from succeeding, their ready acquiescence in their master's frenzy only proved the precursor of another storm against themselves. Most unaccountably, the paper on which at least the imprisonment of the Queen hung, had dropped from the pocket of *Wriothesly*, and having been conveyed to Katherine by one of her friends, she was overwhelmed ; and well she might, as his Majesty's signature is said to have been affixed ! The King, we are told, heard her cries ; and, being carried to the apartment, by her manner of reply he was so soothed, that all danger was now past. Next day, however, the Lord Chancellor must keep his appointment, and, with forty guards, had arrived to convey Katherine to the Tower. The tempest, averted from its former object, had changed in its current the night before, and now burst in fury on the head of Wriothesly. All that the King said was not audible ; but the following terms in reply—" Arrant knave ! beast and fool !" uttered with a louder voice, were heard distinctly, and even by the Queen. Henry then commanded him out of his sight.

By Michaelmas Even, the 28th of September, there are some curiously ambiguous expressions, from the man thus designated, addressed to the King's Secretary, Paget, which he had prefaced by saying—" I write this to you as to myself."—" The world is so *doubtful and dangerous*, whereof we have good experience, as I pray God we may put our trust in him, and *look well to our own state*, with good entertainment of the rest, that our plainness be not deceived by the *doubleness* of the world, as it hath been of late days." But whatever he meant, the scene referred to must have taken place about this very time. At all events, by the 11th of October the name of Gardiner occurs for the *last* time before he also had sunk in the royal favour, when the influence of the " old learning" party was gone.[45] The three leaders, Gardiner, Norfolk, and Wriothesly, were on the brink of a precipice ; each of them, in succession, will be in distress, as a few days only will begin to discover.

The *Lord Chancellor* WRIOTHESLY appears first in hand. He was in great alarm lest the proposed New Court of Augmentations should interfere with the privileges, or rather the emoluments, of the Great Seal and the Court of Chancery. He is most urgent, in writing to Paget, " to

[45] Gov. State Papers, i., p. 880. It is strange that this letter from Gardiner should relate to a negotiation respecting a proposed marriage between Philip Duke of Bavaria and the Princess *Mary*, as well as a treaty between Henry and the Duke's uncle, the Elector Palatine. Of course nothing took place ; but the idea of *Gardiner* being so occupied, shows that he was willing to do *any thing* if he might only retain or recover his Majesty's favour. By him and his party every such alliance had been deprecated.

move his Majesty to be good and gracious, and preserve the course of his most ancient Court and Seal, with the poor estimations and livings of his Ministers." "Surely, Mr. Secretary," says he on the 16th of October, "to write frankly unto you, I shall have cause to be sorry in my heart, *during my life, if the favour of my gracious Master shall so fail*, that, partly in respect of his poor servant, he do not somewhat of his clemency temper it."[46] Whether Henry hearkened to him or not, it is certain that the old Court of Augmentations was dissolved, and the new one was established.

GARDINER came next in order. After Monday night the 11th of October, when he wrote his letter, his name is never once mentioned till the beginning of December. For some time he had sunk so low that he durst not approach the royal presence; but on Thursday the 2d of that month he presumed so far as to address one last letter to his royal master, with another to Paget, begging him to deliver it. The former is distinguished for its cringing and hypocritical style; and so eager was he with Paget about his restoration to favour, as to whine to him in servile Latin.[47] But the attempt was vain; at least there is no reply in existence, even from the Secretary.[48] By the end of the month his name was known to have been excluded from the number of his Majesty's executors; a step on which, it has been said, Henry had resolved before going to France in 1544. But, be this as it may, the exclusion now was a loss, at once of honour and emolument. Sir Anthony Browne after this had ventured to mention Gardiner's name to the King, when his Majesty replied, that if he repeated it again, his own name would also be excluded.

This man never recovered Henry's favour, and during the reign of Edward, of course, he bore no sway. On the contrary, he was deprived of his See on the 14th of February 1551, as well as confined to the Tower. Whatever of severity there might be in this, the measure seems to have been adopted from fear of the public tranquillity; and it formed a degree of retribution by no means corresponding to the fearful and bloody years of his domination. Immediately upon the accession of Queen Mary, he was not only restored to all that he had lost, but became Lord Chancellor of England, when he will cross our path for the last time.[49]

To return, however, to the present crisis; that there was not one

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[46] Gov. State Papers, i., p. 882. [47] Idem, p. 884.

[48] In this last letter to the King he refers to some refusal or misunderstanding as to an exchange of land with his Majesty; but there is evidently much else involved, and more meant than meets the ear.

[49] Some able writers occasionally labour under an unfortunate propensity, when sitting down to vindicate a bad man in all, or almost all, that he ever did. Gardiner's life and character have been treated too much after this fashion in the "Biographia Britannica." The article was labour in vain before any record of his deeds approaching to accuracy; and the only apology for Campbell, the reputed author, is, that he was but imperfectly informed of his hero, and not aware of many facts which have been since brought to light, verified by Gardiner's own correspondence, as well as that of others.

moment left to listen to Mr. Stephen Gardiner, is now no matter of surprise, since the entire Court circle, with the King included, were engrossed, in prospect of an event which was to produce a sensation far deeper than could have been occasioned by the disgrace and imprisonment of more Bishops than one. "Title and ancestry," says Addison, "render an ill man more contemptible," and yet the pride of ancestry, in the worst of men, has occasionally wrought their ruin. The Duke of Norfolk had for some time not spent all his wrath upon "the new learning and its adherents." There was another source of irritation which came much nearer home. In consequence of Henry having married Jane Seymour, who left a son, now about to succeed him on the throne, that family had been raised by the King to the honours of nobility; and Seymour, Earl of Hertford, the uncle of young Edward, was, naturally enough, cherishing the prospect of being Lord-Protector at no distant day. The honours bestowed on this "young" family, had often grated on the ears of the ancient house of Howard; and a bitter rivalry had existed for years between the two parties. The old Duke had a son, "the flower of the English nobility," Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey, and certainly a very different person from his father; but a circumstance had occurred which highly inflamed his mind. He was a man, according to Herbert, "of deep understanding, sharp wit, and high courage," and therefore sure to be the more exasperated by any indignity. He had been superseded in his command at Boulogne, and the Earl of Hertford sent in his room. Surrey also had often expressed great contempt of the *new* nobility; but this step had been felt as such an affront, that he is said to have vowed vengeance on his successor in arms as soon as the King should die. On the other hand, Hertford, fully aware of the influence and disposition of both father and son, saw that the chief obstacle to his promotion would be found in the old Duke, or his accomplished and impetuous son, the Earl of Surrey.

The disease of the Monarch was in progress; his mind naturally leaned towards the family of his child, and to the Earl at the head of it; a man of inferior talent to Surrey, yet daring in his designs; and, however young in point of honours, having his own share of ambition, as well as the oldest nobleman in England. To the public services of both the Duke and his son, his Majesty had been often indebted; but with his natural temper, even in health, we are already familiar; and in his present state, if there was the slightest danger connected with Edward's succession to the crown, nothing could be easier than to excite both his fear and jealousy. These once excited, no man was likely to stand before them. Whatever, therefore, the King in his cruelty may now sanction, it seems but equal justice to allow, that in the ambition, the jealousy and fear of the Hertford family, may be traced the origin of what took place. At the same time, and though he be in the act of sinking into the grave, Henry will appear quite in character.

It was upon Sunday the 12th of December, "upon certain *surmises* of treason," that the Duke of Norfolk and the Earl of Surrey were conveyed to the Tower, the one by water, the other by land, and neither aware of the apprehension of the other. The only suspicion of guilt of which the old man chose, some time after, to express himself as conscious, should be given in his own words—"Undoubtedly," said he to the King, "I know not that I have offended any man, or that any man was offended with me, *unless it be such as be angry with me for being quick against such as have been accused for sacramentaries.*" Once upon a time, this language might have had its effect, but not so now. Indeed, the indecent haste of the proceedings is perhaps more marked than it had ever been upon any similar occasion. On that very Sunday night, immediately after the arrest, we see not fewer than three men, by royal authority, hasting after the spoil belonging to the merely *suspected* prisoners. These three, Sir John Gate, Sir Richard Southwell, and Wymounde Carew, must have travelled in good style for these days; as they proceeded to Kenning Hall, near East Harling in Norfolk, the principal seat of the family, distant eighty miles, and arrived there by Tuesday morning at break of day, before the inmates were out of bed. The Duchess of Norfolk, for certain reasons to be explained presently, was not there; they only found the Countess of Surrey and her children, with Mary the Duchess of Richmond, daughter of the Duke, and widow of Henry Fitzroy, the King's natural son, and a Mrs. Elizabeth Holland.

The two latter were but "newly risen, and not ready to appear." These three early visitors, "after order first taken with the gates and back doors," declared their desire to speak with these two ladies, "when the *first* news of the Duke of Norfolk and his son" were communicated. The Duchess of Richmond "perplexed, trembling, and like to fall down," having recovered, "ere long humbled herself in all, unto his Highness." But the object in view was not to convey intelligence. They saw the children of Surrey, "with certain women in the nursery attending upon them," and they report that the Countess was within six weeks of her confinement; but grandfather's property was the main look out; they must proceed to business, and in the evening of the day they all unite in reporting progress "to the King's most excellent Majesty," *direct* by "the post in haste for his life!"

They had looked most eagerly after the spoil, but were mortified in finding so little; though it was well if these gentlemen went through the search, and left the mansion with clean hands. However, having got the keys from the Duchess, they inform the dying monarch—"her coffers and chambers (be) so bare, as your Majesty would hardly think—her jewels, such as she had, sold, or lent to gage to pay her debts—we will, nevertheless, for our duty, make a farther and more earnest search." This, let it be remembered, was the widow of Henry's own natural child. They then proceeded with Mrs. Elizabeth Holland's "gear;" where they found "divers girdles, beads, buttons of gold, pearls and rings, whereof, with all other things, we make a book *to be sent unto your Highness!* And as we have begun here, at this head house, so have we, presently and at one instant, sent to all his houses in Norfolk and Suffolk, that nothing shall be embezzled till we shall have time to see them. We do not omit Elizabeth Holland's house, newly made in Suffolk, which is thought to be well furnished with *stuff*, whereof your Highness shall also be advertised. The almoner here chargeth himself with all, or the most part, of the Duke's plate, ready to be delivered into our hands. Money of the said Duke he hath none, but supposeth the steward hath, on this last account, such as doth remain. By our next letters, your Majesty shall be ascertained of the said Duke's jewels,

here and elsewhere, and of the clear yearly value of all his possessions, and all other his yearly revenue, as near as we can learn by his books of accounts, and other his records."

Nor were they yet done. The Duchess and Mrs. Holland were taken into custody, and to be sent on as witnesses to London next morning. The old Duchess was found much nearer to the city; and as for the Countess and her children, those men on the spot at once actually "beseech his Majesty to signify whether he will have the whole household continue, or in part be dissolved, reserving such as unto his Highness shall seem meet to attend upon the said Earl's wife"—"beseeching your Highness to signify to us when, and in what place, your pleasure is to bestow her for the time."[50]—"Most humbly beseeching your royal Majesty graciously to receive these premises as a *commencement* of our doings!"[51]

And these "doings" were within forty-eight hours of the father and son, unknown to each other, having been apprehended upon "certain surmises," a month before even Surrey was brought to trial, and only six weeks before the Monarch himself died. The writers of this letter, of course, had consulted hi Majesty's well known *taste* upon such occasions, and must have expressed themselves in the way most likely to please: but, at all events, such was Henry's personal concern in the business at its very commencement, and such, the not unusual modes of procedure under his reign.

Nor did the haste end here. The Lord Chancellor Wriothesly had, for years, been the warm friend and supporter of both Norfolk and Gardiner. What then must have been his mortification, when his Majesty ordered *him* "to advertise the ambassadors in foreign parts, that the Duke of Norfolk and his son had conspired to take upon them the government of the kingdom during his Majesty's life, as also after his death to get into their hands the Lord Prince! but that their devices were revealed, and they committed to the Tower."[52] Willing or unwilling, the Chancellor had then also to turn his hand towards framing the "charges against the Duke of Norfolk and Earl of Surrey," which afterwards were actually corrected by the King himself, in a *tremulous* hand![53] And all this before the mockery of law was commenced.

On turning away from this disgraceful course of proceeding, to the parties in prison, and the interior of the Duke's family, we meet with another scene, and in its way, not less revolting.

With the character of the Duke himself, the father of this family, the first peer of the realm, and now about seventy-three years of age, the reader is already but too familiarly acquainted. He has seen him personally engaged, or presiding, on the most cruel and melancholy occasions of past years; from the death of Anne Boleyn on the scaffold, down to that of Anne Askew in the gloom of night, at the stake. He had sanctioned also the deaths of Fisher, and More, and Crumwell; and now his own day of degradation and terror has come. A material distinction, indeed, is to be drawn between the father and the son although that son, it cannot be forgotten, then a youth of twenty, if not

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[50] Such was the treatment of Frances, the daughter of Vere, Earl of Oxford, the late Lord Great Chamberlain of Henry's household.

[51] Gov. State Papers, i., p. 888. [52] Herbert.

[53] For this document, with Henry's corrections printed in capitals, see Gov. State Papers, i., p. 891.

still younger, presided with his father, at the decided *commencement* of Henry's worst career of cruelty and legalised murder ; of which he himself was now about to become the very *last* victim. Both sat by, and the father not tamely, at the mock trial of Anne Boleyn, the niece of the one, and cousin of the other.

Now in turning our eye to this family, notwithstanding all its pride of ancestry, we see a picture of human nature, such as no family in humble life perhaps ever exhibited ; and it is only in consequence of the conspicuous figure made by this Duke of Norfolk all along, that we are placed under the necessity of looking into it. For these twenty years we have seen a PARTY standing out in determined hostility to the Word of God in the vernacular tongue ; and this man, from year to year, has been the ducal *head* of it. Whether Christianity, therefore, or even morality, be regarded, it is of importance to ascertain what were his pretensions to be a *leader*. If he had been so severe upon Crumwell and *his* character, it would be but blind partiality to pass by his own.

The bitter divisions under this domestic roof, had been of long standing ; for after making every allowance for excited passions, for the warmth of jealousy and wounded pride, if we follow the light afforded by existing original letters, and merely record the facts, the picture afforded is still of the darkest hue. The Duke of Norfolk, who was born in the year 1473 or 4, while yet Earl of Surrey, had married, for his second wife, Elizabeth, eldest daughter of that Duke of Buckingham who suffered under Wolsey, by whom he had five children ; Henry Earl of Surrey and the Duchess of Richmond being well known. In 1524 he had become Duke of Norfolk, but before then, there had been unpleasant feeling between him and his lady ; a servant of her's, named Holland, having attracted his notice, and " she," says the Duchess, " has been the cause of all my trouble."[54] The Duke could have no complaint as to the age of his wife, for she was above twenty years younger than himself ; but such was the animosity between them, that an entire separation had taken place so early as the spring of 1533. The King himself was well acquainted with this feud, and by way of quelling it, had commanded her to address the Duke by letter. She obeyed, but there was no answer to this, though it was her third letter. In 1537, we find the Duchess in earnest correspondence with Crumwell, as Lord Privy Seal, not with any view to reunion, but in reference to her very limited circumstances ; and to him, in six successive letters, she pours out all her complaints.[55] Crumwell had advised her to go home to the Duke ; she had no inclination, and stated her fears. Norfolk then sternly addresses Crumwell in a letter from Buntingford, Herts :—" It has come to my knowledge that my *wilful* wife is come to London, and hath been with *you* yesternight, to come to me to London. This I will never allow ;" but, again, he adds, " if she write, confessing her slander, and then sue to the King, I will never refuse the King's command."[56] And here the matter seems to have dropped at that time.

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[54] This woman, though originally a laundry-maid, the Duchess allows to have been allied to Lord Hussy, who had been executed at Lincoln. She had appeared in the jewels already enumerated, and occupied apartments in Kensington Palace.

[55] Cotton MS., Titus, b. i., 383-385, and Vespas., F. xiii., 79.

[56] Idem, fol. 386. The wretched representations in these letters addressed to Crumwell, may

The Duchess, it is true, has been represented as a woman of high spirit, and vindictive temper, though the circumstances in which she was placed, have generally been passed over; but after making the very largest allowance for resentment, if only a tithing of what she wrote to Crumwell be admitted, it is impossible to resist the conviction, that, as it has often happened, the persecutor of others abroad, had been far from correct at home, and a tyrant there. By the letter already quoted from Kenninghall, we have a separate testimony, and from the place which *Holland* there occupied, there was evidently no room for the Duchess. If we turn away from husband and wife, to the father and his children, there is still nothing to compensate for this long and deadly dissension. The children had united with their father for years, against the mother; but by this time there had been some misunderstanding between the Duke and his son; for, wherever the fault lay, they had quarrelled; and upon Surrey being first criminated, the Duke felt no scruple in writing him down as his "foolish" son! As for the Duchess of Richmond, whose mild and fine countenance would seem to have given the lie to any such thing, she was ready to witness against her own brother!

At this alarming crisis, therefore, when both father and son were in separate cells, what were the consequences of such a state of things? A house divided against itself cannot stand. The fire which had been kindled more than twenty years ago, and been smouldering ever since, now burst out into open violence, and to the disgrace of all concerned. The proceedings were against the first peer of the realm, an old man about 73; and yet the first witness examined was this woman Holland! But then the wife was now ready, after examinations held, to witness against the husband! and the sister against the brother, if not the father also! In short they all came forward and thus acted, though their united testimony could not prove high treason.

As in a picture, sufficiently humiliating, here then stood the *head of* "THE OLD LEARNING" *party*, and at the head of his own family. This was the man, who, in his public and official character, had engaged with such ardour in the war of *opinion*. The man who, to gain his own ends, and, if possible, beguile Crumwell, could so basely play the hypocrite in 1539; and who yet now, when under the fear of death, and referring to Crumwell and himself in comparison, could say to the Privy Council, —"he was a *false* man, and surely I am a *true* poor gentleman."[57] Above all, this is the same individual who, for twenty years, had been so bitterly opposed to the ENGLISH BIBLE, as well as to its being *read* by the people, and who persecuted all who *prized its contents;* but it is no mystery now, why he pursued such a course. No wonder now, that he carried about with him certain *personal* objections to the sacred volume. It was the Earl of Rochester, at a far later period, and after he came to a sense of his own depravity, of whom it has been testified that, laying his hand on the *Bible*, he would say—"There is true philosophy.

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be seen in the appendix to Nott's Life of Surrey. In the end of 1537, the Duchess says she had been married to him 25 years before, and that she was now past 40. This would make her a bride at the early age of fifteen or sixteen, when the Duke was about thirty-nine.

[57] Cotton MS., Titus, b. i., fol. 94.

This is the wisdom that speaks to the heart. *A bad life is the only objection to this book.*"

These disclosures, so mortifying to family pride, were not without their value. The friends of truth and righteousness could not be insensible to their bearing, and they might now judge for themselves, and no doubt did, whether they had any occasion to be ashamed because of their titled opponent.[58]

But the King's business, not to say his rapid disease, demanded haste, and there must be no delay. They first proceeded with Surrey. He had returned from France in April ; and, having spoken unguardedly of Hertford, had been committed as a prisoner to Windsor Castle in July, but only for a very short time. When the French ambassador was entertained with such great magnificence in August, the Earl, along with his father and Cranmer, had the most conspicuous places assigned to them in all the ceremonies ; but it was with this pageant that the career of Surrey came to an end.

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58 We are now, however, let at least into *one* secret cause of the bitter hostility between *Norfolk* and *Crumwell*, which has never been pointed out. It was not simply because Crumwell politically leaned towards " the new learning," but Norfolk must have owed him a grudge—and at last had his revenge. The situation of the Lord Privy Seal was often difficult and critical. The fact was, that, from 1537 to 1539, he had either got himself embroiled with this divided family, or been drawn into the vortex. In 1537 we have seen him in correspondence with the banished Duchess, and this was hazardous enough ; but in 1538 he comes in contact with " the Lady of Richmond," as she was often styled. Her husband, Henry's natural son, had died on the 22d July 1536, when she was left pensionless ! She begs her father's aid, or to be allowed to sue in person to his Majesty, in 1538. Crumwell, then in the height of power, is applied to as Lord Privy Seal, when *both Henry and himself*, as if not altogether unwilling to evade her claim by some *technical* question respecting the validity of the marriage, apply to Cranmer ! He, however, affirmed it to be good ; but " as for the demand of the woman by the law civil," he professed his ignorance, and referred to the lawyers. In June 1538 the jointure had been granted. When Norfolk first saw his Majesty afterwards, he not only thanked him, but, professing to do every thing according to his pleasure, craftily enough made an overture of his daughter in marriage. For the young and beautiful widow he knew of but two persons, one of whom was *Sir Thomas Seymour*, (afterwards Lord Seymour, who married Queen Katharine Parr, soon after Henry's death ;) and the King, professing to be quite pleased, spoke to Seymour. But observing both the King and Norfolk to be alike bent on the match, he referred to *Crumwell*, as his good lord, because Crumwell's son, Gregory, " had married Seymour's sister." He thought, therefore, my Lord Privy Seal " might the rather have the (*maying*) management of the matter." All this Sadler communicates to Crumwell, by *command* of the King, on the 14th of July 1538, adding, that as the young duchess was going into the country next day, " his Grace the King prayeth you to take your time the sooner." Whether Crumwell managed the way for Seymour to escape, or the duchess declined, it is evident that there could have been nothing but ill-will on Norfolk's part, after such collisions regarding both wife and daughter, for the marriage never took place.

In proposing this match to the King, Norfolk's pride of ancestry is very observable. " Perceiving," said he, " there ensueth commonly no great good by conjunction of *great bloods* together, he sought not, therefore, to marry his daughter in any *high blood or degree.*" Most extraordinary, as well as foolish, language to be addressed to *Henry*, when referring to *the brother of his own Queen, Jane Seymour !* To maintain the *Norfolk* sway in time to come, through his alliance with the rising *Seymour* family, was unquestionably the Duke's *real* object, and the craft involved was not forgotten. But will it be believed, after the part that the King had acted, by Sadler's *holograph* letter, that this very proposal was now interwoven, and in the most disgusting language, with " the Charges " now drawn up, and, to crown all, actually in *Henry's own tremulous handwriting ?* As for that family which Norfolk had styled as " not of any *high* blood or degree," *they*, with the King, were now determined on the death of both the Duke and his son. Compare Cotton MS., Cleop., F. xiii., fol. 75 ; E. v., fol. 101, with Crumwell's Corr., bundle S., holograph, once in the Chapter-House, and now in the State Paper Office. Or see Ellis's Lett., 2d Ser., ii., 83 ; Cranmer's Remains, i., p. 226-229 ; and Gov. State Papers, i., pp. 576-7, and 691.

Richard Southwell, one of the busy searchers at Kenninghall and elsewhere, had first offered to criminate the Earl ; when he vehemently demanded justice, or, as an alternative, offered to fight his accuser in his shirt. In addition to the members of his own family, Sir Edmund Knevet, and, according to Herbert, *one* Thomas Pope, then appeared as witnesses, but with trifling evidence.[59] The depositions, however, such as they were, were then sent down to the Judges, who were at Norwich. By the 7th of January a verdict was returned, and Surrey was indicted for high treason. A special commission was appointed to *try* him, and the Earl was put on his defence, as a commoner, at Guildhall, before *Wriothesly*, as Chancellor, and Hoverthorn, the Lord Mayor, on the 13th of January. It was then alleged that he had assumed the armorial bearing of Edward the Confessor, which, they said, (falsely,) had been hitherto *exclusively* used by his Majesty and his predecessors. The fact was admitted, and the authority of the heralds adduced, but pled in vain ; and as the legal ground was the sweeping section of more than one statute, which made it high treason " to do any thing by word, writing, or deed, to the scandal or peril of the established succession to the crown," the Earl was convicted by a jury of twelve notable men of Norfolk, eight knights and four squires, one of whom, by the way, was named *Boleyn*.[60] Surrey defended himself with great boldness and ability : but what could any defence, however able, now avail ? It was on Friday the 21st of January that the poetical genius of this young man was extinguished for ever, and by the authority of a monarch now himself " lying in the agonies of death."[61] Such a proceeding could not fail to cover the Seymours with lasting odium.[62]

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[59] There was but one man of this name, well known—Sir Thomas Pope, the founder of Trinity College, Oxford.

[60] Ten years ago he had sat in judgment on his cousin Anne Boleyn, and now some connexion of that family sits in judgment upon him. The knights were, Sirs William Paston, *James Bulleyn*, Francis Lorde, *Richard Gresham*, *John Gresham*, John Clere, Thomas Clere, W. Woodhouse. The squires—C. Hayden, N. L'Estrange, P. Hubbert, and H. Bedingfield.

[61] The 19th has been often stated as the day of execution ; but in the notes in Lord Burleigh's handwriting, preserved in Murden's State Papers, there is this entry—" 1547. 21 *Jan. H. Co. Surrey de col.*" The Lords had passed their bill of attainder against Norfolk and his son the day before, and did *not* sit on the 21st. The reason is not stated ; but this seems to have been the day when Surrey was beheaded privately in the Tower.

[62] Lord Surrey is said to have been about thirty years of age. Having been singularly unfortunate in his biographers, whether Birch, Lord Oxford, or Warton, *Notts'* Life of Surrey must be consulted. In Chalmers' Biog. Dict., art. Henry Howard, the former inaccuracies or fables are glanced at. The Countess survived him many years ; having had five children, and, from the letter already quoted, one of them, not improbably, a *posthumous* child. The mother married, for her second husband, Thomas Steyning, Esq. of Woodford, in Suffolk, and was living in 1563.

It is pleasing to add that the young Duchess of Richmond turned out a very different woman indeed. The children of Surrey were committed to her charge ; and, stung with remorse at the part she had acted, thanks to the *new* learning ! she admirably fulfilled her duty as aunt to the fatherless children, training them up in a way very different from what they must otherwise have been. It is well known that *John Foxe*, the Martyrologist, was chosen as their preceptor ; and though the eldest, Thomas Duke of Norfolk, ended his days on the scaffold, through his infatuated correspondence with Queen Mary of Scotland, his instructions to his children as a dying man, are well worthy of perusal, and more especially as coming from the house of *Norfolk*.

As for the Duke himself, what with the gradual progress of that "learning," which he hated, and contempt for the new nobility, as well as family dissension, the spirit of the old man was greatly broken down. Still his desire for life was extreme, and he pled for it, in language as abject as that of Wolsey or Crumwell who had preceded him. Men who have sported with the lives of their fellow-creatures have often displayed great cowardice as to their own. So it happened with Wolsey, Crumwell, and the Duke of Norfolk in succession.

Throughout life, Henry had been always very punctilious respecting forms of his own devising; and Norfolk, a peer, could not be despatched after the same fashion with his son. Parliament had met for one day on the 4th of November, and before the close of that month the various parts of this bloody tragedy were nearly cast. At all events, the House had been prorogued, and was now to meet, very opportunely, on the 14th of January; or the day after Wriothesly had pronounced sentence on Surrey. On the following Tuesday, the 18th, a bill of attainder against the Duke was brought in, and, next day, it was read the second time. It was on this day, or within two days after, that the fallen Minister was writing his letter to the King; a most earnestly imploring one for mercy. This had been preceded by one to the Privy Council, begging for alleviations in his imprisonment, and presenting four separate confessions with an eye to mercy. As another precaution against his vast possessions being scattered among his rivals, he conveyed them entire to Prince EDWARD, and this perhaps with a view to mollify the King. But all was in vain; it was blood that was wanted, and that once shed, every shilling *must* come to the Crown. On the 20th, the bill passed the Lords. The Commons were no less expeditious: a Sabbath interrupted them, but on Monday the 24th they returned the bill to the Upper House.[63] Thus the very man who had made himself so busy in hurrying through Parliament the proceedings against *Crumwell*, was served by the House, as he had served others. Not a moment was now to be lost; but the custom hitherto had been to *reserve* all such bills to the close of the session, and so it had been done

63 "Hodie allata est Billa a Domo Communi pro attinctura *Thome Ducis Norff. et Henrici Comitis Surrey*, que expedita est." See the Lords' Journals, p. 284-288.

with the Lord Privy Seal. Yet if the King is to have his last dying wishes, and if the Seymours are to gain their end, wonted forms must be disregarded. Accordingly so they were. The royal assent was given on Thursday the 27th; Norfolk was ordered for execution *next* morning, and left to count the hours till break of day. Such was the *last* act of power on the part of Henry the Eighth!

But "there is no man," subject or sovereign, "that hath power over the spirit, to retain the spirit; neither hath he power in the day of death, and there is no discharge in that war." By that God, who had borne with him so long, Henry's own hour of call was already fixed, and "about two of the clock in the morning of Friday,"[64] the 28th of January 1547, he had been summoned to a higher tribunal, there to answer for his long and weighty catalogue of cruelty and crime.

To die, as it were, in the very act of embruing his hands in blood, was the close of the King's existence on earth; while no subject had been so unwelcome to himself, as that of his *own* dissolution. No man dared even to hint such a prospect, till within a few hours of his ceasing to breathe. Even then, some degree of courage was required, and it was Sir Anthony Denny who told the dying man, in so many words, "*that the hope of human help was vain.*" These were terms which betrayed an eager clinging to life still. Henry, "visibly disquieted," had to be informed that the intimation was founded upon the judgment of the physicians. He was then asked whether he wished to confer with any one. "With no other," said he, "but the Archbishop Cranmer, and not with him *as yet;* I will first repose myself a little, and as I then find myself, will determine accordingly." Determine, however, he did not for nearly two hours, when it was of little or no moment who should come. Cranmer was sent for in all haste, but he arrived only in time to receive one fixed look, when Henry grasped his hand and expired! He was in the fifty-sixth year of his age, and within three months of completing the thirty-eighth of his reign.

Thus narrowly, or by a space of about six hours, did the Duke of Norfolk escape with his life, though he must no more preside at the public and disgraceful execution of his fellow-

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64 So the Earl of Sussex informed his Countess. Titus, b. ii., fol. 51, printed by Ellis.

men. On the contrary he, as well as Gardiner afterwards, must remain in durance for years.[65]

To the close of this monarch's existence, we have toiled through the record of human depravity, certainly not on its *own* account; but because of the moral lesson it now affords, as well as its bearing on the main object of these pages. If it be one of those laws by which God appears to govern the world, that, "*men engaged in an evil cause, however harmonious they may be in the outset, shall, sooner or later, be at variance;*" here we have an illustration of that law, well worthy of remembrance. Gardiner and Tunstal, Norfolk and Wriothesly, had been the leading and uniform opponents of the progress of Divine truth among the people, and often had they played into each other's hands; while the King, to say nothing of his habitual depravity, having but one fixed principle, or the love of power, had died as he had lived. Before that event, however, he scowls on these men, by whose advice he had been so often swayed. They were, to a man, his oldest counsellors, the ablest men around him, and the very pith of "the old learning" party. These recent events, therefore, cannot loosely, or with propriety, be consigned to the gulf of human passion alone, and there left. This was the breaking up of an old confederacy, by its own leader, or, at least, the man on whom it depended, and then he himself died. It was Providence, by degradation, and imprisonment, and death, "putting down the mighty from their seats, scattering the proud in the imagination of their hearts," and preparing the way for a very different scene in the reign of Edward, especially so far as the printing and *free perusal* of the Sacred Volume was concerned.

The remarkable period which we have now contemplated, has been often

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[65] By the Journals, the House of Lords appears to have met on Saturday the 29th, and, strange to say, sanctioned some (inferior) business. Next day was still allowed to pass, and, on Monday the 31st of January, EDWARD was proclaimed King. The delay of three days would, in our time, be censured as a daring assumption; and if, as it has been supposed, the life or death of *Norfolk* was discussed, it only shews that it was not Henry alone, who sought his death. The Duke's escape from the block, by only a *few hours*, added nearly eight years to his existence; most of which, however, he spent in prison. The Duchess of Richmond did all that she could to procure his release, but in vain. On the accession of Mary, he was not only delivered, and by herself personally, but his honours were restored, and dying at Kenninghall, in September 1554, above eighty years of age, he was there interred. The Duke must certainly have been softened in his character; as he left £500 to the Duchess of Richmond, not only "for her cost and charges in making suit for my delivery out of prison," but also "*in bringing up my son of Surrey's children.*" Now as *John Foxe* was the tutor, of this tuition he had approved; though poor Gardiner, *semper idem*, was then hunting for the tutor's life!

compared to a resurrection of the human mind, and certainly, since that auspicious morning, it has never slept. But the Lords of the soil, so far from bidding it welcome to life and activity, were filled with alarm, and blindly chose to confound its movements with *civil* revolt. In the three leading princes of Europe, who have been ever in view, there was at least this one point of resemblance. They all persecuted; they all interfered with the inalienable rights of the human mind. Charles and Francis, in conjunction with the original and ancient usurper at Rome; but Henry in a path of his own. In his own proper person, he had *arrogated to himself* the entire sovereignty. As an historical event, it is of great importance to observe this. The step taken, so far from its being with the concurrence of the nation, was one to which even the majority of his Council were opposed, and it was, in truth, the Monarch's own deed. The duties of his subjects, in body, soul, and spirit, were to be summed up in one word—*obey;* and so he died, leaving this his personal interference or usurpation, as a species of leaven in his kingdom, or his legacy to posterity. One eminent author of our own day, though so tenderly alive to Henry's honour, and eager to soften the asperities of former writers, is constrained to give way here. Had his Majesty, he says, "confined himself to the mere official and temporal acts that became necessary, only benefit would have resulted from the change. But opinions, feelings, and modes of worship, came into question, collision and alteration, as well as matters of revenue, dignity, and power: and Henry conceived that he had not only the right, but was placed in the duty, of guiding and ruling the faith and doctrines and religious reasonings of his people"—a conception which would never have occurred to him, but for his odious lust of power. "A wide career of *evil* was opened by this strange assumption, in which the most energetic mind, especially if unchecked by the kind sensibilities, was sure to be the most tyrannical, and from principle, unrelenting."[66]

As it regarded the King personally, the position which he had so resolutely assumed, may be seen, in a very striking point of view, and by way of warning, if we observe the language which that position induced his courtiers to employ. Wolsey was a perfect master, in the art of obsequious management, but it could never have entered even into *his* imagination to frame expressions, such as his successors conspired to

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[66] Turner's Henry VIII., ch. xxxi.—We have not indeed quoted the last sentence entire—"A wide career of *evil*," says the author, "was opened by this strange assumption, in which the most energetic mind, *without any bad motives, and even from its very best purposes*, especially if unchecked," &c. The italics we have omitted, for reasons we trust sufficiently obvious to the reader. Can any such human character exist, as that of a man running "most tyrannically" in "a wide career of *evil*," without *any bad* motives? No man, whatever be his station, can be relieved from his personal responsibility to God, merely because he has placed himself in the midst of temptation, or chosen to walk upon forbidden ground. The assumption was Henry's own choice, and one which he cherished with ardour to his dying hour. Mr. Turner elsewhere refers to the imperious and impelling circumstances by which he was surrounded; but certainly if any man ever took the liberty of walking *according to his own will*, it was Henry the Eighth.

pour, on certain occasions, into the royal ear. No, these, it should be observed, were *the natural fruit* of his Majesty's assumption. Henry, though affecting to hear adulation with indifference, was observed to be exceedingly fond of praise. Wolsey first applied to him the epithet *Majesty* instead of "Highness;" but it was left for his successors to add the terms *most sacred.* Whenever these words were repeated before him, in Parliament, all the Lords rose up, and, of course, the whole assembly, bowing, in token of assent. We need not repeat the ill-timed language of Cranmer to him, before Anne Boleyn's death;[67] nor the fulsome style in which Crumwell wrote, immediately after the murder of Lambert, when Henry had presided as Head of the Church of England; on which occasion he wished that all the princes of Europe had been present, to witness the scene![68] But on another occasion Crumwell said he was unable, and "he believed all men were unable to describe, the unutterable qualities of the royal mind, the sublime virtues of the royal heart!" Richard Rich, that devoted friend of "the old learning," and practised persecutor, told him in public, that in wisdom, he was equal to *Solomon*, in strength and courage to *Samson*, in beauty and address to *Absalom!* Stephen Gardiner, addressing the University of Cambridge, wrote—"The King's Majesty hath, *by the inspiration of the Holy Ghost*, componed all matters of religion!" Audley, the Lord Chancellor, declared in his presence, that God had anointed him with the oil of wisdom above his fellows—*above* the other kings of the earth—above *all* his predecessors; that He had given him a perfect knowledge of the Scriptures!—a perfect knowledge of the art of war!—a perfect knowledge of the art of government!" In short, both parties were alike guilty, and *vied* with each other in such profane and disgusting flattery.

The assumption of supremacy over the mind, or despotic power over the utterance of religious sentiment, was thus demonstrated to have been mentally injurious not only to the usurper himself, but to all who drew near him. It must have produced some characteristic species of delirium, before Henry could have stood, with *gravity*, expressions such as these. Any other man would have regarded them as the height of personal insult. His Majesty, however, held fast by his assumed position to his dying day, and continued to be hailed with frankincense upon every side. On all public occasions, and before the world, it was—

> Thus they roll'd themselves before him in the dust,
> Then most deserving, in their own account,
> When most extravagant in his applause:
> As if exalting him, they raised themselves.
> Thus by degrees, self-cheated of their sound
> And sober judgment, that he was but man,

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[67] See vol. i., p. 467.

[68] See the present volume, p. 121.

They demi-deify'd and fumed him so,
That in due season he forgot it too.
Inflated and astrut with self-conceit,
He gulp'd the windy diet, and ere long,
Adopting their mistake, profoundly thought
The world was made in vain, if not for him.
Thenceforth they were his cattle: drudges, born
To bear his burdens, drawing in his gears,
And sweating in his service; his caprice
Became the soul that animated all!

Such were some of the effects resulting from Henry's assumption of absolute power, especially in the vicinity of his throne. The minds of all, without exception, who came within the sphere of his personal influence, sustained serious injury. Even unprincipled men, tempted by their love of pelf and power, became still worse in his service; men of better principles received damage for life; and we have seen one and another, as it were, shivered to atoms on this rock of absolute power. Well would it have been for the interests of humanity, had the assumption died with him; but, monstrous as it was, it gave a caste to the age—nay, it produced a confusion in the minds of men for generations to come, and one from which, even at this moment, many in Britain are not exempt.

Upon the intelligence of Henry's death being communicated to his alternate ally and enemy, the King of France, he became more pensive; and being already in bad health, he drooped and died, at Rambouillet, in two months after, or the 31st of March. The aged Pontiff, who had so thundered against the King of England, lived only two summers longer; and thus Charles was left sole survivor on the field in which they had all fought so long.

In these circumstances, and so far as these men were concerned, it is certainly not a little singular, that the tumultuous scene may be said to have closed with an act which astonished all Europe at the moment. It was the abdication of his throne, by the Emperor, three years before his death; and it deserves notice here, on account of one of its consequences. Of these Sovereigns, he was the only one who is reported to have at last seen the folly and futility of all such dictatorial interference by civil rulers with the human mind, as they had all practised. The Emperor "was particularly curious with regard to the construction of clocks and watches; and having found, after repeated trials, that he could not bring any *two* of them to go exactly alike, he reflected, it is said, with a mixture of surprise, as well as regret, on his own *folly*, in having bestowed so much time and labour on the more vain attempt of bringing mankind to a precise uniformity of sentiment concerning the profound and mysterious doctrines of religion."[69]

[69] Robertson's Charles V. De Thou. Bayle.

That there was any magnanimity of mind in the abdication of Charles, has been denied, and ascribed simply to his declining health ; but, at all events, this *surprise* came over him only after he had left his throne, and the *regret* also came too late to benefit mankind. That the chief energetic actor throughout the whole of this remarkable period, should have now seen that " all was vanity and vexation of spirit," is not improbable ; and granting that his cogitations were those only of a man who had become incapable of wielding a sceptre he was reluctant to relinquish, still the inference drawn from his clocks and watches, was more sound and important than any that he ever drew when reigning in his full strength. Such is the difference between a man *in* such power, and the same man *out* of it.

But alas for the poor Emperor ! If the clocks and watches had made any impression whatever, this soon passed away. For what else could be expected from a man who delivered himself up, body and soul, into the hands of his confessor ? And what was the result ? " Two days before his death, he added a codicil to his will, in which he exhorts his son to inflict signal and severe punishment on heretics, without exception of any criminal, and without regard to the prayers or to the rank of the person !" " It is dangerous," says he, " to dispute with heretics. I always refused to argue with them, and referred them to my theologians ; alleging with truth my own ignorance ; for I had scarcely begun to *read a grammar*, when I was called to the government of great nations ! !"[70]

Yet after all, Charles was merely one of a species ; for how many thousands are there still, and such men too as have never once felt the intoxicating influence of power, who are yet far from comprehending the incumbent doctrine of *non-interference ?* It is saying but little for poor human nature, that there has been no sentiment so tardy in its progress. So long as men held fast by the dogmas of astrology with regard to the heavens, and of alchemy as to the earth, the right of private judgment in the *arts and sciences* was not understood. That is a right, however, which has been long since conceded, and what has followed ? The perfection of science as far as it has gone. But among the nations of Europe, that right, which in any degree, is of all earthly blessings the greatest, Christian liberty, or, in other words, the liberty to be a Christian, like the loftiest trees of the forest, which spring from very small seeds, has had to sustain the strife of many a winter. Yet genuine Christian liberty, which these European nations have been so slow to understand, is still the monarch of the woods ; and when once Christianity comes to be drawn fresh from the pure fountain of Revelation *alone ;* when the Sacred Volume shall be elevated to its due place, by

[70] Sir James Mackintosh, quoting from Llorente.

the appeal *direct*, and *no other* appeal, then, and not till then, will this subject, like many others, be better understood.

Thus terminated by far the most important period through which Old England had ever passed. Important, as far as Divine and eternal truth, introduced to the people, in their own tongue, through the medium of the press, was superior to all the passing events of the day. That period has proved, it is true, one continued ferment, one incessant turmoil of human passion and depravity. The civil and political worlds have been in perpetual agitation, or one storm has come in the neck of another. Should we specially fix our eye upon Henry, surrounded by all his courtiers, for these twenty years, from first to last, what have we witnessed ?

> "The whole has been a scene of civil jar,
> Chaos of contrarieties at war ;
> Where Obstinacy took her sturdy stand,
> To disconcert what Policy had plann'd ;
> Where Policy was busy all night long
> In setting right what Faction had set wrong ;
> Blind to the working of that secret Power
> Which balanced still the wings of every hour."

But then, amidst all, have we not beheld a separate cause and interest, which it was far above the power of kings, as conquerors, to control ? Nay, one by which the King of England and his Counsellors have been signally overruled again and again ? A cause which, apart from the tumults of worldly policy, still prospered in defiance of them all ? Or, in other words, have we not descried all along, for twenty years, an under-current meandering through the country, in spite of all interference maintaining its own separate and peculiar channels, and, as it were, disdaining to mingle with the waves above ? Though too much overlooked by historians hitherto, it was cherishing at the roots all that has been healthy, and vigorous, and praiseworthy in this kingdom ever since. Whatever of Christianity has prevailed in England, from that time to the present, its origin is to be found here, perfectly distinct from all the councils and edicts, or the proclamations, whether for or against, of Henry the Eighth. These, after more than ten years of positive hostility had passed away, when they once or twice happened to be in favour of the vernacular Scriptures—these tokens of defeat, after the tug of war had slackened, and after Henry, and all around him, had been obliged to give way, had some influence. But even these, if we are to believe the King, instead of all that party writers have chosen to affirm, were confessed by himself, as we have heard, and towards the end of his days, to have been comparatively *impotent*. A month or two was the measure of their power, while still the cause went on, under the hand of that God who had been with it from the beginning, and is with it still.

With reference, therefore, to the history of the English

Bible, as far as we have come, and after such a detail as the past, with all its imperfections, what, for example, can any reader think when he finds one writer, in summing up the reign of Henry the Eighth, express himself in such terms as the following? "*His* largest claim to our gratitude is, that he at last *permitted* the great fountain of religious truth and of intellectual piety to be opened to the people, by sanctioning the translation and circulation of the Scriptures in the national language; thus making *free to every one* what millions have blessed *him* for!" This is even exceeded by another modern historian. "He *resolutely* maintained to the end of his life the exclusive right of God's undoubted Word to be the religious instructor of the rational creation. The assertion of this fundamental principle is the brightest distinction of *Henry's* reign!!"

All this, and much more to the same effect, has been actually reported of a man who, above ten years after the Scriptures of the New Testament had been introduced into this kingdom, in spite of all his power, and the hostility of his associates—a man who, after he had been signally overruled to sanction the very translation he had condemned, to say nothing of his share in the guilt of leaving the translator to the flames, did indeed at last inform his subjects that "it had pleased *him* to permit and command the Bible, being translated into their mother tongue, to be openly laid forth in every parish church." But then this is the same man who, in less than six years after, enjoined that "*no* women but noble women, *no* artificers, apprentices, journeymen, servingmen, husbandmen, nor labourers, were to read the Bible or New Testament in English, to themselves or to any other, privately or openly!" And who, in three years after this, told all England, "it ought to be deemed *certain* that the reading of the Old and New Testament is *not necessary* for all those folks that of duty ought to be bound to read it, BUT *as the Prince and the policy* of the realm shall think *convenient to be tolerated* OR TAKEN FROM IT! Consonant whereto, the politic law of our realm hath now restrained it from *a great many!*" This daring profanity was crowned by Henry's last public act, within six months of his dissolution—his endeavour, by proclamation, to consign to the flames above thirty editions of the New Testament by Tyndale—denouncing the translation as "crafty,

false, and untrue," though it was the very *same* with that which was included in the Bible he had sanctioned in 1537![71]

All this contemptible spleen and fury, it is true, had been held in derision, and most remarkably thwarted and counterwrought, till at last God began to deal with the man in the way of disease and death. Now if historians, at the distance of three hundred years, will *thus* write of his Majesty the reigning King, it may abate the surprise of some at the language of his courtiers when crouching before him; but, in the name of truth, and of all that is honest in historical narrative, why should we, in this age, be directed to a source of gratitude such as this?" Man praises man, indeed; and if a king, however profane, or however hostile, is to enjoy the posthumous fame or personal credit of all the good that was done during the days of his mortal life, then, of course, no room is left for any other individual; but,

> "Thus idly some men waste the breath of praise,
> And dedicate a tribute, in its use
> And just direction *sacred*, to a thing
> Doom'd to the dust, or lodged already there."

The worst effect of such language is, not that of its spoiling one of the most deeply interesting and instructive chapters in the history of our country, or its turning away the eye from her real human benefactors. There is a far higher consideration. For if man only is to be regarded here, when or where, in the whole compass of English history, is God, by himself alone, to be specially adored? After all that we have read, may it not now, with reverence, be said of HIM, that *He* had trodden an uncommon, nay, unprecedented path? Other nations, it is granted, received the Scriptures, and by the kind providence of heaven, but not after the same singular manner. There is no passage in the history of Germany or in that of any other nation, of a similar character; though, strange to say, this has never yet been distinctly explained, nor at any time sufficiently observed.

"*It is the glory of God to conceal a thing: but the honour of Kings to search out a matter;*" and perhaps there never before had occurred a more striking commentary on that sacred pro-

[71] The Epistles of which were then reading in public, and continued to be so for more than a hundred years after Henry was in his grave, and the Psalms of which are read publicly in England and Ireland to the present hour.

verb. Let the reader of English history, say, whether there has been any one equal to it since.

Before ever the book arrived, Wolsey had been forewarned by Cochlæus, a service of which he boasted for years after, and complained bitterly that our King had never rewarded him. It was only strange that he could not give the *name* of the Englishman, the translator, or that he did not, if he could. The "concealment" of Providence had already commenced. But still, and before the volume came, the Cardinal had premeditated "a secret *search* and at one time," in London, Cambridge, and Oxford, for all hated books; and of this *search*, his Majesty on the throne, warmly approved. Yet when the set time was come for the Sacred Volume to be given to England, here, accordingly, the book was! But by whom translated, no one could tell, at least no one told; and *where* it was printed, is only now in discussion, at the distance of more than three hundred years. The book was found in Oxford, at Cambridge, in London, dispersed, they said, after a few months, "in great numbers," and it must be publicly denounced. But still the author could not be named. Its continued transit to this country, its introduction, its dispersion, far from the cities and the court, were still involved in mystery: and though Solomon adds in his proverb—"it is the honour of Kings to search out a matter," here was one which baffled the King, and all his searchers. Certain individuals, belonging to another nation, and not speaking our language, were moved to take up the "concealed thing," and one edition followed after another, like "the ploughman overtaking the reaper, and the treader of grapes him that soweth seed." Here they were in England, aye, and Scotland too; but the time when, the channel of conveyance, or the places to which the treasure came, were still so many mysteries. Wolsey and Warham, Tunstal and Stokesly, not forgetting Sir Thomas More, were shrewd and able men; and probably every one of them thought so of himself. Their days were spent in searching. State secrets on the Continent, they penetrated, detected, and counter-wrought; but here was an affair by which they were all entangled, as among the briars in a wilderness. They all searched out the matter, and groped their way, blindly supposing it was for the *honour* of their King; but there was still a secret working, still a "concealment" in

the business, by which they were all, individually and in succession, baffled and perplexed. The moaning of Sir Thomas More, in the sixth year of progress, at once a commentary on the vexatious concealment, and a eulogium on the parties employed, is worthy of repetition even now.

"These fellows," said he, "that naught had here, and therefore naught carried hence, nor nothing finding there to live upon, be yet sustained and maintained with money sent them by some evil-disposed persons out of this realm thither."—Such was the writer's random conjecture, for to fathom the matter was beyond his power; but then there were these books, and of them he could speak by experience,—"which books albeit that they neither can be there printed, without *great cost*, nor here sold, without great adventure and *peril*: yet cease they not to print them there, and send them hither, by the whole vats full at once: and in some places, looking for *no lucre*, cast them abroad by night: so great a pestilent pleasure have some devilish people caught, with the labour, travail, cost, charge, peril, harm and hurt of themselves, to seek the destruction of others!"

Such was the language of the second baffled Lord Chancellor of England; but what was all this, save the writhing of the mind, under the concealments of that God, whose highest glory was concerned in *thus* giving his Word to England, in spite of all her rulers? Here and there already, "the voice of rejoicing and salvation was in the dwellings of the righteous. The right hand of the Lord had done valiantly."

If, however, it be "the glory of God to conceal a thing," and many such things are with him; in the course of his providence, the curtain may, at last, be drawn aside; and then—what then? After rendering praise to Him, to whom it is first, nay, and in one sense, only due; yet, as far as human agency had been, or was still employed, whether are we to give the glory to the men whom God overruled, or the man he employed? the men He, all the while, controlled and checked, and turned as the rivers of water? or the man into whose heart he had infused his determined purpose?—the men agitated by little else than wayward and tumultuous passions? or the man possessed by "the spirit of love, and power, and of a sound mind?"

But enough, and more than enough, of Henry the Eighth and his courtiers in general. The heart now cannot but instinctively recoil from looking in that direction. Other historians, however, have directed the gratitude of their country to other individuals. The renown of the contest has been

ascribed to certain men whom we have seen wait on the times, till the battle was actually fought and won; and the credit of all that followed has been given to such as, led by political motives, were overruled to lend the cause, since it must advance, that countenance, which literally *cost them nothing*. Our preceding history may be referred to in explanation; and whether his Majesty, as far as he was a patron, did not even then "encumber them with help," we leave the reader to judge.

We only repeat, as not the least remarkable fact in the entire narrative, that the able, though unpretending man, so evidently raised up by God to commence and carry forward the war of truth and righteousness unto victory, has been hitherto left in the background. With this never-to-be-forgotten period, other names have been associated, so as almost to overshadow him; these have been repeated a thousand times, and become familiar as household words; while there are not wanting those who still inquire—And *who* was Tyndale? But if we mean to speak of the first personal and determined preparations for this great contest—of the man who, by first applying the art of printing to the Sacred Volume in our native tongue, effectually placed the "leaven" of divine truth in the heart of this kingdom; if we intend to refer to the first victories gained upon English ground, to the brunt of the battle, or to the burden and heat of the day, these were not the men. Tyndale, with Fryth by his side, occupy a place in the foreground of the picture, from which they never can be moved by any impartial historian. But we have not yet done with the influence of our martyred Translator. The providence of God, under the reign of Edward, will interpret how much more we owe to his memory, and whether the people of England did not testify *their* gratitude and veneration, as soon as they were *let alone* to act for themselves.

THE HISTORY OF

THE ENGLISH BIBLE.

BOOK III.—ENGLAND.

From Edward VI. to the Commonwealth.

SECTION I. REIGN OF EDWARD.

A REIGN, HOWEVER BRIEF, DISTINGUISHED AS HAVING NO PARALLEL IN BRITISH HISTORY, WITH REGARD TO THE PRINTING AND PUBLICATION OF THE SACRED SCRIPTURES IN THE LANGUAGE OF THE PEOPLE.

THE storm has changed into a calm; so that in reviewing the Christianity of England from the sixteenth century, there have been those, as there are still, who prefer to begin with the reign of Edward the Sixth; while others repudiate every event before the reign of Elizabeth. But whatever may be the inducement to either preference, such parties must not expect to be acknowledged as possessing much, if any, energy of purpose in tracing effects to their cause; or any measure of that disposition, which cannot be satisfied without accounting fully for circumstances, still existing before every eye. The reign of Henry the Eighth, whatever had been his personal character, was, in many respects, not only *initial* but *germinant*. Every day since, has so testified; and the broad surface of the kingdom still bears witness to the weight and pressure of his sceptre. He left behind him certain marks, which are still acknowledged as memorials of his power.

It, therefore, becomes only so much the more observable,

that the genuine or correct history of the English Bible has never allowed us, as it never allowed him, to come down and confound the Sacred Volume, either with the ecclesiastical arrangements, so called, of his time, or with the fallible interpretations of erring men. No historical line could be more distinctly drawn, whether while the King and his advisers were arrayed *against* the Scriptures, or after they were overruled to *admit* them into England. Then, indeed, his Majesty himself became the remarkable instrument in not permitting the English Bible to be at all identified with the ecclesiastical body he had set up and sanctioned. Not only did he not consult it on this subject, but frowned upon his Bishops, when once presuming to sit in judgment upon the translation.

And now that the King is dead; now that the New Testament Scriptures had been reading for twenty years, and the Bible entire for nearly ten, not unfrequently in the face of the flames, we are escaped from what may be regarded as the grand tempest. One furious blast, indeed, under Queen Mary, we have yet before us; but still with mere political, or any other affairs, there will be less occasion for perplexing ourselves any more. These might afford instructive warning and monition; but the leading design of these pages, now disentangled from the past, may be regarded with an eye but occasionally diverted from itself. That history can now be viewed throughout, under successive reigns; or in those of Edward and Mary, Elizabeth and James, when we come to the version universally in use. In other words, for the *main practical purpose* which we have in view, from the beginning to the end, we no longer require to proceed only year by year, as we have done; nor is it any longer necessary to notice the editions of the Scriptures in regular succession. We have, it is true, all this time been only laying the foundation, and in so doing feel perfectly conscious that we may have trespassed on the patience of certain readers; but more especially on that of any who have never been before aware of what a superstructure has been reared upon it. They have now before them the groundwork of infinitely the *largest* undertaking which Britain has to show, whether to her own people, or those of surrounding nations. When compared with it, every thing else without exception, throughout this kingdom, is but *local and limited*.

At the close of this volume, however, will be found, at least

so far, one index to our history, in a List of the Editions of the Bible, and New Testament separately, from the year 1525 down to our present version in 1611 and 1613; soon after which the Scriptures in English actually become a multitude which no man can number. At the same time this fact will at last lend its assistance, in any attempt to estimate our present most singular condition as a nation, as well as our position in reference to the world at large.

In the reign of Edward the Sixth we are presented with a contrast between father and son; or between two men, seated in succession on the same throne, such as England had never witnessed; and this becomes still more striking, from the rights of conscience being now no better understood, than they had been under the previous government. The blame then, however, recoiled upon the King; now it will fall upon his Ministers. Of the father, it might in truth be said—"As the whirlwind passeth," so the man was no more; but after the oppressive and tormenting misery endured by so many, and especially after he became "his own Minister," the reign of his son must have come to the best of his subjects, exhilarating as the morning breeze over a beanfield to the traveller. It was not indeed "a morning without clouds;" but as far as such a history as the present is concerned, it was like "clear shining after rain." We speak *only* with reference to the Sacred Volume; and, in this point of view, justice still remains to be done to the brief reign of that youthful and amiable monarch—the Josiah of his day.

Henry VIII. being interred at Windsor on Wednesday 16th of February, four days after, or upon Sunday the 20th, his son, then only in his tenth year, was crowned. An incident occurred, indicative of the change which had taken place, so far as the crown was concerned. Upon that day, when three swords were brought before Edward, as tokens of his being king of three kingdoms, he said there was one yet wanting. The noblemen around him, not exactly catching his meaning, inquired which that was? He answered—*the Bible.* "That book," said the young Prince, "is the sword of the Spirit, and to be preferred before these swords. That ought, in all right, to govern us, who use them for the people's safety, by God's appointment. Without that sword, we are nothing, we can do nothing, we have no power: from that we are, what we are, this day: from that alone we obtain all power and virtue, grace and salvation, and whatsoever we have of Divine strength." After some other similar expressions, Edward commanded the Sacred Volume to be brought with reverence, and so carried before him.[1]

[1] Hayward. Strype. Though the former mistakes the day of coronation for the 19th, and the latter says Sunday the 21st, it was the 20th of February.

In the change which now commenced, the attentive observer may discover one feature of Divine interposition, often displayed in other instances. In the wonderful works which our blessed Lord condescended to perform, when dwelling here below, a rule may be observed,—in his never doing, by miracle, more than was requisite, or whatever might be effected by *ordinary* means.[2] And so now, the days of direct,—that is, to *our* eye, of more striking interposition of Divine Providence, in favour of the Sacred Volume, were not so frequent, and under this reign, at least, they were but seldom demanded. The season for human agency had come. Printers and publishers may do the rest, and purchasers will not be wanting; though, at the same time, the unseen, yet overruling hand, is not withdrawn. That cause which we have already seen weather many a gale, will continue to retain its own singular character for *independence*, whether the reigning power smile, as under Edward, or frown, as in the days of his sister, Queen Mary.

With regard to the various editions of the Sacred Scriptures issued from the press in the brief reign of King Edward, we have already hinted that no justice has ever been done to the subject. To say nothing of older historians, even so recently as the year 1792, his readers were informed by Newcome, Archbishop of Armagh, nay, and as a proof of "earnest endeavour that the Word of the Lord might have free course and be glorified;" that "during the course of this reign, that is," said the author, "in less than *seven* years and six months, *eleven* impressions of the whole English Bible were published, and *six* of the New Testament; to which may be added, an English translation of the whole New Testament, paraphrased by Erasmus."[3] This only shews how little attention has been paid to the subject, when a period so heart-stirring could be thus reported; but that the blundering statement should have been literally repeated up to this hour, and in our best introductions to the study, or the translations, of the Scriptures, is more surprising still.

We need not remind the reader that, instead of seven years and a half, Edward did not reign quite six and a half; but how stand the facts under this brief period? Why, that

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[2] When He had raised Lazarus from the dead, he was "bound hand and foot with grave clothes," Jesus said to those who stood by, "loose him and let him go." When, and after having been "laughed to scorn," the dead young maid arose at his bidding, and her spirit came again; He "commanded *them* to give her *meat*." As much as to say, in both instances, that though raised by miracle, they were not to live by miracle.

[3] Newcome's Historical View of English Biblical Translations, p. 64.

so far from only *six* editions of the New Testament, there were nearly *thirty* more; instead of eleven editions of the Bible entire, there were at least fourteen; and all these within the space of less than six years and a half, for Edward reigned no longer. In other words, instead of only nineteen distinct issues of the Scriptures, including Erasmus, as often so erroneously reported, we have ascertained about *fifty;* and as for the Bibles, all these editions issued from the press in less than *four* years, or from August 1549 to July 1553.

Such a period, therefore, well deserves a better survey, furnishing, as it does, several instructive and memorable results. With regard to the printing and circulation of the Sacred Volume in the days of Henry the Eighth, we have seen that it was throughout, at best, but a troubled scene, and distinguished for bitter persecution; the days of Edward the Sixth, when properly examined, stand altogether unrivalled, even by any subsequent reign, for *non-interference* with the Scriptures. Nay, the truth is, that in the history of England, it so happens that we have not another reign of a similar character to exhibit; it stands *alone.* It is, however, curious enough, that the reign of the most *youthful* sovereign that has ever *since* reigned in Britain, should have made the nearest approach, and promises before long to equal, and, it may be, far excel it. We refer to the absence of monopoly, and of course to our present benignant Queen Victoria. Meanwhile, even the present age would do well to look back and acquire a little wisdom from this early period; for, although a strict regard to impartiality has left us no choice but to record other things of Cranmer, which must ever be condemned, he will now be entitled to a meed of praise, which his most partial admirers have either never observed, or, at least, never marked, as they might have done.

As there was none of that arrogance and impiety on the part of the Crown, with which Henry was ever insulting his subjects; talking to them, at one moment, as if they were children, or were to have no mind of their own; and at another, as if they had no right to form any opinion whatever for themselves; so, on the contrary, great liberty now prevailed in printing any one translation already made. No change for the better, could then be greater. The last act of the father was to brand the name and memory of Tyndale:

in the first Parliament held by his son, that act was repealed, and declared to be "utterly void and of none effect;" nay, the portrait of Edward will soon be seen and sold, in immediate conjunction with the name and translation of Tyndale.

Possessed of such power of control as Cranmer now enjoyed, one might have imagined that he would have pressed forward *his own* correction of Tyndale's version, and in superiority to all others. But there is no such personal leaning to be discovered—quite the reverse. The people had been left freely to make their choice, or declare their preference, and we shall soon see the result. Here, then, was one trait in Cranmer's character, and one which has never been pointed out, even by those who have sought to justify other steps which cannot be defended. True, it may be said that he was altogether engrossed with "his Book of Homilies and his Catechism, with King Edward's Service Book, his Book of Articles, and the Reformatio Legum," to say nothing of his Parliamentary and official engagements. This is granted, for such indeed was the course he chose to pursue; but still, had Cranmer been disposed to have interfered with the printing of the Scriptures, he certainly could have found time to have both discovered and exerted his power. On the contrary, with his name at the head of the Regency, and on such a subject possessing great sway, he appears to have acted with a degree of candour and liberality which has never been surpassed, nay, never equalled by any man in power *ever* since.

One important consequence has been, that we are able now to see at once what *was* the popular taste. Twenty-one years after the New Testament of Tyndale had been sent into England, an opportunity had at last presented itself, for the people as such to speak out, and say what they wanted. The printers were ready to print, and the stationers, as they were called, to sell; but, of course, *they* would not press any one translation except that which they knew beforehand was most likely to remunerate them. As all the editions were *individual* undertakings by men engaged in business, they, it must be evident, would print chiefly that book which was most frequently and eagerly sought after.

That zeal for the art of printing which burst forth instantaneously after Henry's death, will prepare us for the numerous editions of the Scriptures which immediately fol-

lowed. This noble art had been introduced into England under Edward IV., when there were three or four printers;[4] under Henry VII. there were five; and four of these survived to print under his son: but during his long reign of nearly thirty-eight years, not fewer than forty-one printers had commenced business in London, or forty-five in all. Now, the first importation of Tyndale's New Testament into England had taken place, not till more than eighty years after the invention of printing, and about fifty-eight after the art had been introduced into the country; but it is worthy of notice, that from *that* period, of these forty-five printers not fewer than thirty-three had started in business, and that eight of them were ultimately connected with printing the Sacred Volume.[5]

Let us then now observe what ensued, as soon as Henry had "ceased from troubling," and Gardiner, Bonner, and Tunstal, were bereft of the power. Of the forty-five printers under Henry, fourteen survived when Edward came to the throne. While his father, the subject of loathsome disease, was sinking into the grave, and in less than twelve months after his death, as many as eight new men had started in business as printers. Next year, however, there were not fewer than eleven more, and in the next two, eighteen, besides six others in 1551 and 1552, or forty-three in all; raising the number of printers under this youthful monarch to not fewer than fifty-seven, in the brief space of six years! Now if it be inquired, what connexion had all this with the diffusion of the Divine Record? it was no less than this—that out of these fifty-seven printers, *more than the half, or not fewer than thirty-one, and these the most respectable, were engaged either in printing or publishing the Sacred Scriptures.*

As neither London itself, or the broad surface of England, has ever since exhibited any thing similar to this state of things, it would be unpardonable to withhold the names of those printers and publishers, who so adorned this reign, by their zeal and assiduity in forwarding the interests of Divine Truth. The fourteen men first mentioned belonged to Henry's reign, with four of whom we are already familiar, but seven more of these now found employment in connexion with the Scriptures.

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[4] Into Oxford 1468; Westminster about 1474; London and St. Albans 1480. See Cotton's Typographical Gazetteer, second edition.

[5] These were Berthelet, Nycolson, Grafton, Whitchurch, Redman, Treveris, Petyt, and Byddle.

To these eleven we are now to add twenty more, or at the least *thirty-one*, so engaged. We give the year of their commencing business, and the names in *italic* mark the men who are known to have been employed in either printing or selling, in whole or in part, the Sacred Volume in our vernacular tongue. Indeed many, if not most of them, both printed and sold.

1530. *Tho. Berthelet.*
1537. *Richard Grafton.*
1537. *Edward Whitchurche.*
1536. *Thomas Petyt.*
1537. *John Wayland.*
1540. *Thomas Raynald.*
1541. Will. Middleton.
1541. *Robert Toy.*
1542. *William Bonham.*
1542. Richard Lant.
1543. *Reginald Wolfe.*
1544. *John Herforde.*
1545. *Richard Kele.*
1545. Michael Lobley.

1546-7. *John Daye.*
1546-7. *Nicholas Hyll.*
1546-7. *John Walley.*

1547. *Richard Jugge.*
1547. Gualter Lynne.
1547. Roger Madeley.
1547. Thomas Powell.
1547. *William Powell.*
1548. Roger Carr.
1548. *Humphry Powell.*
1548. *Richard Wyer.*
1548. *William Hyll.*
1548. Robert Sloughton.
1548. John Overton.
1548. *John Oswen.*
1548. *William Copland.*
1548. *William Seres.*
1548. Anth. Scoloker.
1548. Hugh Singleton.
1549. Herforde's Widow.
1549. John Harrington.
1549. *William Tille.*
1549. William Baldwin.

1549. *Robert Crowley.*
1549. *John Mychell.*
1549. *John Cawood.*
1549. Anth. Kytson.
1550. Rich. Charleton.
1550. Harrington's Widow.
1550. John Wyer.
1550. *Andro Hester.*
1550. St. Myerdman.
1550. *Tho. Gualtier.*
1550. John Turk.
1550. John Kynge.
1550. John Tysdale.
1550. *Humphrey Toy.*
1551. John Case.
1551. *Abraham Veale.*
1551. *John Wyghte.*
1551. Richard Tottel.
1552. William Riddle.
1552. Gerard Dewes.

Had Edward lived, or the same course been pursued, it is impossible to calculate what must have been the consequences. Of the men now mentioned, three had already carried the art to Canterbury, Ipswich, and Worcester, and a fourth to the capital of Ireland. In 1549, Mychell at *Canterbury* was printing the Psalter; at *Worcester*, Oswen was printing the New Testament in 1548 and 1550; Humphrey Powell, after printing the Psalter for Whytchurch, had commenced business in *Dublin* by the year 1551; while not fewer than twenty-eight other substantial men were concerned with the Scriptures in the metropolis itself. Though the printers in London may now amount to five hundred in number, nothing wearing the most distant approach to this state of things, has ever been exhibited since.[6]

But the editions of the Scriptures themselves will now furnish us with another view of this memorable period. For Bibles in *folio*, there may have been not so much need as yet, considering the number which had been printed in 1540 and

[6] One of the first printers who commenced business in prospect of Edward mounting the throne, very well serves to mark the crisis. This was John *Day*, and his first publication, immediately after the King's death, in 1547, was—"The sum of *Holy Scripture*, imprinted by John *Day*, dwelling in *Sepulchre's* parish, at the sign of the *Resurrection*;" alluding to the rebus or device he had adopted and often employed, viz. one youth awaking another out of sleep, at the moment of sunrise, with this motto—"*Arise, for it is* DAY." Another man was Richard Jugge; or two printers, with whose names so many editions both of the Bible entire, and the New Testament, were now to be associated. The latter will soon print two of the smallest and most beautiful editions of Tyndale's New Testament, in 24mo, with the portrait of Edward himself prefixed!

1541; for although Henry had licensed Anthony Marler to print for five years longer, he was then over-stocked, and the sale must have flagged, as the wayward monarch only frowned on the undertaking ever after. New Testaments, however, were in great request, and the people will now discover which translation they preferred.

To our List of editions at the close of this history we are now under the necessity of referring, both for illustration and proof. Should therefore any slight discrepancy be discovered, between any general statement, and the editions there put down, though in no case will it affect our argument on the whole, the reader will find it safe to abide by the List. At the same time should any instance occur it will be *there* noted. At present we confine ourselves to a cursory survey. Looking at the entire period of six years and a half, there appear to have been about fifty distinct publications, whether of the Sacred Volume entire, or the New Testament separately; that is, fifteen of the former, and thirty-five of the latter; though it is not improbable that one or two more may yet be discovered.

Of Coverdale's version there was one edition though in two issues, first in 1550 by Andro Hester, and in 1553 by R. Jugge. Of Taverner's version there was one, in five volumes in 1549, and another, though this has been questioned, in 1551. Of Cranmer's Bible there seem to have been seven editions. Of Matthew's there were at least five; but then one of these, about to be mentioned, was so large an impression that it has been mistaken frequently for a number of distinct editions. Allowing to each separate individual embarked, his own Bibles, there were not fewer than eight distinct issues of this one edition. This would make twelve in all, of Matthew's.

With respect to the New Testament, besides the English translation inserted in the paraphrase of Erasmus in 1548, of which there was a second edition, at least of the first volume, in 1551, and one edition generally ascribed to Sir John Cheke; of Cranmer's Testament there appear to have been eight editions, but then of Tyndale's, whether under his own name or that of Matthew, there were not fewer than twenty-four, besides one of Coverdale corrected by Tyndale's version.[7]

On the whole, therefore, if the public demand had called for Cranmer's correction of Tyndale, fifteen times, it had done so for Tyndale's version, as it stood, fully double that number; and if six men were concerned in the former, eighteen, at least, were in the latter.

The edition to which we have alluded, of Tyndale's or Matthew's translation in May 1551, is worthy of special notice, as indicative of the zeal now abroad, so unfettered by interference. In this Bible not fewer than nine different respectable men, printers and booksellers in London, were concerned, and the impression, therefore, must have been

7 The first Testament of Cranmer, though dated in 1546, as their year ran on to the 25th of March, we place under *Edward*, as it was most probably not published till after Henry's death. So scarce is it, that we have known of thirty-five guineas being offered for a copy. Unfortunately for Cranmer's next Testament, by Whitchurch as printer, not fewer than eleven verses were omitted in one chapter, viz. Rev. i. 9-20. It has been surmised that the book had been called in, but at least one copy now exists in London, in the collection of Mr. Offor.

a very large one. It may be regarded as an ornament of its kind, pointing to the reign of England's youngest monarch. With the exception of one, to be noted, under Elizabeth, London ever since has never furnished a parallel. The following is its title, with a colophon partly corroborative of the fact as now stated :—

> "The Bible, that is to saye, all the holy Scripture : In whiche are contayned the Olde and newe Testament, truly and purely translated into Englishe, now lately with great industry and diligence recognised," &c. Small folio. *Colophon*—"Here endeth the whole Bible after the translation of Thomas Mathew.—*Imprynted at London by Nycolas Hyll, dwelling in Saynct John's Streete, at the cost and charges of certayne honest menne of the occupacyon, whose names be upon their bokes.*"

Separate titles were printed for each of these "honest menne," who were at least eight in number, viz., John Wyghte, Willyam Bonham, Thomas Petyt, Thomas Raynolde, Richard Kele, John Walley, Abraham Veale, Robert Toye. The first and last three books are in the Bristol Museum ; and most of the others, if not the whole, have been seen by the writer in other collections. The copies with the names of Wyghte and Bonham are said to be printed *by* them, indicative of their being partners in the expense with Hyll, the actual printer. The others have Hyll's name as printer *for* each of them, or generally, as in the above colophon for Robert Toye ; but the book is the same throughout, though it may have been often mistaken for three, if not eight or nine, different editions.[8]

Tyndale's Bibles were published under the name of Matthew ; but as for the New Testament separately, the name of William Tyndale was now inserted in the front titles of fifteen editions, if not more. At the same time it may be observed, in farther proof of the freedom of the press, and of the absence of all jealousy or interference on the part of Cranmer, that the impressions of Matthew's Bible took precedence of his own in point of time. That of the former, by Day and Seres, was finished in August 1549, and that by Reynolde and Hill in October ; but Cranmer's, by Grafton and Whitchurch, not till December of that year.[9]

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[8] It was, however, more than could have been expected that such a course should go on to the end without some itching after a monopoly. RICHARD JUGGE, when bordering on the *last* year of Edward, began to discover his cupidity, and obtained a license from the Privy Council, dated 10th June 1552, "forbidding all other men" from printing the New Testament. But he did not profit by it, and his son will be plentifully paid back in the father's own coin, by Christopher Barker, in the reign of Elizabeth. WHITCHURCH, too, is said by Herbert to have applied for a patent to print *Cranmer's* Bible for seven years! But if so, it was inoperative. Nicolas Hyll printed Cranmer in the face of any such thing, and the reign of Mary was at hand.

[9] The edition by Day and Seres has been mistaken for Taverner's. It is Tyndale's version.

Thus, if a version ever received distinguished marks of public approbation, it was that of our first translator. There had been certain verbal alterations in the text, whether by Cranmer, Coverdale, or Taverner—some of which were no improvements; and so it now appears the people at large had thought throughout the days of Edward the Sixth. They had said, in a manner not to be mistaken, "We decidedly prefer the version of our original Translator, as he gave it to his country."

It is now, however, of importance to observe, that the preceding remarkable course of events with regard to Divine Truth, so interesting in itself, becomes still more so, as proving that, when the people were *let alone*, they could act with vigour for themselves; and that they were acting well and nobly, in a direction from which nothing but good could ensue. But our interest is greatly increased upon observing two of its peculiar features, namely, the *dissimilarity* of this course to every other, and its marked *independence* of the reigning power.

There was actually no other train of things of a similar character under Edward VI., but, on the contrary, quite the reverse. For, without plunging into politics, no sooner do we turn our eyes than the leaven left by Henry is to be seen in operation. There was free course for the Book of God, but everywhere else constraint would now and then discover itself. Whether we turn to the *old* learning, or to the official men professing the *new*, or to heresy itself, properly so called, it was still the same. No man in power conceived of any remedy save one. Instead of reason, argument, and the exposition of Divine Truth being left with God to their own effects, the only *ultimate* resort was personal constraint, and even unto death. The reader of history need not be reminded of the short-sighted policy pursued towards Mary, the presumptive heir, who was sure to repay the restraint imposed upon her with double interest as soon as she came to the throne. With respect to the characters of Gardiner and Bonner, there could be but one opinion as to their just deserts in the sight of God. "Their hands were defiled with blood, and their fingers with iniquity; their lips had spoken lies, and their tongue still muttered perverseness;" but the policy pursued by their opponents was sure to recoil upon themselves. By their course with Mary and these two men they were for years preparing a threefold cord against another day, or rather a scourge of three thongs, to be steeped in their own blood and that of many more. The same blind zeal was displayed in the lamentable intolerance of Cranmer, and even Ridley, towards the zealous and learned John Hooper, when actually "forcing" him to be a bishop, according to their own ideas of that office. Their conduct, too, appears

much more reprehensible when contrasted with that of their amiable and youthful King. These old men could not learn a lesson of wisdom and moderation, though tendered to them even by the lips of their youthful Monarch. Hooper having objected to the oath imposed, as well as to the old priestly garments, Edward himself erased the exceptionable words, and was inclined to dispense with the garments also. But no; ultimately committed to the custody of Cranmer, Hooper was consigned to the Fleet prison—although the dispute had to be settled at last by mutual concession. Nor did they stop here—though, had Edward's feelings been consulted, his reign had never been stained with blood. Even the tears of the young Monarch were shed in vain; heresy was to be punished with death, and the names of Joan of Kent and of George Van Pare will always recur to sully the character of this otherwise bloodless reign. It may, however, be received as one redeeming point, that the blood of not *one* disciple of the old learning was shed; while the other events conspire to render the freedom enjoyed as to the Scriptures only the more observable.

Nor is the dissimilarity of which we speak less striking, when, from men and things, we turn to certain BOOKS, proposed to be *enforced*, during this reign, by royal authority. In justice to the history of the Sacred Volume, let that of two others, for a few moments, be observed. We refer to what were styled "The Articles in Religion," and to the "Revision of the Ecclesiastical Laws." These, it is well known, engrossed much of the time and attention of Cranmer throughout the whole six years and a half, while other men were busy, and left free to supply the demand for Sacred Scripture itself. That there is an infinite difference between the words of men and those of God, is a truth to which all subscribe; but the question is, whether any palpable line of distinction was, by certain occurrences, now drawn between them, and made perfectly apparent, as a lesson or monition, to posterity. If there was, he can scarcely be said to go below the surface of the times who does not observe and record it.

It was in the year 1536 that "Articles of Religion" were first started by Archbishop Cranmer in the Convocation. From the dexterous and successful advantage which such a mode of procedure had afforded to Stephen Gardiner and his party afterwards, one might have imagined that Cranmer by this time would have discovered his mistake, and, but for his situation, perhaps he might; but the *all-sufficiency* or perfection of the Divine Word itself was an idea which neither he nor any other man in public understood. Cranmer, indeed, was now even far more bent upon "Articles" than ever before. In 1536 they were only nine in number, but they had now grown under his hand to forty-two!—thus enlarging the debatable ground to nearly five times its original size. But then "it is remarkable," says an intelligent writer, "that though much promptitude was shown under Henry VIII. in drawing up formularies of

faith, *five years* were allowed by his successor without *any* publication of this nature."[10] This extraordinary delay, indeed, went farther, even to within a month of Edward's death ; nay, the royal mandate to procure adhesion by subscription is dated only a *fortnight*, and that by Cranmer only *eight days* before that event. The King's printer had only finished the book at press, when all the labour, not to say all the expense, was in vain !

But how, it may well be inquired, could Cranmer thus proceed with the slightest hope of success ? Did he not see the youthful Prince daily and evidently descending to the grave ? No doubt he did, and the blinding effect of what has been styled "politic handling" becomes strikingly apparent. The Primate was dreaming on the edge of a volcano, in vain expectation of another successor to Edward than the one appointed.

One obvious advantage, however, of Cranmer's long delay in printing these Articles was this—that the public mind was much *less* diverted from the sacred page itself ; and this delay is the more remarkable, as it appears to have originated in little else than a mistaken flight of the imagination. The most feasible explanation which can be given is the following. For years, and in conjunction with *Philip Melancthon*, Cranmer had dreamt of attempting "a *General* Confession of Faith" for the churches or communities abroad, as well as at home. Full of this intention, he had invited certain foreigners to visit England, as the most suitable or safest place for conference at that period. Melancthon, Bullinger, and, it has also been supposed, Calvin were invited. Cranmer continued, it is certain, to press the subject up to the spring of 1552, when his final invitation to Melancthon, dated 27th March, was despatched. Not one of the parties invited, however, arrived ; and so Cranmer, despairing of success, proceeded at last with his own ideas, entitled "The Book of Articles of Religion." In May 1552, it was laid before the Privy Council, who retained it till November ; but the royal authority was not signified till the end of June, when the King was nearly breathing his last. Thus, it is very observable, the present "Articles," proposed for "avoiding controversy" and establishing "concord," met with even less notice than those first put forth under Henry, with the vain expectation of producing "peace and contentation." How much of mercy had been involved in the people at large having all these years full and free access to Scripture itself, and the opportunity of drawing their faith directly from that well of life or living water, it is impossible to say. This, however, above all others, and beyond all question, had proved the crowning mercy of the times.

The other BOOK, to which we have alluded, the "Revision of Ecclesiastical Law," met with no better success, though now completed, and that chiefly through the persevering exertions of Cranmer. It was now

[10] Cranmer's Remains, by Jenkyns. *Preface.*

above *twenty* years since this revision had been first projected in 1532! Two years after, in March 1534, an Act was passed, empowering Henry VIII. to nominate commissioners, and enacting that the canons approved by them, *if* fortified by the Royal assent under the Great Seal, should be kept and observed within *the realm*. This Act was renewed in 1536, and again in 1544. After this, and at last, commissioners *were* appointed, a body of what they called Ecclesiastical Law was digested, and a letter of ratification prepared for the King's signature; but this signature was *never* affixed. Henry died, and the powers granted to the Crown died with him. A fresh Act, therefore, under Edward, was passed in 1549. Commissioners are *said* to have been appointed shortly after; but it is certain they had done little, or rather nothing, as a new commission was issued in October 1551. This was directed to eight bishops, eight divines, eight civilians, and eight common lawyers, of whom eight were still only to "gather up and put in order the materials." They had, of course, now not been pleased with the former "digest," under Henry, which was only waiting for his signature; and now, under Edward his son, after all these preliminaries, the whole affair was intrusted by the King to Cranmer, who employed three others, Taylor, P. Martyr, and Haddon, to assist. From the manuscript copy, however, now in the British Museum, it is manifest that Cranmer and Peter Martyr were the chief labourers; but what came of it all at last? We need scarcely add, they had laboured in vain! "Such," says Mr. Todd, in his Life of Cranmer, "such is the unauthoritative code, often altered, it appears, in its progress through the reigns of Henry and Edward; in vain endeavoured to be brought into use in that of Elizabeth; merely reprinted in that of Charles the First; and at last ineffectually suggested to public notice, with a view to its establishment, by Bishop Burnet."

In the providential history, therefore, of these two books, in comparison with that of the Sacred Volume, no line of distinction could be more palpable—no contrast more bold and striking. The undertakings of men, and these, let it be observed, men in power, though backed by royal encouragement, had not only dragged on heavily, but the ruler's smiles turning soon away, they, with the ruler, died. We have heard of "the voice of past years," and this is one, not without signification to the present age.

The reader may already be disposed to regard the contrast as sufficiently strong, but the unbroken or continued *independence* of this cause, as it regarded *official men*, as well as books, is now not less worthy of particular notice. Under Henry VIII., the history of the Sacred Scriptures in English, has appeared to be a separate or distinct undertaking, carried forward by a succession of private individuals, at their own proper cost and risk: but so far from this being observed to continue under Edward VI., perhaps many, if not all, have been accustomed to

regard the course pursued as quite the reverse. The substantial procedure, however, even now, was neither suggested, undertaken, or pursued at the instigation of either the King or Privy Council, the Convocation, or the Parliament. It is true, that before even the first Parliament was assembled, the Privy Council, seizing time by the forelock, and grounding their proceedings upon that outrageous Act of Henry's, by which the King's letters were to carry equal authority with an Act of Parliament, did issue certain injunctions; and by them, one chapter of the Old, and another of the New Testament, was to form a part of public service; the parish church, too, was to be provided with a copy of the Scriptures, of which many of them were still destitute, and to this was added the paraphrase of Erasmus on the Gospels. But still, as in the year 1537, the Bible was introduced into England, independently of the Privy Council, the Convocation, or the Parliament; even so now the Scriptures must be plentifully printed and circulated. No injunctions were issued on this subject. There was no royal proclamation. Nor must the Senate be permitted to have a voice with regard to the *reading* of the Scriptures. On the contrary, in the very first year of Edward's reign, or 1547, when a certain bill, bearing on the subject, was introduced into Parliament, it failed. And when the capricious, nay profane treatment of the Sacred Volume by that Assembly, as well as by the Convocation, is remembered, every one must see the propriety of their not being allowed now to interfere, in the way of hollow, though professed favour. No, the cause had stood the battle and the breeze, without their hypocritical friendship, before Edward was born; and it will do so again, when these men are either gone to the grave, or have basely changed sides, as many of them did in a few years. This Parliament may frown upon the sanguinary Acts of the late King, and especially on that which so absurdly and cruelly restrained the *useful* classes from reading the Scriptures; but they must proceeed no farther. They might brand the deeds of the preceding Senate, by repealing the statutes they had dared to pass; but as for the positive perusal of the Scriptures, they must not falsely enjoy any credit for enforcing it. They must not legislate. The subject was mooted, it is true, but it seems as if this had been intended only to show more visibly to posterity, the independence which we have observed all along. Upon Tuesday the 15th of November, in the House of Lords a bill was introduced, by whom is not stated, though Cranmer was present, "*for the reading of the Scriptures;*" but it actually never reached a second reading, nor was any such measure even hinted throughout the reign.[11] Legislation was once proposed, but it must be abandoned; and although there was *no* Act of Parliament—*no* Act of Convocation—*no* imperative injunctions—*no* new translation—

[11] See the Lords' Journals, p. 297.

no new false title pages, similar to the profane mockery of Henry's days, there was, so far as one individual youth was concerned, something of far different and better effect, and more congenial with God's own glorious purpose and design—*Edward's own visible and marked veneration for the Sacred Record itself.*

The cause, therefore, continues to stand out before us, as the spontaneous act of individual enterprise, in reply to the voluntary and urgent calls of the people themselves, and especially for the New Testament Scriptures. They were anxious to proceed according to the good old French maxim, "Laissez nous faire"—*Leave us to act;* and the Government was, providentially, strong enough to comply. For many years, it is true, the votes or voice of Parliament could have formed no index whatever to the consent or non-consent of the people at large. From the way in which members were summoned, or both Houses constituted, this was impossible; but then, at the same time, both Houses were most obsequious, and had wavered with the Crown. Now, in these circumstances, it is only the more observable, that the Parliament of Edward should become conspicuous for *non-interference*, when the King himself was a sincere and ardent admirer of the Scriptures. Thus, though *unconsciously*, the House was witnessing to posterity the benefits which ensue from not touching with this subject. Of these benefits, we have already given substantial evidence; and the reader will be still more struck, when he turns to the particular statement of all these precious volumes, in our list at the close of this work. Meanwhile, no one could desire more evident proofs, in long succession, of a "separated cause," a sacred undertaking; and these, too, present themselves at a period, when the unprincipled changes perpetually occurring, whether in the Privy Council or the Parliament, were loudly saying of every other department—"it is but the cause of men, of fallible and changing men."

Here, then, was the distinguishing feature of this brief, but memorable reign; and it certainly becomes the more worthy of notice from the facts already stated; for in this one point of view, there has been no reign, of a similar character, ever since. In contrast, too, with Edward's immediate predecessor, far from any thing to repel in the young Prince, there is much to invite our love and admiration. Whatever was ob-

jectionable during his sway—of which there were more steps than one or two—an enlightened judgment will ever ascribe to his Ministers; for, in the age in which he flourished and faded so soon, he stood like an apple tree among the trees of the wood, if not as a lily among thorns. To say nothing of the precocity of his talents, which, no doubt, has been exaggerated, though he must have been more than usually intelligent, there was his strong aversion to the shedding of blood, which so painfully places Goodrich, and Cranmer, and even Ridley, before us; but, above all, his profound and often expressed veneration for the Sacred Volume itself. It was this that brought him so near to the character of Josiah of old, though even yet so much younger than the Jewish monarch, when the Book of the Law was found, and read before him.

But, lo! the clouds are gathering; the young King, to the grief of many, and these certainly the best in the land, is seen to be slowly descending to the grave; and all the enemies of Divine Truth in the vulgar tongue, begin to rally and look up. A lurid gloom begins to settle on the realm. A time of trouble and vexation, of banishment and blood, is at hand. But there was no wisdom, nor understanding, nor counsel, against Him by whom all things were foreseen. We must enter the storm, and there, even there, delight to trace once more, the peculiar care of the Most High, over his own Word.

It was upon the evening of Thursday, the 6th of July 1553, that Edward died of consumption. His favourite and inseparable friend, Sir Henry Sidney, had him in his arms, when he suddenly exclaimed—"I am faint; Lord have mercy upon me, and take my spirit!" He instantly expired, at the early age of fifteen years, eight months, and twenty-two days. Few kings have fallen so soon; far fewer still, as safe; and perhaps none in English history more sincerely lamented, by discerning survivors. Under such counsellors he might have been corrupted. He was taken away from the evil to come.

Before King Edward was interred at Westminster, on the 8th of August, there had already occurred great changes; and that storm had commenced, which was to end only with the reign then begun. Had the short rule of the deceased Prince, been one of only *unmixed* good, the judgment which now fell upon England for about five years, would have been inscrutable. The reign of Mary having been so awfully tempestuous, has always been designated as tyrannical and bloody; but

since it did occur, the judgment, as a national one, must have been righteous. God doth not afflict willingly, nor grieve the children of men. Before leaving the present reign, therefore, the reason, or procuring cause, must be sought for in the six years and a half which had now passed away. By how much the following years were severe, the preceding only demand the more attention.

The *Privy Council* of the deceased King, therefore, on whom the executive power had rested, and the *nation*, as such, equally require notice. With regard to the first party, they had rendered themselves notorious, as a set of men fighting for their own individual interests. But whatever might be reprehensible at other times—and there was not a little—it is curious enough, that if we fix our eye only upon fifteen days, or even only three, at the commencement, and twelve, or only two, at the close of their sway, we have sufficient evidence that all was not right, in the sight of either God or man. Over the first three days, there has long hung a degree of mystery which has puzzled all our previous historians. Sir James Mackintosh has remarked that the delay of three days in officially announcing the death of Henry VIII., would be regarded, in our time, as a piece of daring presumption ; but what these men, the Earl of Hertford and his associates, were doing, in the course of these days has been the question, and no one could inform us till very recently. The validity of Henry's will has been often canvassed, but whatever was its character, it turns out that this State document was in the Earl's private keeping, and that no Privy Counsellor could even see it, until he sent the key from Hertford, where he was, twenty miles distant from London, and twenty-five hours after Henry had breathed his last. The truth is, that as soon as the King died, early on Friday the 28th of January 1547, Hertford had proceeded to this place, as Edward was there ; and his letter to the other executors is dated from thence "between three and four in the (next) morning."[12] Forty-four hours more pass away, and Hertford, at eleven o'clock on Sunday night, is only at Enfield, still ten miles distant from town. Both Edward and Elizabeth, (not Mary,) were under his care, and here he first informed these children, of their father's death. Elizabeth was left in the country, and it was not till three o'clock on Monday that Edward had arrived at the Tower ; the decease of the monarch not having been communicated to Parliament till they assembled that day. On Tuesday, or the first of February, the greater part of the nobility arrived at the Tower, to bow the knee before their young Sovereign ; and to hear from

12 Though Parliament was of course dissolved by the King's death, it met next day, or Saturday, and proceeded to business! This not only gave time to the Junto, but Paget seems to have been trying to take care of himself. Besides other business there was a "Bill for assuring certain lands to Sir William Paget, Secretary to the King's Majesty,"—and the King's Majesty *dead*, thirty hours before they met! They then ADJOURNED to *Monday*, which was to serve fo carrying on the delusion.

Wriothesly, as Chancellor, the purport of his father's will and testament.[13] The deed, *as far as declared*, of course exactly served the design of Hertford and his party; for what had they actually done? They had *opened the will*, before either the King or the Parliament were informed of Henry's death, and had held consultation what *portions* were to be communicated! Thus while Parliament and the nation believed, or were left to suppose, that their Sovereign was still alive, all the intended measures were already fixed, and by a faction to whom no resistance could be made. In short, the Earl of Hertford was already regarded as Protector by his fellows, three days before the accession of Edward was announced.[14]

There is no occasion here, however, for going on in detail. The proceedings of Hertford, who was soon created Duke of Somerset; of the Lord-Admiral Baron Seymour, his brother; and of Dudley, Earl of Warwick, afterwards Duke of Northumberland, are well known. The two former had perished, and the last is now about to die, on the scaffold. But if the *first* steps taken under Edward were wrong, the *last* were much worse. If Henry's last will was valid, and it had been read as their guide, great freedoms had been used with it, by these Counsellors, at the beginning; but they finished, by putting it aside altogether! The duplicity practised in both cases, serves to show the ambition with which they were filled.[15] To their crooked and short-sighted policy was then ultimately sacrificed, one of the loveliest, the best educated, and most refined young women in all England—Lady Jane Grey, the illustrious daughter of the Duke of Suffolk, the Queen of ten days. She had been married only in May to Lord Guilford Dudley, fourth son of the

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[13] Here we may as well take leave of this unprincipled and cruel man, the Lord Chancellor. Immediately after Henry's funeral, in consequence of the creation of Peers at Edward's coronation, Wriothesly was elevated to be Earl of Southampton; Fitzwilliam, the last Earl, having died, s. p. in 1543. Perhaps the new Peer had been congratulating himself on being through the storm, as through he was, had he not immediately brought another on himself; for the first business of importance after the coronation was his fall. Retaining his office as Lord Chancellor, he had, of his *own* authority, appointed three deputies in the Court of Chancery to act for him there. The Judges decided that he had thus forfeited his office, and become liable to fine and imprisonment. His passion at this decision availed him nothing, and his insolence to Hertford, then Duke of Somerset and Lord-Protector, completed his ruin. Crumwell had possessed an Earldom little more than three months, but the new Earl of Southampton was in disgrace by that day month on which Henry died. The Great Seal was taken from him, he was put under arrest, and not relieved till the 29th of June, after entering on a recognizance of £4000 to pay whatever fine should be imposed. Recovering his influence in some degree, he became the hope of his party, but by the end of 1549 he precipitately left the Court; and, according to Poynet, Bishop of Winchester, "fearing lest he should come to some shameful end, poisoned himself, or pined away for thought." From whatever cause, he died on the 30th of July 1550.

[14] It is to Mr. Tytler that we have been recently indebted for these particulars, in his "England under the reigns of Edward VI. and Mary." Vol. i., pp. 15-19. The information is contained in original manuscripts, only now first printed.

[15] The objections of the young and dying King to set aside his father's will, and so injure his sisters, are not upon record; but he can only be regarded as the tool of Northumberland's wicked ambition, and of sophistry no less wicked, on the part of those who sympathised with the schemes of the Duke.

Duke of Northumberland. When poor Jane, like a devoted victim, was carried in state procession, on Monday the 10th of July, it was intended that Law and Government, the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, the Nobility and Clergy, should all appear to be in her favour; but though the concourse was great, it was merely to see the pageant; there was only faint praise from the people, and but few acclamations; nor had the feeling of the better orders been at all consulted. At that moment, indeed, Mary, little else than a lonely fugitive, and fled to Framlingham Castle, might seem unlikely ever to be Queen of England; but a few days only passed away, when the enchantment of those who had sought to disinherit her was dissolved. In one week Henry's eldest daughter found herself supported by forty thousand men, foot and horse, at their own expense, without costing her a crown piece! The enthusiasm was excessive, and characteristic; so that when Mary was proclaimed at Paul's Cross, the very next week, or Wednesday the 19th, it was amidst acclamations from the multitude, which drowned the voice of the heralds! If Cranmer, therefore, and Ridley too, as well as some others, would sit in council with such men, and would "go in with dissemblers," they must now abide the consequences; but the manner in which the event was hailed, forcibly points us to the people at large, or the state of the *nation* as such.

We have witnessed it is true, a very remarkable progress in the diffusion of Divine Truth; but we have also seen that this was effected, not by the encouragement or sanction of Parliament, nor, of course, with the consent of the *nation* as such in any form;—no: the cause itself, though *in* the kingdom, was not *of* the kingdom; since no rulers in Europe had discovered greater hostility to Divine Revelation. The present convulsion, therefore, though only the commencement of a storm, served at once to clear the moral atmosphere, and forcibly distinguish between the passions of men, and the cause of God. It enables us, even now, to see, with far greater precision, the actual state of things.

As there had been a *separate undertaking*, which we have descried all along, so it now appeared, as the consequence, that there had existed a *separate people*, not to be identified or mingled up with any intrigue of the times. So far as the human mind was concerned, the changes which had ensued, from the first step taken by Henry VIII. until now, were not national changes. The nation, *as such*, though so long and singularly visited by Divine Truth, cared not for it; and still clinging to its old ceremonies and habits, leaped at the prospect of

falling back into its long repose under the shade of Rome. As a warning to the age, therefore, and especially to posterity, *to distinguish things that differ*, some fearful lesson of instruction was demanded, and this must no longer be withheld.

Meanwhile, what the Almighty had so mercifully done for England was analogous to that which, to use the words of Scripture itself, was done by Him, "at the first," when He did "*visit the nations, to take* OUT *of them, a people for his name.*" Such a people, however despised and trampled on, we have beheld in England, in the days of John Fryth, and before then. Some of the best among them we have seen by the light of those fires, which the enemy had kindled; and they had been increasing in numbers all along. Under Henry VIII. the war had commenced against the Sacred *Volume* itself, without even knowing the translator; and it went on against all who imported, received, or retained it. Under the reign of his son, it had been plentifully printed, purchased, and read; and it will now become a decided proof of *progress*, however heart-rending in detail, that the persecution about to commence was to be against all who had *believed* its contents, and held its sacred truths to be more precious than life itself. This, however, in the end, will materially further the cause of Divine Truth, not retard it.

SECTION II. REIGN OF QUEEN MARY.

A REIGN, DISCOVERING THE ACTUAL STATE OF THE NATION, AS SUCH; BUT ONE, HOWEVER PAINFUL IN ITS DETAILS, WHICH SO FAR FROM RETARDING THE PROGRESS OF DIVINE TRUTH, ONLY DEEPENED THE IMPRESSION OF ITS VALUE; AND AS IT BECAME THE OCCASION, SO IT AFFORDED THE OPPORTUNITY FOR THE SACRED SCRIPTURES BEING GIVEN AFRESH TO ENGLAND, MORE CAREFULLY REVISED—THE EXILES FROM THE KINGDOM PROVING, ONCE MORE, ITS GREATEST BENEFACTORS.

UPON the 6th of July 1553, at the age of thirty-six, Mary, the eldest daughter of Henry VIII., succeeded to the throne, and reigned as Sovereign alone for one year. Afterwards, allied by marriage to Philip of Spain, the Queen died in less than four years and four months, on the 17th of

November 1558. This reign throughout, has been all along, and generally regarded as a portion of English history distinguished by little else than the shedding of blood. Few, however, have sufficiently observed, that this blood-shedding for opinions held, did not commence till February 1555, or more than a year and a half after Mary held the sceptre. And if this fact has been but slightly regarded, fewer still have ever noticed its bearing on the Sacred Volume, and those who prized it.

That Volume, printed for a period of fully ten years on the *Continent*, had been very strangely introduced into England; or in a manner which must ever distinguish it, historically, among all other European versions. Yet now, as if to fix the eye upon it still more intensely, it was about to be carried abroad, or back to that same Continent from whence it first came, and by all such as valued the boon, above their necessary food. Yes, now, when the first edition of the New Testament was already twenty-seven years old, and the first Bible printed on English ground had left the press fourteen years ago, as many copies as could be, must be carefully concealed at home, and even *built up*, as they actually were, and the rest must be carried abroad! For years that were past, the people had read those Oracles of God on English ground, which had been prepared for them on the Continent: they must now, scattered all over that Continent itself, read the volumes which had been printed in the metropolis of their native island! Formerly, they perused at home, what came from abroad; they must now read beyond seas, what had been prepared for them at home. No doubt, also, copies which had been printed on the Continent, were then carried back to it. Still, however, time must be afforded for escape. The wind of persecution being restrained, that it should not blow on the land for fully a year and a-half, those who valued the truth of God, carrying with them the Sacred Volume, as their highest treasure, soon departed by hundreds, as best they could. The clouds were gathering over England, a time of trouble and rebuke to a nation, which, as such, had too long "despised the Word of the Lord," was at hand; yet could those who fled, have seen only a few years before them, they might have sung in concert over the result, as they were sailing to the different seaports to which they fled for

shelter. But the preface or introduction to this fiery trial first demands notice.

The Privy Council of Edward had concluded his reign, as they began it, by a course of dissimulation. But they were not now to succeed as they had done before. They had placed double guards to maintain greater secrecy, and then tried to conceal the King's death for two days. But, what was much worse, they had sent a false letter to Mary, the heir, at least by her father's will, which they formerly professed to follow, saying that "her brother was very ill, and earnestly desired the comfort of her presence." This foolish expedient to inveigle the Princess, and get her in their power, only served as a sure token to confirm her suspicion of a plot. Under the impression of fair dealing, she had at first actually set out from Hunsden in Hertfordshire; but by the time she was only eight miles on her way, or seventeen from London, she was met at Hoddesdon by her goldsmith, sent direct from town. He informed her distinctly of the hour of her brother's death. Somewhat suspicious of the quarter from whence the information came, the Princess ruminated for a little while; but the snare was broken, and, with constitutional firmness of mind, she immediately bent her way towards Sawston, near Cambridge.[1] Early next morning, and seated behind the servant of the proprietor, Sir John Huddleston, Mary had left; but they were not out of sight of Sawstonhall, before it was in flames.[2] Passing through Bury St. Edmonds, she got to Kenninghall, which had been assigned to her as a residence.[3] From thence, next day, or the 9th, she addressed the Lords of Council, claiming the Crown. Very foolishly for themselves, and as full of infatuation as ever, they replied on the evening of the same day. Although Mary was now to ascend the throne, in terms of a will, *parts* of which they could read aloud, as law, when these answered their own ambitious views; they now, in no measured terms, addressed their correspondent, as an illegitimate daughter, by the everlasting laws of God; though Lady Jane Grey was certainly not even proclaimed till next day. To this reply were affixed the names of twenty-three members of Council, at the head of which stood Cranmer's, for to all these proceedings he had been a party. If they thus yet dreamt of intimidating the future Queen, never had men so reckoned without their host. Destitute of money, without an army, or even ad-

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[1] It is worthy of special notice, that Mary was indebted for timely warning, *not* to any gentleman of the *old* learning, but to one professedly of the *new*, Sir Nicholas Throckmorton; and it was this that made her hesitate for a moment. Sir N. was not only a friend to legitimacy, but an enemy to Northumberland and all his ambitious projects.

[2] The house was rebuilt for Sir John, at least the Queen, says Fuller, "bestowed the bigger part of Cambridge Castle upon him, with the stones whereof he built his fair house in this county." This ancient family is represented at present by Richard Huddleston, Esq., High Sheriff in 1834 of the counties of Cambridge and Huntingdon.

[3] The seat of the Duke of Norfolk, still in prison, but restored to him soon after this.

visers, on the morning of the 11th, Mary, on horseback, with her female attendants, set off for Framlingham Castle, twenty miles farther distant from London, to be still nearer the coast, in case of any disaster; but the moment she entered it, she appears to have acted at least, as if the undisputed Sovereign of England. A courage and self-possession were displayed, on which the deluded Counsellors had never calculated. They proclaimed Lady Jane to be Queen, in London, on the 10th; it was but the second day after, when Mary ordered her own proclamation on the 12th at Norwich; and remaining where she was, immediately formed a Council out of the gentlemen who had already resorted to her presence. Finding herself before the end of July surrounded by an army, which had cost her nothing, so eager were the people to support her claims, she moved forward from the old Castle on the 31st, towards London. Her progress was but one continued triumph, for she had been proclaimed even in London, so early as the 19th. Her grand opponent, Northumberland, had joined the people in doing the same thing at Cambridge; and he, as well as the Lady Jane, with her husband, were now in the Tower. On her way, Queen Mary had been met at Ipswich by Cecil, the future Lord Burleigh, whose character has recently suffered so much, as a time-server. As one of the Counsellors whose names were affixed to the preceding letter, he was the first to approach. He secured his own personal safety, and afterwards bowed to the magic of "the old learning," but could never obtain office under the present Queen. On the 3d of August Mary entered her capital, and going direct to the Tower, at once a palace and a prison, she immediately released the Duke of Norfolk, Gardiner, and Tunstal, or three men with whom the reader has been long familiar. Gardiner was sworn into the Privy Council the second day after, and the Queen remained in the Tower till after her brother's funeral.

The lingering decline of Edward's health, who had never fully recovered the effect of small-pox and measles in the spring of 1552, had certainly given timely warning of the approaching tempest; but those strange proceedings of his Council, so far as they were known, were directly calculated to beguile certain parties into false repose. Even Cranmer seems to have pleasingly deceived himself. For surely he could never have issued those "Articles" of his for signature, by an official mandate, only a few days before Edward expired, except he had imagined that there was nothing but plain sailing before him; and that the present Queen would never ascend the throne. At all events, few persons seem to have yet left the kingdom; for the friends of Divine

[4] Of all the Counsellors who had so replied to the Queen, only two suffered; Northumberland himself, and Sir John Gates. Cranmer, though arraigned, was pardoned, but retained in prison. Some time elapsed before the execution of Lady Jane and Lord Dudley, the victims of this ambitious Council.

Truth were now to be divided into two bands; namely, those who were able and inclined to escape persecution by flight, and those who either could not, or would not, leave the country.

Many, unquestionably, were taken by surprise; and, in these circumstances, had this new made Queen immediately stepped into blood, the consequences, dreadful as they ultimately were, would have been far more so: but although she, without disguise, will soon discover her political intentions, much, very much of the restraining mercy of God was to be first displayed.

Communication must now first be held with Rome once more, the ancient magazine of persecution; and the last Cardinal that was ever to visit England, must first arrive from thence, before ever blood will begin to flow freely. In the meanwhile, Mary, though firmly fixed in her principles as a Roman Catholic, and something more, found herself placed in a singular and anomalous position, owing to the strange movements and wild ambition of her father. In consequence of these, the gentlemen of "the old learning," whatever they might say, could no longer boast of their *unity*. They were now divided, very distinctly divided, into two bands. There were those who longed for full alliance with Rome: there were those who strongly deprecated this, and who, though still drawing their faith from *abroad*, wished the Sovereign at *home* to be their only Head upon earth. The very Sovereign herself entertained scruples on this subject, but here was even Stephen Gardiner, and about to be appointed Lord Chancellor, who expressed himself as strongly averse from any re-union with the Pontiff, except simply as a foreign prelate. Mary, who could refer to the *Bible*, when it answered her views or inclination, pled Scripture in her favour. "Women," said she, "I have read in Scripture are forbidden to speak in the Church. Is it then fitting that *your* Church should have a *dumb* head."

There were two measures now in prospect, in the way of alliance, to both of which, in succession, the Queen was secretly, but firmly inclined. The first was full alliance with Rome; the next, alliance by marriage with Philip of Spain. To the first, a strong party stood opposed; to the second, the nation entire; and certainly her Majesty discovered no inferior tact in accomplishing both, though to her own confusion, or ultimate heart-felt vexation.

Thus, however, it was, that while waiting for Rome, a breathing time was granted, for escape. Many in those days might well ponder, and most probably did, over what had been said long ago, in reference to another and different pause or crisis. "When ye shall see the abomination of desolation, spoken of by Daniel the prophet, standing where it ought not, then let them that be in Judea flee to the mountains." And although London was not Jerusalem, nor England Judea, the voice of Providence was sufficiently distinct. It was now heard and obeyed,

as we shall see presently. But above all, whether this remarkable pause, or restraint from personal violence, was not also a distinct demonstration in *favour* of the Sacred Volume in our native tongue, we shall leave the reader to judge, before the reign is ended.

Meanwhile, there were notable men who were not permitted to avail themselves of flight, and although Mary had been so singularly indebted to Throckmorton, a gentleman professedly of the *new* learning, for her own personal deliverance from the snare laid for herself; that learning was not to obtain any favour from her, the moment she felt herself securely seated. It was in fact only four days after her brother's interment, when she had very distinctly expressed to the Lord Mayor and Recorder of London what were her sentiments and intentions; and these they delivered in the following terms—"Albeit her Grace's conscience is staid (or fixed) in matters of religion, yet she meaneth graciously, not to compel and constrain other men's consciences, otherwise than God shall, as she trusteth, put into their hearts a persuasion of the truth *that she is in*, through the opening of his word by godly, virtuous and learned preachers."[5] At the same time the Lord Mayor was not to allow *any open reading of the Scriptures* in the Churches, or preaching by the curates, without her special license, which, of course she never granted.

Upon leaving the Tower for her palace at Richmond, but a few days had elapsed before Mary issued her "Inhibition" against preaching, *reading* or teaching *any Scriptures* in the churches, and *printing* any books! The Word of God in the vulgar tongue, and the printing-press, being the objects of special dread. But even two days before this, there were certain men at large, who must be so no longer. On the 16th of August, Bradford, Vernon and Becon, were committed to the Tower; while no other than *John Rogers*, alias *Matthew*, the editor of the Bible received by Henry in 1537, was commanded to keep himself within his own house, and to have no communication with any persons except those of his own family. They had already taken certain steps, if not commenced proceedings against many persons, and by the 15th of September, *Latimer*, and *Hooper*, as well as *Cranmer*, were safe in the Tower. As for *Ridley*, having preached at Paul's Cross in favour of Queen Jane, he had chosen, however

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5 These words have been quoted as a proof that Mary acted with bad faith, but then the words in italic have been left out. Nothing can so destroy the moral lesson to be drawn from history as *unfairness* to an opponent. The words quoted are from the Privy Council book itself.

6 "Given at Richmond the 18th day of August, in the first year of our most *prosperous* reign." She had been proclaimed only upon the 19th of July, and was not yet crowned. The 1st of October, was the day of her coronation, by Gardiner.

strangely, to proceed to Framlingham to salute Mary, where he was instantly dispoiled of his dignities, and sent back to the Tower, by the 26th of July, or only ten days after he had preached his sermon. But still there were as yet no tortures, no murder, nor any threatened martyrdom.

Most providentially, the Queen, though only thirty-six years of age, was to reign no longer than five years and four months; but those fires which never ceased to blaze for three years and nine months, were not kindled, as already hinted, till February 1555, or a year and a half *after* she had come to the throne.[7] Gardiner and Bonner, as the leading dogs of war, had not only been let loose, but reinstated as Bishops, and there was the most cordial feeling in harmony with Rome; but still the arm of the oppressor was stayed, nor must one stake be prepared, or fire lighted up, for more than sixteen months after these imprisonments. Cardinal Pole, also, must first come from Italy to England before the kingdom could be formally reconciled to Rome; while Gardiner, now raised to be Lord Chancellor, was, from personal ambition, not a little anxious to *retard* his return, and, in the meanwhile, seeking greater things, if possible, for himself. Bonner, it is true, at once brutal and rash, was ready, at a moment's warning, to plunge into his favourite occupation with fury; but a compass must be fetched; and Gardiner was there to guide it. Cautious, as well as vindictive, he will steadily watch the time, and not fail to end in blood; when both he and Bonner will be in at the death of the best men in all England.

It must, however, have very soon, and *thus* mercifully, appeared, that good faith and clemency were out of the question. Conscientious men, in considerable numbers, were bent upon escape to the Continent, and facilities shall not be wanting. All *foreigners* were to be allowed to depart without hinderance. There were not only Germans and Frenchmen, but Italians and Spaniards, Poles and Scotsmen, harbouring not in London alone, but elsewhere, and enjoying a degree of freedom from molestation, unknown at the moment in *any* other part of the world! They must now seek safety by flight.

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7 Before this, it will be remembered, that the lovely victim of Edward's counsellors, LADY JANE GREY, with her husband, Lord Guildford Dudley, had suffered on the scaffold in February 1554; but we here speak of martyrs for opinion, condemned to the flames.

Early in the month of September, that interesting Polish nobleman, John a-Lasco, the uncle of the King of Poland, embarked from London, carrying a considerable number of his congregation with him.[8] About the same time many French, and other foreigners, left England. Orders were sent down to Rye and Dover, that no impediments should be placed in their way; and to these *orders*, not a few of the English, the salt of the land, were indebted for their escape. Many went under the character of servants, and others, by what means they could, till at last it has been computed that there were

[8] This formed one of the most striking and affecting illustrations of the difference between the reigns of Edward and Mary. *Creeds and confessions* had been the order of the day, abroad as well as at home, instead of an immediate and patient appeal to the Sacred Record alone. Notwithstanding this, Edward, with a nobility of soul peculiar to himself, among living monarchs, and unknown to his very Council as such, had granted to this able and learned man, JOHN A-LASCO, and all who listened to him, as Superintendent of his congregation, the most perfect liberty of conscience and worship. By *Superintendent* was meant an office a-kin to that of *Bishop*, as he had four ministers under him; for it is well known that under this reign, the title of Bishop had rather fallen into *disuse;* and no marvel, considering the part which most men sustaining it, had so long and so often acted. Edward's patent, dated 24th July 1550, is given at length by Burnet, in which he says,—"We strictly command and charge the Mayor and Aldermen of our city of London, and their successors, with all others, Archbishops, Bishops, and Justices of ours whatsoever—that they permit the said Superintendent and Ministers, freely and quietly to enjoy, use, and exercise, their own rites and ceremonies, and their own peculiar ecclesiastical discipline, notwithstanding that they do *not* agree with the rites and ceremonies used in our kingdom." "The care of our Church," said a-Lasco afterwards, "was committed to us chiefly with the view, that in the ministration thereof, we should follow the rule of the *Divine Word* and Apostolic observance, rather than any rules of other churches." "The *King* himself," he affirms, "was both the chief *author and defender* of this measure; and Cranmer promoted it also, with all his might." The King, too, had admonished them "to use this great liberty, rightly and faithfully, not to please men, but for the glory of God, by promoting the reform of his worship." What a contrast was here to the entire surface of Europe at the moment! And the only one found to read such a lesson to his country and posterity, was an intelligent boy, not yet thirteen years of age! The step taken by young Edward has been remarkably acknowledged up to the present hour, and the church of Austin friars, then given by him to a-Lasco, and styled "The temple of Jesus," still exists, to be occupied by *foreigners;* and to call up this, as well as some interesting *previous* recollections, for the reader has heard of the building before. See vol. i., pp. 177, 333, &c.

But now, with the accession of Mary, these worthy strangers must depart, and whither shall they go, to find such an asylum? They knew not. It was the publication of what was styled the *interim* by Charles V., that had driven them, and others, into England, where, however, they can now no longer remain. Two Spanish ships were lying in the Thames, and on board of them A-LASCO, with 175 of his friends, embarked. There were *Poles and Germans, Italians and Spaniards, French and Scots*, and all of *one faith;* a most interesting and precious body of passengers! They arrived on the Danish coast in the beginning of a severe winter. But they had not signed, and could not sign, the *Lutheran confession of faith!* They were more of the opinion of Zuinglius, the spiritual father of their Superintendent—and what then? They were not suffered to land, nor even to anchor, above two days! They then attempted *Lubeck—Wismar—Hamburgh*,—but with no better success! Thus men, women and children, were tossed on the billows, through all these dreary winter months, and after many perils and privations, it was absolutely not till the winter was long past, that they were permitted to disembark at Emden, and finally settle in *Friesland*. From September to March they had been driven about on the seas, and flying from the wrath of one woman in England; till the pity so long and barbarously denied, was at last found in the breast of one female abroad. It was the good Countess Dowager, Anne of Oldenberg; a friend in former days of John-a-Lasco. How instructive as well as affecting, is such a story! Creeds or confessions imply belief, which, by imposition, can never be produced. But once drawn up, and then imposed by men who were themselves as yet but imperfectly acquainted with the tenets of Scripture; such was one among other palpable results. Already they had become fountains of sorrow to Christians, as they were to be sources of objection, by the infidel and unbelieving, to the pure fountain of Revelation itself.

from eight hundred to a thousand learned Englishmen, beside those in other conditions, who were now to sustain the honourable character of exiles from their native land, on account of their attachment to Divine Truth. There can be no question that, as far as they could, they took their most valued treasure, their *books*, with them, but, above all, their copies of the *Scriptures;* and thus it was that the volume which had been originally translated for England, upon the European continent, was now to be read by more than a thousand of her sons and daughters, and all over these countries, from Emden to Geneva!

These exiles, of whom their native land at the moment was not worthy, found refuge at *Emden* in Friesland, as a-Lasco and his flock had done; at *Wesel* on the Rhine in Prussia; at *Duisburg*, a town of Guelderland in Holland; at *Strasburg* in France; at *Zurich* and *Berne*, *Basle*, *Geneva*, and *Aran* in Switzerland; at *Frankfort* in Germany, and a few fled to *Worms*, the spot where the first English New Testaments had been completed at press. Many of these people had, in the end, no great occasion to regret the storm that had driven them from home, so far as they themselves were personally concerned. The improvement and enlargement of their minds was the result, in many instances; while their being all alike sufferers from one common calamity, gave occasion to a far finer display of Christian sympathy and bounty, both abroad and at home, than they ever could have experienced in other circumstances, or ever left for posterity to admire. There were at least three Ladies of title,[9] at least six Knights,[10] besides other persons of property, among the number who had fled, and they regarded all the rest as brethren in adversity. Many pious individuals too, chiefly in London, contributed freely to their relief, by sending money, clothes and provisions. Strype gives a list of twenty-six as the most eminent. Abroad, the King of Denmark, Henry, Prince Palatine, the Duke of Wirtenberg, and Wolfgang Duke of Bipont, with all the states and free cities where the English sojourned, were very bountiful to them. So were foreign divines, especially those of

[9] The Duchess of Suffolk, cousin to Queen Mary, Lady D. Stafford, and Lady Elizabeth Berkeley.

[10] Sirs Richard Moryson, Francis Knollys, Anthony Cook with his learned daughters, Peter Carew, Thomas Wroth, and John Cheke.

Zurich, whose small stipends scarcely served to maintain themselves. Peter Martyr's house at Strasburg was filled, where the inmates, living at one common table, paid, if any thing, easy charges for their diet. Several of the learned exiles subsisted partly by their own exertions. John Foxe had now leisure to compose and publish the first edition of his history in Latin, and Grafton the printer had time to write his chronicle, to say nothing of other works; but we shall hear of labours infinitely more valuable, for which this temporary banishment from their native land was to prove the *time appointed.*

These may be regarded as an army of *confessors;* but there were many who could not, while others would not, avail themselves of safety by flight, and these formed a distinguished portion of the noble army of *martyrs.* England, as we have witnessed, under Edward VI. had proved an asylum for the oppressed among other nations: it was ere long to become an *Aceldama*, or field of blood. In the first Parliament under Mary at the close of 1553, the statutes of the preceding reign, as well as some of Henry VIII., had been repealed. The state machine was rolled back to its old position, and the kingdom in 1554 was once more placed under the protection of Rome. Her Majesty though not at all times a quiescent votary of the Pontiff, was, both from principle and past circumstances, a persecutor; while she could not have found in all England two spirits more congenial with her intentions than those of Stephen Gardiner and Edmund Bonner. If they led, others on the bench, and many unprincipled underlings were ready to follow. All statutes which stood in the way being entirely removed, as there was "a clear field," so there was to be "no favour." Men and women, of whatever character, office, or condition, even the lame and the blind, and from the child to the aged man, all who had any conscientious opinions not in harmony with the "old learning," all were appointed unto death.

From the 4th of February 1555, to within only seven days of the Queen's exit, on the 17th of November 1558, a period of only three years, nine months and six days, the number burnt to ashes, and who died by starvation, slow torture and noisome confinement in prison, can never be given with accuracy by any human pen. In reading through the details,

as the heart grows sick, so every one must come to the same conclusion—that there is but *one* list, and that one accurate and indelible—but it is one above. The highest point of human guilt, is to be found in persecution for the *truth's* sake, or in violence done to *conscience;* and when at last inquisition is made for blood, the Judge of all will remember every drop that has been shed, for "the Word of God and the testimony of Jesus Christ."

The different calculations, however, which have been made by Foxe and Burnet, by Strype and Speed, as well as an account by Cecil Lord Burghley, have been carefully collated: and we have thus made out a distinct list of three hundred and eighteen individuals. Of these, two hundred and eighty-eight were consumed in the flames, eight or ten were positively famished, and twenty more pined and expired in their dungeons. Of almost all these we have the names, as well as the time and place of their last triumphs; but the number of deaths, without doubt, must have been greater, especially from imprisonment.[11] In a treatise often ascribed to Lord Burghley himself, but certainly sanctioned by him, and coming from authority, in 1583, we have the following passage—

"In the time of Queen Mary, there were by imprisonment, torments, famine, and fire, of men, women, maidens, and children, *almost the number of four hundred*—lamentably destroyed. And most of the *youth* that then suffered cruel death, both men, women, and children, (which is to be noted,) were such as had never, by the sacrament of baptism or by confirmation *professed*, nor were ever taught or instructed, or ever had heard of any other kind of religion, but *only of that* which, by their blood and death in the fire, they did as true martyrs testify."

Now, whatever may be said as to the precise number of victims, the information conveyed by the closing paragraph, which we are requested to *note*, is of eminent value. This summary was given for a political purpose, and as for these people not having *heard* of any other kind of religion, this was merely a flourish of the pen, and a very absurd one; but the statement, after all, may be received as a memorable testimony to the *source* from whence these martyrs had derived their faith and principles; a testimony to the power

[11] The number of those who suffered in each year, of whose cases we have any distinct account, appears to have been in 1555, 86; in 1556, 104; in 1557, 78; and in 1558, 50, or in all 318. Of these were martyred in 1555, 77; in 1556, 87; in 1557, 77; in 1558, 47; or 288. Cecil's list, as printed by Strype, is incorrectly given.

of the Sacred Oracles as *read* by the youth of the kingdom; for as to *preaching* the truth, this had, with a few exceptions, ever been at the lowest ebb.

If, therefore, the number who lost their lives by every species of cruelty be stated at 375, this gives an average of one hundred deaths annually, in three years and nine months. Of the counties in England, 21 suffered, and 2 in Wales; but the persecution lay heaviest upon those parts where the *Scriptures* were best known. In Essex and Middlesex the victims were at least 114; in Kent and Sussex, 88; in Suffolk and Norfolk, 32; in Gloucester and Warwick, 18; so that in these eight counties alone, two hundred and fifty-two had triumphed at the stake. Nothing could exceed the more than savage barbarity by which these, the most valuable subjects in the kingdom, were put to torture and death. Of the entire number, more than one hundred and fifty had been consigned, in *groups*, to one common fire! Thus we find of such companies, that there were six instances of *three* individuals, at different times; five of *four*, and four of *five;* six instances of *six*, and four of *seven!* There were two dreadful cases of *ten* the same day; the first at Lewis in Kent of six men and four women, including the master and servant, the mother and her son, in one common conflagration! The second was at Colchester of five men and five women, six of whom were martyred in the morning, and four in the afternoon. Several of these must have been advanced in life, as their united ages amounted to about 406 years.

But the most horrible scene of all, in point of number, was at Bow, near London, when not fewer than *thirteen*, eleven men and two women, were consumed in one pile, on Tuesday the 27th of June 1556. The number of persons present was estimated at *twenty thousand;* "whose *ends* generally in coming there," says Strype, "and to such like executions, were to *strengthen themselves in the profession of the Gospel*, and to *exhort and comfort* those who were to die." Yes, and notwithstanding all the fury of the enemy, this disposition on the part of the people went on to increase throughout the years 1557 and 1558, till upon this very day of the week, two years hence, we shall see what happened. When the present martyrs appeared at the stake, a few words were all-sufficient to secure an echo. The short expressive ejaculation on the

part of only one bystander, was replied to by an *Amen*, which came upon the ears of their murderers with a voice of thunder; and such a voice had made them quail. These noble confessors indeed actually triumphed at last, so far as to paralyze the arm of Bonner, and banish the fire at least from *Smithfield*, nearly five months before Mary was called away by her final judge! The very last time, when seven martyrs were there consumed, on the 28th of June 1558, was a memorable one, and as it has never been sufficiently pointed out by any historian, must not pass unnoticed here.

The reader cannot fail to remember that there was a "*Congregation*" in London, that had assembled in secret, many years ago. The term implied organisation, and set times for Christian worship. He has heard of it, as early as 1531, before the death of Bainham, and in 1533, before the heroic martyrdom of John Fryth. For more than twenty-five years, however harassed and perplexed, this Congregation, whose meetings varied from eighty to two hundred, had never been broken up. Under the present fearful reign, they had met not only in Bow Lane, Cheapside, but wherever else they could; in Blackfriars, Battle Bridge, Aldgate, Thames Street, Ratcliff, Islington, and occasionally on board ship in the Thames.[12] Strype, in one place, speaks of them as so many separate congregations, and no doubt there were separate meetings at the same moment; but they formed but one community, devotedly attached to each other—"a chosen generation, a peculiar people," in the midst of a crooked and perverse generation. Of one ancient primitive church, this is recorded to its honour—"I know thy works, and where thou dwellest, even where Satan's seat is: and thou holdest fast my name, and hast not denied my faith, even in those days wherein Antipas was my faithful martyr, who was slain among you, where Satan dwelleth." He who condescended thus to testify from heaven itself, is "the same yesterday, to-day and for ever;" and without doubt had his Sovereign eye upon every movement in the metropolis of England; though, from first to last, how many of this despised congregation had received the crown of martyrdom, in London, the head-quarters or *seat* of all the persecution, no man can tell. But this month of June 1558, forming, as it did, at once a crisis and a climax in its history, is well worthy of observation.

[12] On the evening of New Year's Day, or Tuesday 1555, about thirty of their number, with Mr. Thomas Rose their minister, were seized in Bow Church Yard, and all committed to prison. Rose, well known to Cranmer, and once recommended by him to be Archbishop of Armagh, was examined by Gardiner, but befriended by the Earl of Sussex and Sir William Woodhouse, he escaped to the Continent. After this the Congregation met as they could, and often during the night. "At these meetings they had collections in aid of those who were in prison, and sometimes would gather *ten pounds* at a night meeting," or an amount equal in value to above £100 of the present day!

For some time the whole Church had been in imminent danger; and how they had contrived to meet and worship so often and so long would form a history, certainly of the most singular character. But Bonner and his spies seem as though they had recently resolved to exterminate them in a body. The method adopted was one of ancient usage. "They watched them, and sent forth spies, which should feign themselves just men, that they might take hold of their words, and so deliver them to the power and authority" of this the most cruel of living men. Throughout Mary's reign, this Church, or Congregation, had been favoured with a succession of pastors. First Mr. Rose, and then Mr. John Pullain, a native of Yorkshire, both of whom escaped to the Continent. There succeeded Mr. Thomas Fowler, Mr. Edmund Scamler, and Mr. Augustine Bernher, a Swiss, once in the service of Latimer. He was of great comfort to the prisoners, martyrs, and exiles; the widows and children bereaved by martyrdom looked to him as to their common benefactor, and in this most honourable of all human occupations he had been occasionally styled the "Angel of God." But their next minister had been a character too well known in past years to remain long unmolested. This was Mr. JOHN ROUGH, a native of Scotland. In early life one of the Black Friars at Stirling, he was afterwards chaplain to the Earl of Arran, when his eyes were first opened to see the truth. And this was no other than the man who, ten years before this, in his own name and that of his brethren at St. Andrews, had, with so much solemnity, called *John Knox* to engage in the work of the ministry. From this period he had been known in England, and received, through Henry VIII. himself, as chaplain of the garrison, £20 a-year. Since then he had been twice as far distant as Rome, and there seen all that he had so often heard of before. During the time of Edward, the same annual amount having been assigned to him, he had preached at Carlisle and Berwick, Newcastle and Hull; but, in the beginning of the present reign, he fled to Norden, in East Friesland. Here he and his wife, an Englishwoman, had honourably supported themselves by the humble occupation of knitting caps and hose. Being destitute of yarn, he had ventured to England, in 1557, for a supply, but hearing of this "Secret Society" of the faithful, upon once joining them, he was immediately chosen minister and preacher. It was not long before he witnessed more than sufficient to have alarmed any timid disciple. On the 17th of September, four martyrs, sent up from the country, had been burnt at Islington, the very place where this Congregation occasionally met. Rough was there present, he afterwards said, "to learn the way;" and as there were three others consumed in Smithfield on the 18th of November, he may have been there also, since he had evidently resolved neither to leave his charge, nor yield one iota of his faith. Such a man was not to be tolerated long. It was upon Sabbath morning the 12th of December, when the Congregation had pur-

posed to meet for worship, that no less than Sir Henry Jernyngham of Norfolk, one of the first favourites of the Queen, her Vice-Chamberlain and Captain of the Guard, appeared at Islington. He was led there by Sergeant, one of the spies sent out. Apprehending Mr. Rough and one of their most valuable members, a deacon of the Church, Mr. Cuthbert Symson, they were both immediately carried before the Council, who, in three days more, handed them over to Bonner for his disposal. The Church had never before been thus bereaved of a pastor; and the only anxiety felt by him related not to himself, but to the flock he was about to leave in the midst of wolves. Two days before he suffered, he sent them a letter, alike worthy of his character and office, which is given in full by Foxe.

"My dear sons," says he, "now departing this life, to my great advantage, I make change of mortality with immortality, of corruption to put on incorruption, to make my body like to the corn cast into the ground, which, except it die first, can bring forth no good fruit. Wherefore death is to my great advantage; for thereby the body ceaseth from sin—but after shall be changed, and made brighter than the sun or moon."—"What a journey, by God's power, I have made these eight days! (from the 12th to the 20th December:) it is above flesh and blood to bear; but, as Paul saith, I may do all things in him which worketh in me, Jesus Christ. My course, brethren, have I run; I have fought a good fight; the crown of righteousness is laid up for me; my day to receive it is not long to. Pray, brethren, for the enemy doth yet assault. Stand constant unto the end: then shall ye possess your souls. Walk worthily in that vocation wherein ye are called. Comfort the brethren. Salute one another in my name. Be not ashamed of the Gospel of the Cross, by me preached, nor yet of my suffering; for with my blood I affirm the same. I go before; I suffer first the baiting of the butcher's dogs; yet I have not done what I should have done; but my weakness, I doubt not, is supplied in the strength of Jesus Christ, and your wisdoms and learning will accept that small talent, which I have distributed unto you, I trust, as a faithful steward."—"The Spirit of God guide you, in and out, rising and sitting: cover you with the shadow of his wing; defend you against the tyranny of the wicked, and bring you happily to the port of eternal felicity, where all tears shall be wiped from your eyes, and you shall always abide with the Lamb!"

And this is the man condemned to be burned alive, and for his sentiments! Immediately before or after writing this letter he was again before the Bishop: and having once mentioned his being at Rome, with what he had seen there, Bonner, rising up like a savage, laid hold of him by the beard, and actually tore a part of it from the roots! Delivering him up to the secular power on the 21st of December, he was brought to the stake next morning by half-past five o'clock, in company with another determined female confessor.

That wealthy and generous citizen of London, Mr. Symson, who had been seized along with Mr. Rough, was reserved in prison for three months longer, and for far greater suffering. He had possessed a list of

all the members of the Church, and the great object with Bonner was to get hold of this, or compel him to name his fellow-disciples. But they had laid hold of a man whom no terrors could shake—no agony could move. He was conveyed to the Tower, and there tortured actually *three times*, upon which even Bonner himself could not suppress his astonishment. "Ye see this man," said he to his Consistory; "what a personable man he is. And furthermore, concerning his patience, I say unto you, that if he were not an heretic, he is a man of the greatest patience that yet ever came before me; for I tell you he hath been thrice racked upon one day in the Tower. Also in my house he hath felt some sorrow, and yet I never saw his patience broken." After this testimony, from whatever motive, still there was no mercy; and Mr. Symson, with two other members of the same body, all suffered in Smithfield about the 28th of March.[13]

Thus bereaved of their pastor in December, of their deacon and two other men in March, what were they to do? To "forsake the assembling of themselves together?" No, by no means. Only two days before his death, Mr. Rough had encouraged them in these terms:—"God knoweth you are all tender unto me; my heart bursteth for the love of you. Ye are not without your Great *Pastor* of your souls, who so loveth you, that if men were not to be sought out, as God be praised there is *no want of men*, He would cause stones to minister unto you. Cast your care on that Rock; the wind of temptation shall not prevail. Fast and pray, for the days are evil." And it is remarkable, that almost immediately after, they had been supplied with another minister, although he must come all the way from Switzerland. This was Mr. Thomas Bentham, a man of learning, and of such courage as the moment demanded; for the persecution still raged with unabated vigour, sharpened by the hope of destroying the whole body. Bentham had been an exile for years; but either from his own motion, or pressed by the zealous Thomas Lever, then at Aran, had arrived early this year.

A month, however, had not elapsed after the last fiery trial, when about forty of this people, men and women, having assembled in the vicinity of Islington for prayer, "were virtuously occupied in the meditation of God's holy word," with their Bibles or Testaments in their hands. First their books were demanded by the constable, and his assistants coming in sight, they seized and secured twenty-two of this number. They were all conveyed to Newgate, where they had remained for seven weeks without being once called up for examination.

But now the more eventful month of June was come. On the 6th, there was issued, in name of Philip and Mary, a proclamation against

[13] By Mr. Symson's own written statement, it appears that he was first set in an engine of iron, called Skevington's Gyves, where he remained about *three hours!* And another day, besides being otherwise tormented, he was racked twice. See the "Letters of the Martyrs," p. 529, ed. 1837.

certain books. *Not Bibles or Testaments by* NAME, *however; for it is certainly a memorable fact, that throughout the whole course of this reign, from whatever cause, there was not even one such proclamation as had been issued under Henry VIII.* The present one was against books, not even named, but said to be filled with "heresy, sedition, and treason." Foxe says, they were such as were "godly and wholesome;" but at all events, "any person having or finding them, and not immediately burning them, shall, *without delay, be executed according to* MARTIAL *law.*"

Of the twenty-two individuals apprehended in the open field at Islington, two had already died in prison; and on the 14th, Bonner had called the remaining twenty before him. In ten days he had condemned thirteen to the flames, and seven, not without much trouble, hardly escaped with their lives. Of the former number, seven had been sentenced as early as the 17th, and they were to be burned in Smithfield.

It so happened, however, that one of these seven martyrs was a Mr. ROGER HOLLAND, a person evidently above the common rank. Lord Strange, afterwards Earl of Derby, Sir Thomas Jarret, —— Eglestone, Esq., a kinsman, with several other relatives and friends from Cheshire and Lancashire, had earnestly intreated Bonner for his life. They were present at his third or final examination. With an intrepidity not to be shaken, and intelligence far superior to the Bishop, he answered most distinctly for himself. Bonner, with all the meanness of his character, tried, by flattery, to separate him from his Christian brethren. Calling them "worse than hogs," he added—"But, Roger, if I did not bear thee and thy friends good will, I would not have said so much as I have done, but I would have let mine ordinary alone with you." Nothing, however, could move the good man one point; and so after he had uttered several wholesome truths, Bonner read the sentence of condemnation. Holland heard the whole with patience; but when the Bishop rose to depart he then said—"My Lord, I beseech you suffer me to speak two words." At first he would not, but one of Holland's friends interposing, at last said Bonner, "Speak, what hast thou to say?"

"Even now," replied the martyr, "I told you that your authority was from God, and by his *sufferance.* And now I tell you, God hath heard the prayer of his servants, which hath been poured forth with tears by his afflicted saints, which daily you persecute, as now you do us. But this I dare be bold in God to speak, which by his spirit I am moved to say, *that God will shorten your hand of cruelty, that for a time* YOU *shall not molest his Church. And* (turning to his friends) *this shall you in short time well perceive, my dear brethren, to be most true; for after* THIS DAY, *in* THIS PLACE, *shall there not be any by* HIM *put to the trial of fire and faggot.*"

An intimation sufficiently pointed and solemn, as coming from the lips of a man he had now doomed to death, and not unworthy of being

repeated here, since it was about to be so exactly fulfilled. At the moment, indeed, nothing could seem to be so unlikely as the announcement made; but now Tuesday the 28th of June had arrived, when Holland and his six companions must suffer. And with this day came the trial of strength—the victory of moral power over the brutal fury of the King and Queen, as well as of Bonner and all his bloody underlings. To render this only the more conspicuous, there came down, in the name of Philip and Mary, a proclamation, to be read first at Newgate and then at the stake. It strictly charged and commanded, that "no man should either *pray for*, or *speak to*, the martyrs, or once say—'God help them.'"

A great multitude had assembled by appointment; but so far from the first reading of this proclamation having any effect, no sooner did the seven martyrs appear in sight, than a scene ensued, for which the authorities had not provided. In the bosom of this multitude was "the congregation, with its pastor;" and both in union, with one general sway, made towards the prisoners, so that "the bill-men and other officers" thrust back, could do nothing, nor even come nigh. There was no attempt at any rescue, but once meeting the martyrs, embracing and encouraging them, there they were at the place of suffering in Smithfield.

The people now left the bill-men and officers to act. The proclamation in name of the King and Queen, enjoining profound silence, was again read, with a loud voice. Mr. Bentham was there, and now came his time to speak. Immediately upon seeing the fire kindled, turning his eyes to the people, he cried out and said—"We know they are the people of God, and therefore we cannot choose but wish well to them, and say God strengthen them." Then more boldly—"*Almighty God, for Christ's sake, strengthen them!*" With entire consent, and one voice, all the people followed with—"*Amen! Amen!*" The noise was so astounding, and the voices so numerous, that the officers did not know what to say, nor whom to accuse. Holland then, embracing the stake and the reeds, closed his life with these words—

"Lord! I most humbly thank thy Majesty that thou hast called me from the state of death unto *the light of thy heavenly word*, and now unto the fellowship of thy saints, that I may sing and say—Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of Hosts! And Lord, into thy hands I commit my spirit. Lord bless these thy people, and save them from idolatry."

The whole seven died in joyful constancy, in prayer, and praising God.[14]

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[14] Bentham himself, in writing to his friend Lever, in Switzerland, on the 17th of July, says—"A fearful and cruel proclamation being made, that, under pain of *present death*, no man should either approach nigh unto them, touch them, neither speak to nor comfort them; yet were they so mightily spoken to, so comfortably taken by the hands, and so godly comforted, notwithstanding that fearful proclamation, and the present threatenings of the sheriff and sergeants, that the adversaries themselves were *astonied*." Harleian MS., No. 416, p. 63.

Such a triumph well deserved to be traced, for it was a decisive one. Mary had yet nearly five months to reign, but she must no more burn a single martyr at the wonted place, nor at any other, within her own capital. Bonner's occupation, too, was gone ; for, as far as we know, he never personally sentenced one individual to the flames, in any place, after being thus addressed by Roger Holland. Six men, indeed, out of the twenty-two seized, still remained to be disposed of, and, a few days after Holland, they had been examined ; but all this the Bishop had prudently left to Thomas Darbyshire, his nephew, the Chancellor ; nor were they put to death till the 13th or 14th of July. But even then they cannot be burnt in *London ;* they must be sent down to Brentford, and the writ to execute come from the Lord Chancellor's office. All this is distinctly stated to have been done in " post-haste," and at night, either from *fear or craft* on the part of Bonner ; [15] but never again must the fire blaze in Smithfield. Such was " *the Congregation of the Faithful*," assembling for worship in the days of Queen Mary ; and, with all its imperfections, there certainly never was in England a body of Christians more highly honoured by God, in " resisting unto blood, striving against sin."

In adverting to the character of Mary's administration, owing to these detestable cruelties some historians have consigned the entire period to unmitigated or indiscriminate censure in every other point of view ; but the fact is, that the odious character of persecution for *opinions,* on the part of Government, is rendered much more so when the state of England, in other respects, is candidly observed.

The Queen herself, indeed, was very frequently, perhaps the most unhappy living being in the kingdom, and certainly so for the last year of her life ; but when we embrace the entire period, once exclude the war of opinion, and turn the eye away from those ever-blazing fires of the later years, the commercial interests of the country were not unprosperous, at least up to January 1558, when Calais was lost. Her expulsion of those worthy foreigners at the commencement of her reign, who, with an ingenuity they had brought with them, were naturalizing their arts and manufactures in England, was at once impolitic and hurtful ; but Mary concluded an advantageous commercial treaty with Russia, and put an end to the injurious monopoly so long carried on by the Easterlings, or Merchants of the Steel-yard. One very intelligent foreigner was

[15] Harleian MS., No. 416, p. 63.

then living in England, Signor Giovanni Michele, the Venetian ambassador, who, of course, troubled not himself about the cruelties of the day; but he has left his own interesting survey of the country, as he reported it officially to his native states, part of which it must be some relief to peruse. Having mentioned a certain profusion which had struck him as peculiar to the country, he thus proceeds:—

"I use the term *profusion*, as there is no nation which, in its manner of living and ordinary expenditure, is more extravagant than the English; because they keep more servants, with a greater distinction of offices and degrees in which these servants are placed. In this manner, to mention only one particular, in order to give an idea of other expenses of greater moment, the expense of the Court in the mere article of living, that is, of eating and drinking, and of what solely relates to the table, amounts to from fifty-four to fifty-six thousand pounds sterling a-year, making 230,000 of our scudi. It is a monstrous thing to see the quantity of victuals usually consumed, with the allowances to attendants and servants; and yet not the fourth part is now expended of what was spent in the time of Henry and Edward, the predecessors of the Queen—her Majesty having succeeded in correcting many abuses, and regulating superfluities, partly by limiting, and partly by entirely abolishing, many tables, and taking away all arbitrary supplies of provisions."

Among servants, the ambassador here evidently included that numerous class of *retainers*, granted by the Crown to officers of the household, and special favourites. A retainer was a servant, not menial, but wearing the livery of his Master, and attending upon all special occasions. The number had been diminishing from the days of Wolsey, and notwithstanding her retrenchments, Mary far exceeded her successor, Elizabeth, in this source of expense. Stephen Gardiner, who was extremely fond of style as well as of money, led the way under Mary, by contriving to obtain for himself as many as *two hundred* retainers; the only other man who then had as many being the Earl of Arundel. Elizabeth never yielded more than *one* hundred to any person of the highest rank, and that but rarely. Mary, in five years, had granted thirty-nine such licenses of retainer; Elizabeth will grant only fifteen in thirteen years.

With the general state of the country in other respects our ambassador was particularly struck. "But the liberty of this country is really singular and wonderful; indeed there is no other country, in my opinion, less burdened and more free. For they have not only no taxes of any kind, but they are not even thought of: NO TAX on *salt, wine, beer,* FLOUR, MEAT, *cloth, and other necessaries of life,* which in all parts of Italy especially, and in Flanders, are the more productive the greater is the number of inhabitants who consume them. But here every one indifferently, whether noble, or of the common people, is in the free and unmolested enjoyment of all he possesses, or daily acquires, relating either to food or raiment, buying or selling, except in those articles which he imports or exports by way of traffic."

The last exception, of *custom*, on every export and import, this in-

telligent foreigner, had before explained, as well as the various other sources of revenue; but it becomes doubly striking now, that so much as this, or any thing like it, could be asserted respecting the people at large, at the very moment when, as we have seen, there was one exception, so cruel and profane. It was to be found in the case of all those, whether high or low, male or female, who dared to *think* for themselves, or who either *read or believed the oracles of God!* Our Venetian was himself a disciple of "the old learning," but he was far too shrewd to suppose that the change enforced by this reign of terror would last long. On the contrary, he regarded the nation as a vessel loosened from its long accustomed mooring.

"Generally speaking," says he, "your Serene Highness may rest assured, that with the English the example and authority of the Sovereign is every thing, and religion is only so far valued as it inculcates the duty due from the subject to the Prince. They live as he lives, they believe as he believes, and they obey his commands, not from any inward moral impulse, but because they fear to incur his displeasure; and they would be full as zealous followers of the Mahometan or Jewish religions, did the King profess either of them, or commanded his subjects to do so. In short they will accommodate themselves to any religious persuasion, but most readily to one that promises to minister to licentiousness and profit."

Such was the judgment formed by Michele, about eighteen months before Mary's death, for he had returned to Venice in 1557; and no doubt to some persons, at first reading, it will appear to be distinguished for severity. But when it is remembered that in the mouth of such a man, *licentiousness* might be only his epithet for "entire freedom from all the superstitious trammels of the old learning," and by *profit* he may have referred simply to the desire after commerce; then the terms may be allowed to pass, as no very inaccurate description of two leading sentiments or feelings which prevailed throughout the country. Already he tells us that "all eyes and hearts were turned towards the Lady Elizabeth as successor to the throne;" and there can be no doubt that thousands were now sick unto death of Bonner's brutal sway; though at the same time, even after noticing the final scenes at Smithfield and Brentford, Mr. Bentham added—"And yet men, for the most part, were never more careless, nor maliciously merry than they are now."[16]

On the whole, the reader can now easily distinguish between the people at large, and those who had been so shockingly persecuted; nor need he imagine that the English as a nation had all of a sudden become more distinguished for cruelty than

[16] The report of Signor Michele, containing many curious particulars as to this reign, may be seen entire, in the letters printed by Sir Henry Ellis. Second series, vol. ii., p. 218-240.

the neighbouring nations on the Continent.[17] They had indeed, at first, asked for such a Queen as Mary, and obtained their desire; they had unwillingly submitted to such a King as Philip, and to such Ministers; and under their united sway that salutary horror was implanted in the nation, which was not to leave it for generations to come; but it was the leaders of this people who destroyed them, but more especially, as a body, the Bishops, who were now fighting with fury for "their kingdom of this world," as they so manifestly had done, ever since the Scriptures were introduced in 1526. For these five years past they had been powerfully backed, and occasionally goaded on, by both the King and Queen; nor had the diocese of Canterbury under Cardinal POLE formed any exception to the raging cruelty.[18]

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[17] The same rampant fury against what they called heresy had raged horribly on the Continent. Paul Sarpi assures us, that from the first edict of Charles V. to the treaty of Cateau-Cambresis, in 1558 *fifty thousand* had been hanged, beheaded, burned and buried alive for their opinions! And Philip, following his father's counsel, disposed of an equal number, during the next thirty years! Grotius states the entire number at 100,000! Such was the course run first by the father-in-law, and then by the husband, of our Mary the First! *Look at Spain*, NOW!

[18] That anxiety which has been often shown by biographers to exempt their hero from the guilt of persecution, forms one powerful testimony against its wickedness. Tunstal and Pole have been often so treated. The former appears to have been softened by his advanced age, for under the Marian persecution, he was now above *eighty*, and died the year after it, aged eighty-five: and Pole, in private life, might have been mild in his deportment, but what does this signify when we come to facts? Phillips in his life, of the Cardinal, has told us, that he, the biographer, had "too real a respect for the public, to trouble it with wrangles on *facts* or *dates* or *authorities* of little or no consequence;" but this was after he had informed that public, as a *fact*, that "*not one* was put to death in the diocese of Canterbury after Cardinal Pole was promoted to that see!" Now, to say nothing of the diocese at large, Pole took his seat, the very next day after Cranmer's martyrdom, by which time nineteen had been put to death in *Canterbury* itself, and in the same city, *twenty-three* more followed, five of whom had been famished in prison. In truth, the very last burning was in Canterbury, when five perished at once, and only eight days before the Cardinal himself died, all these had been delivered up to the secular arm in July, by Pole's own written certificate to the Queen. And what can be said in reply to the language of Pole himself? So late as the close of 1557, in writing to the Pontiff, he informs him,—"my whole employment and labour is that I may daily gain more to the Church, and to *cut off* those that are obstinate as *rotten members*. Your Holiness hath reaped greater fruit of honour from *my* labours, than *any* Pope, by *any* Legate, for *many* ages ever did."

Even Gardiner's character has been mistaken, simply from want of attention to dates. Speaking of this period, Sir J. Mackintosh has said—"Justice to Gardiner requires it to be mentioned, that his diocese was of the bloodless class." But Gardiner was *dead*. He died only nine months after the persecution had begun, and before then he had cordially sanctioned the death of Rogers, and Saunders, and Bradford; of Hooper and Ferrar, Ridley and Latimer: men who might be styled "the head deer" of the whole flock afterwards slain. No, Gardiner died in November 1555, and hence it bears so much harder on the predominant counsellor who succeeded him, who for *three years* after this, wilfully sanctioned persecution. This counsellor, it is well known, was Reginald Pole, whom Mary would not permit even to reside in Canterbury, that she might have his advice on *all* occasions. Gardiner, however, had been concerned in the death of almost every *eminent* martyr, and these, with the exception of Cranmer, had all been cut off, when Pole succeeded.

Fuller has surveyed this persecution by looking to every *diocese* in succession, as if the character of its bishop were to be seen by such a survey; but the criterion is a very imperfect one. Wherever *occasion* offered, no bishop would have found it safe to resist; and even Bonner himself was quickened by royal authority. There is, however, an important and far more correct key to blood being shed, or not shed, in any district. *Most* blood was shed, and mo st misery

In return for all this violence and bloodshed, the moment of reaction, of course, arrived at last. The day of retribution began to dawn. Our Venetian ambassador had left England immediately before the period which would have constrained him to modify his style. Persecution employed by any Government, without recoiling on its authors, is unknown to history; and whether it did so now, let the reader judge. *Death* and *banishment* and *deprivation of office* had been the leading punishments inflicted, and although this be not the world where we are to expect perfect retribution, there is always enough to prove, that "Verily there is a God, who judgeth in the earth." The extent to which those very evils fell upon the parties in power, is well worthy of observation.

In the language of sacred writ, "Judgment had begun at the house of God;" and was there nothing to befall those who obeyed not the truth, and especially those who had despised and rejected the Word of God? Prevailing disease, by fever and ague, was nothing more than the preface or introduction to other evils: but, by the summer of 1557, these diseases are said to have gone to such extent as to endanger the produce of the earth. "In some places corn had stood and shed on the ground, for want of reapers; and in others, they would have willingly given one acre of corn, to reap and carry another." Disease too had fallen especially upon "gentlemen and men of great wealth;" but all this was merely a preparation for the year 1558, or Mary's last.

In the spring of 1557, the Queen had been visited by her cold husband, Philip, and for the last time. He, without difficulty, drew her into war with France; and by the 7th of January 1558, she had lost Calais in seven days. It had cost Edward III. eleven months of siege, the English flag having floated on its battlements for above two hundred years. The loss was more deeply lamented indeed than it deserved; still it was felt, not merely as a national degradation, but by the mercantile interests especially, as one which might prove of serious injury to commerce, an object to which thousands had become much alive.

The summer and autumn of 1558 turned out to be more unhealthy than those of the year preceding. Parker, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, calculated that three parts out of four, throughout the country, were sick. Gentlemen, who kept twenty or thirty servants had not above three or four to help the residue. Even the harvestmen had become so scarce that twelve pence were given for work, wont to be done for three. And if it be recollected that all this misery occurred at the close of five years of violence and injustice, of oppression and slaughter, no wonder if thousands were exclaiming with one of old—

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endured, in all those districts where *the Word of God* had been *most read;* and wherever there was but little or none, there the Scriptures, as yet, had been but little known. Hence the difference between the northern and some other counties, compared with others nearer to London.

What shall be the end of these things?" The end, however, was now near at hand.

Parliament assembled on the 5th of November. Financial embarrassments were disclosed, and pressed for consideration. A subsidy was proposed, and might perhaps have passed the Upper House, but what could this signify now? On the 14th, the Lord Chancellor, the Treasurer, and the Lords in a body, *came down* to the Commons to reason with them, but they would not move, and came to no decision. The close of Mary's life might well serve as a lesson of terror to all persecutors. At the outset of her reign, she had paid no regard whatever to freedom of opinion, and then remitted a subsidy in order to fix herself on the throne. She then obstinately determined to espouse a Spanish husband, not having the sagacity to perceive, that Charles V. and his son Philip were only practising their ambition upon her. It was a step which the nation never forgave. Then came that outrageous course of blood and torture, with which thousands were now so thoroughly disgusted. The rough physic of Providence had produced its destined effect. On the fifth day after this Parliament sat down, five martyrs had suffered at Canterbury. They prayed at the stake, that they might be the last, and they were the *last*. And now, in five days more, the Government is at an end; the supplies are stopped; pecuniary aid can be obtained no more, and the Queen, full of chagrin and disappointment, has little more than forty-eight hours to live. She had been attacked in summer by the *prevailing* fever, then so fatal; and early on the morning of Thursday the 17th of November, she breathed her last, at the very moment when her own husband and Henry the Second, "the Spanish and French Monarchs, were meditating the extension over all Europe, of such a tribunal as the *Inquisition* had already shewn itself to be, by its exercise of authority in Spain.[19]

The Queen herself, in conjunction with that body of men denominated ecclesiastical, had been the responsible agents in the kingdom, and one naturally turns to this quarter as to the moving spring of all that had been perpetrated. Adverting to this period, the close of 1558, Mr. Strype has told us that the mortality among the priests was such "that a great number of parish churches, in divers parts of the realm were unserved, and no curates could be gotten for money." But with the Bishops, and their immediate agents, lay the chief responsibility; and if we can arrive at certainty as to their mortality, as this has never been sufficiently observed, there may be enough to arrest attention even now, at the distance of more than two hundred and eighty years.

The Bench of Bishops under Mary consisted of twenty-seven individuals. Now, besides the hundreds of martyrs whom they had consigned

[19] Mackintosh.

to the flames, it is well known that they had put to death five of their own number, namely Hooper and Ferrar, Latimer and Ridley in 1555, and Cranmer in 1556. How then had it fared with this order of men throughout the reign? By the month in which Mary herself was interred, twenty-four Bishops had expired, and in only thirteen months after, six more had followed; that is *thirty* such men had died "by the visitation of God." These included two Lords Chancellor, Goodrich and Gardiner, and two Cardinals, Pole and Peyto. In the short space of four years, from the death of Gardiner (the next after Latimer and Ridley) in November 1555, to that of Tunstal inclusive, in November 1559, twenty-four had died; nay, *fourteen* of these had expired in less than *sixteen months*, before and after the Queen's own decease. Death has been sometimes denominated "a great teacher:" but here was a lesson, which surely could not fail to be the subject of frequent remark at the time.[20]

Fuller, the old historian, had been struck with this mortality; and, in his own quaint manner, he has said "There were nine Bishops now dead, who were the *death-guard* of Queen Mary—as expiring a little before her decease; namely, John Capon or Salcot, Bishop of Salisbury; Robert Parfew, Bishop of Hereford; Maurice Griffith, (*Griffin*) Bishop of Rochester; William Glynn, Bishop of Bangor. These were Queen Mary's *ushers* to her grave. Or, as expiring a little after her departure, as Reginald Pole, Archbishop of Canterbury; John Hopton, Bishop of Norwich; James Brookes, Bishop of Gloucester; John Holyman, Bishop of Bristol; Morgan, Bishop of St. David's; these were Queen Mary's *train-bearers* to the same."

But if the historian would take up the catalogue of the dead, from Parfew to Morgan, and thus assemble them round the body of the Queen, the funeral procession was far more striking than this. The following would have been more correct; and, placed in the order in which they were called away by death, it exhibits a spectacle with which there is few, if any, in history to compare. We have intermingled with the Bishops, however, several other appropriate characters, as the proper place and time, for announcing their decease.

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[20] These statements are founded on the following table, in which the reader may at once discover in italic, the martyrs, or the number put to death by man, and the number consigned to the grave by the God of life and death. There died in 1554, Goodrich of Ely, 10th May; Sampson of Lichfield, 25th Sep.; Voisey of Exeter, Oct. In 1555, *Hooper of Gloucester*, 9th Feb; *Ferrar of St. David's*, 30th Feb.; *Latimer of Worcester and Ridley of London* 16th Oct.; Gardiner of Winchester, 12th Nov.; Cotes of Chester, Dec. In 1556, Aldrich of Carlisle, 5th March; *Cranmer of Canterbury*, 21st March; Bell of Gloucester, 2d Aug.; Day of Chichester, 2d Aug.; Man of the Isle of Man; Chambers of Peterborough; Bird of Chester. In 1557, Parfew or Warton of St. Asaph, 22d Sep.; Salcot or Capon of Salisbury, 6th Oct.; King of Oxford, 4th Dec. In 1558, Peyto elect of Salisbury, April; Glynn of Bangor, 21st May; Brookes of Gloucester, 7th Sep.; Bushe of Bristol, 11th Oct.; Pole of Canterbury, 17th Nov.; Griffin of Rochester, 20th Nov.; Hopton of Norwich, Nov.; Holyman of Bristol, 20th Dec.; Christopherson of Chichester, Dec.; Reynolds elect of Hereford, died in prison. In 1559, Bayne of Lichfield, Jan.; Allen of Rochester, Oct.; Tunstal of Durham, 18th Nov.; Morgan of St. David's, 23d Dec. In 1560, Oglethorpe of Carlisle, 4th Jan.; and White of Winchester, 11th January. Poinet of Winchester, died abroad 11th April 1556.—See *Nicolas' Synopsis. Wood's Ath. Oxon.*

PARFEW of *St. Asaph*, 22d Sep., 57.—SALCOT of *Salisbury*, 6th Oct.—KING of *Oxford*, 4th Dec.
William Warham, Prebend, and nephew of the Archbishop, Oct.
Sir Richard Rochester, Comptroller of the Queen's house: a willing persecutor, Nov.
CARDINAL PEYTO, Elect of *Salisbury*, Apr. 1558.
GLYNN of *Bangor*, 21st May.—BROOKES of *Glo'ster*, 7th Sep.—BUSHE of *Bristol*, 11th Oct.
Tho. Chetteham, Prebend, the successor of Rogers the Proto-Martyr, Oct.
Edward Mowle, Prebend and Archdeacon of Essex, Oct.
Tho. Bennet, Treasurer of St. Paul's, 16th Oct.

QUEEN MARY, 17th Nov.

CARDINAL REGINALD POLE of *Canterbury*, 18th Nov.
GRIFFIN of *Rochester*, 20th Nov.—HOPTON of *Norwich*, Nov.
Robert Johnson, Principal Register of Bonner, and Proctor-General of Canterbury, 22d Nov.
Basset, Esq. one of the Queen's Privy Chamber, 26th Nov.
Gabriel Dunne, Prebend, the betrayer of Tyndale, 5th Dec.
Sir T. Cheyne, Master-Treasurer to the Queen, 8th Dec.
Hugh Weston, in disgrace, opponent of Latimer, Ridley and Cranmer, 8th Dec.
Verney, Master of the Queen's Jewel-house, 12th Dec.
Queen interred, in Westminster Abbey, 13th Dec.
HOLYMAN of *Bristol*, 20th Dec.—CHRISTOPHERSON of *Chichester*, Dec.
REYNOLDS, Elect of *Hereford*, Dec.?—BAYNE of *Lichfield and Coventry*, Jan. 1559.
ALLEN of *Rochester*, Oct.—TUNSTAL of *Durham*, 18th Nov.—MORGAN of *St. David's*, 23d Dec.
And only the next month afterwards,
OGLETHORPE of *Carlisle*, 4th Jan.—WHITE of *Winchester*, 11th Jan.
Sir John Baker, Chancellor of the Court of Augmentations, Jan.[21]

Beside the Queen herself, we see that not fewer than thirty-one conspicuous official individuals had been swept away by death; twelve preceding, and nineteen following her Majesty to the grave—or five connected with the Crown, and twenty-six ecclesiastics. Of these, four had been Prebends, and nineteen Bishops; two of whom were Cardinals. The first, Peyto, was never allowed to enter the kingdom; the second, Reginald Pole, was the last Cardinal who set his foot in England.

Under the authority of these men, however, not only had blood been shed, but deprivation of office, and flight beyond seas, had ensued; and in the change which now took place, at least one hundred and ninety-two of the most noted characters thus suffered. Of these, fourteen were bishops, three of whom fled, and the rest, in free custody, shorn of their office and emoluments, so died. Only one of the entire Bench, an old man, was suffered to remain—*Kitchen* of Llandaff, who conformed, and died in 1566. But besides these, there were at least eighty Rectors, fifty Prebends, fifteen Masters of Colleges, twelve Archdeacons, twelve Deans, and six Abbots and Abbesses—all of whom were deprived, and not a few fled.[22]

After all, there can be no question, that many a man who had embrued his hands in blood, or had been instrumental in the infliction of unmerited misery, still survived, with apparent impunity; but this was not without an end. "Slay them not," said the sacred writer, "*lest my people forget*"—but "scatter them by thy power, and bring them down, O Lord." Such petitions at least had been literally fulfilled. As a

[21] Wood's Athenæ and Fasti. Nicolas' Synopsis. Strype's Annals, anno 1558. Newcourt's Repertorium. By this time there were about *fourteen* Sees vacant!
[22] Cotton MS., Titus, C. x. Cambden. Strype.

combination of human beings against all righteousness and truth, they had been "brought down;" the chief ring-leaders had been sent, in quick succession to the grave, and the impious conspiracy was at an end. Every man who loved Divine Truth might say, "Thou hast smitten all mine enemies on the cheek-bone; Thou hast broken the teeth of the ungodly."

To some persons, however, after such a review, the greatest mystery of all, may seem to be the comparative escape, and long survival, of by far the most active agent in cruelty and blood—the man who appeared almost to congratulate himself on the number of his victims. If his original name had been *Savage*, it ought never to have been changed. This was Edmund Bonner, who survived almost all his contemporaries, and his royal mistress nearly eleven years.[23] Elizabeth on her accession was distinguished for caution in disclosing her intended course; but of all his brethren on the Bench, Bonner was the *only man* whom the Queen marked out, by withholding her hand, when she gave it to the rest, and not permitting him to touch it. Familiar with the Satanic work of persecution from the earliest days of his appointment, under Henry the Eighth, eighteen years ago, he was now a veteran in crime; and well acquainted with the Marshalsea prison, he was finally sent back to it once more. Had he expired *soon*, with so many of his fellows, his example might soon have been forgotten; but Bishop *quondam*, as he was called, shall live, in contempt, to excite most salutary recollections, and keep in remembrance the flames of Smithfield. "A jail," says Fuller, "was conceived the safest place to secure him from the people's fury." Had he thus died, by the hand of man, it must have been regarded as nothing more than an act of private revenge; but surviving in disgrace, as the most significant "memento" of past times, it was as if Providence had "set a mark upon him," that he might live as the standing object of universal execration. As a living monument of Divine displeasure, he died in prison, unchanged, on the 5th of September 1569, and was buried, under the cloud of night, among the condemned, in Southwark churchyard. Midnight was ordered by Edmund Grindal, as the safest time, to prevent any disturbance by the citizens.

A far different subject, or the history of the English Bible during this reign, now claims our attention; although it is probable that not a few may be disposed to inquire,—"And what can possibly be said at such a time as this?" That "*all* things went backward," is an expression which has been often

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23 "Cum te genuerit Sacrifex *Savigius;* Dic unde *Boneri*, rogo, nomen tibi?" is the epigram given by Parkhurst. The name of Savage has been fathered upon him even by Anthony Wood, but Strype denies it as a calumny, on the authority of a Baron Lechmore.

employed, it is true, in reference to the days of Mary the First; but it is one, strictly speaking, far from being correct. There was, to a certainty, *one* exception, and that one was worth all other things put together; so that for every feeling excited, or rather harrowed up, by the recital of martyrdoms, cruelty and banishment, there is yet balm in reserve; and as that is to be found nowhere else, except in the positive progress of Divine Truth, it only renders the history of the Sacred Volume one of deeper interest.

The purpose of Heaven, in keeping the history of the country, and that of the Divine Word, in our vernacular tongue, *perfectly distinct*, has been made apparent, we presume, in all that is past: but the distinction was now to be more marked than ever. In other words, the Government having fallen back into its old condition, the same singular course which had been pursued at first, was now, as we shall see presently, to be *repeated*. As far as Divine Revelation in the language of any people is allowed to be an infinite blessing, it cannot be too deeply impressed upon every *English* reader, that the history of no other European version affords such peculiar proofs of the fixed purpose of God. Let what will take place, to the people of this insular kingdom were to be committed these Living Oracles, and that independently, nay, and in defiance, of all that could be done to the contrary. Nor is there any other kingdom in Europe of which it can be said, that the Scriptures were originally prepared for its inhabitants, and afterwards so perfected for their perusal, *beyond the boundaries of the country itself*. Curiosity may therefore well be excited to observe the progress now, when this glorious design must appear to have arrived at what is familiarly termed, a dead stop.

It is true that all the authorities, styled civil and ecclesiastical, were up in arms against it; and now, banded together as the soul of one man, they could officially alter or destroy every thing else of human appointment or device: but they might as well have expected to succeed rooting out in the violet or the rose from the soil of England, as to do so in banishing the Word of Life from the country, or in snatching it from all the people who had already received and prized it, as their only and all-sufficient guide to a better world.

No sooner, indeed, had January 1555 arrived, than it seemed

as if something of this kind had been meditated, by their hasty attempt to brand certain *persons* with odium. There were two individuals still remaining in England to whom the country had stood indebted for the Scriptures—*John Rogers* and *Miles Coverdale;* and these were among the earliest victims seized by Government. With both characters the reader is already intimately acquainted; the first, as the original editor of Tyndale's Bible, which, after so many editions, was now in use; and the second, not only as a translator, but the diligent corrector at the press, of several of these editions.

When Queen Mary entered London, and had reached the Tower, on Thursday, the 3d of August 1553, it is well known that on the second day after, she released Gardiner, and Bonner, and Tunstal, from imprisonment, styling them "her own Bishops." The first of these she immediately appointed to be Lord Chancellor. He had been distinguished as one of the most eminent enemies of the vernacular Scriptures, and we have seen him, many a time, vent his enmity. It will be recollected that, in the year 1537, when the Bible edited by John Rogers was introduced into England by Grafton, and with such success, Gardiner was in France; and that, after his return in September 1538, he did all in his power to thwart the circulation of the Scriptures in the English tongue. Rogers, then on the Continent, had remained for twelve years longer, ministering to a German congregation. During the reign of Edward, either attracted by the state of the country, or personally invited, he had returned to England by the year 1550, and afforded occasion for one of those singular scenes, which had not unfrequently taken place under the roof of St. Paul's. The reader cannot have forgotten one in 1536, while Latimer was preaching his noted sermon to "the children of light and the children of darkness." Both classes were congregated here still; but perhaps no discordancy had ever exceeded the following. At the risk of a little repetition we present the picture entire. In September 1549, Bonner had been deprived of his office as Bishop of London, and who should be officiating in his room for the following half year, but *Gabriel Dunne*, as residentiary prebend?—the man who, with Phillips, had ensnared Tyndale at Antwerp, and at Brussels did his best to secure his death! Dunne's official services, as bishop *pro tempore*, had ended by the appointment of Nicholas

Ridley to the See of London in April 1550, and it is the very next month that we have certain evidence of Rogers being in London. He may have come earlier, but we are told that "when he returned to England he was admitted Rector of St. Margaret Moyses, and after that, Vicar of St. Sepulchres, London, on the 10th of May 1550." The Rectory, however, he resigned next year, on the 10th of September, having been appointed by Ridley, one of the *Prebendaries* of St. Paul, on the 24th of August preceding. Here then, we have *Dunne*, as prebend, sitting in the twelfth stall on the right side of the choir, and *Rogers*, as Pancrass prebend, in the sixth on the left; but this is rendered still more remarkable from its being the very stall which had been occupied by *Robert Ridley*, the uncle of Nicholas, once so furious in opposition to Tyndale and his translation![24]

Any person can now clearly perceive, with what good will both Gardiner and Bonner must have welcomed the day when they should be able to triumph over both the Bishop and his Prebend, Ridley and Rogers, and wreck their vengeance on them both. Ridley, it must be confessed, by the warmth of his zeal in favour of Lady Jane Gray, had hastened himself into the Tower before his fellows; having been sent there by Mary, even *before* her arrival in the capital. It was the first specimen of her power, and significant of all that followed.

But JOHN ROGERS had done nothing to call for any interference. He had occasion, it is true, to preach, in his turn, at Paul's Cross, and then he warned the people against idolatry and superstition. This was after the Queen's arrival in London. He was immediately charged with preaching erroneously, but he so defended himself before the Council, that he was freely dismissed. At this moment, had he felt disposed, he *might* have escaped abroad, and he had strong inducements so to do. He had a wife and *ten* children, and in Germany he must have been secure of a living; but he would not depart. By the 18th of August 1553, a proclamation was issued, forbidding *all* preaching; after which, Rogers was or-

[24] See his memorable letter, and some farther account of this man, under 1527, vol. i. It may be added, that in a corresponding stall to that of Rogers, on the right side of the choir, sat John *Harpsfield*, the noted persecutor, who stepped into Dunne's seat, at his death, in 1558; while *John Bradford*, the martyr, occupied the tenth stall on the same side. A house divided against itself cannot stand; but what a monstrous mixture of character was here? And hence the language of Nicholas Ridley in his *farewell* to St. Paul's. See vol. i., p. 536.

dered to remain, as a prisoner, in his own house, and communicate with no one, save his own family. He happened to live not far from Bonner himself, who, with the sanction of Gardiner, as Chancellor, at last got him sent to Newgate, the worst of all the prisons; where, among thieves and murderers, he remained throughout the whole of 1554, and there he is said to have been of use to the prisoners. "My Lord," said Rogers to the Chancellor, "ye have dealt with me most cruelly; for ye have put me in prison *without law*, and kept me there now almost a year and a half. For I was almost half a year in my house, where I was obedient to you, God knoweth, and spake with no man. And now have I been a full year in Newgate, at great cost and charges, having a wife and ten children to find; and I had never a penny of my livings, which was against the law." They had, in short, left him to pine or perish in prison, and there having been no specific charge, the whole course was illegal.

At last, however, Rogers was called up for examination. The year 1555 was to be distinguished for persecution, and on the 1st of January they had commenced in good earnest, by the apprehension of thirty individuals. On the 22d, both Rogers and Hooper were before Gardiner, and other members of Council, as the Queen's Commissioners. The parties present were perfectly characteristic. Besides Gardiner, there was Tunstal, Heath, and Thirlby, Sir Richard Southwell, Sir John Bourne Secretary of State, and others, evidently eager to sit in judgment on such a man as this; and as if it had been to point out to posterity the precise *animus* or spirit of the persecutors, as well as give still greater prominence to the history of the Sacred Volume, Rogers must die *first* of all. He must now lead the van in the army of martyrs, and obtain ever after the honourable appellation of *Proto-Martyr* in Queen Mary's reign.

Towards this good man, it is evident, that Lord Chancellor Gardiner had behaved with peculiar harshness and cruelty. He had, in fact, owed him a grudge for eighteen years, and now illegally had imprisoned him, for nearly eighteen months, though the martyr had frequently implored his release. Rogers had married when abroad, and presuming that a female, and a foreigner, and she not far from the time of her confinement, might have some influence, he had sent her to Gardiner,

with certain female companions, so long ago as Christmas 1553, and as far as Richmond, "humbly craving that he might be set at liberty," there being nothing laid to his charge. The only answer to this was his being committed by Bonner to Newgate! From Newgate, Mr. Rogers had not only sent two petitions to the Chancellor, but his wife many times, without any effect. A Mr. Gosnold, and other benevolent gentlemen, had also petitioned on his behalf, but all was in vain; and now that the prisoner is brought up for examination, it seemed as if, in the first instance, it had been only to gratify Gardiner's spleen and passion.

He was called up once more, before a far more formidable array of persecutors, on the 28th, and finally the next day, at nine o'clock, when Gardiner read his sentence condemnatory, giving him over to the tender mercies of Bonner and the Sheriff. Not one word had been said respecting his publication of the Sacred Scriptures, but the Chancellor, in condemning him, had thought this far too fine an opportunity not to cast a slur upon the *Bible*, and thus hold up Rogers to the terror of all its readers, at the very commencement of this fiery day. In his sentence, when naming Rogers, three times, he took special care not to omit, "otherwise called *Matthew*." We have no proof that this was the intention, but it served such a purpose for the moment. Gardiner having finished, gratuitously told him that he was now "in the great curse," and that no man was to speak to him. Rogers, who throughout had spoken with great boldness as well as ability, and, as we shall see presently, to Gardiner's utter confusion, if not dismay, then replied—

"Well, my Lord, here I stand before God and you, and all this honourable audience, and take Him to witness, that I never wittingly nor willingly taught any false doctrine; and therefore have I a good conscience before God and all good men. I am sure that you and I shall come before a Judge that is righteous, before whom I shall be as good a man as you; and I nothing doubt but that I shall be found there a true member of the *true* Catholic Church of Christ, and everlastingly saved. And as for your false Church, ye need not to excommunicate me forth of it. I have not been in it these *twenty years*—the Lord be thanked therefore! But now ye have done what ye can, my Lord, I pray you yet grant me *one* thing?"

What is that? said Gardiner. "That my poor wife, being a stranger (a foreigner) may come and speak with me, so long as I live—for she hath ten children, that are her's

and mine, and somewhat I would counsel her, what *were best for her to do*." Will it be believed, that, at once discovering a mind of the vilest character, the solitary request, and so touchingly put, was with disgusting barbarity denied! And Rogers, though he had told the Chancellor that he had been married eighteen years, saw the man no more. The amount of such wickedness, it is not for us to describe.

Hooper, Bishop of Gloucester, his honourable companion, had been also condemned the same day, and both were to be conveyed to Newgate. There was now, however, some cowardly fear of the people. The sentence had not only been pronounced with *closed doors*, but they waited till *night*, before their victims were sent off. Even then, they conducted them from the Clink Prison to Winchester's house, close by, and passing through it, along London bridge, officers had been sent before them, ordering the costermongers, who sat at stalls in the street, to put out their lights! Why all this caution, if there was no apprehension of a rescue? Their coming, however, had been anticipated, and pious householders appeared on both sides of the streets, with candles. On their part, as the prisoners passed along, there was nothing but salutations of affectionate sympathy, thanksgiving for their constancy, and earnest prayers for its continuance.

This was on Tuesday the 29th, and Rogers had only to live till Monday following. Early that morning, the 4th of February, not aware of what awaited him, like Peter of old, he was sound asleep. The jailor's wife went and had some difficulty in awaking him. She then warned him to make haste, and prepare himself for the fire! "If it be so," said the good man, "I need not tie my points." Bonner was already in waiting. Both Hooper and he were then, what they chose to call degraded, by being bereaved of their ecclesiastical trappings; a process, which necessarily occupied some time, as they had first to be arrayed, and then the several parts were torn from them piecemeal. Hooper was to be sent off next day to Gloucester; but the stake was already prepared for Rogers. Then once more, to Bonner he tendered the same solitary request, he had done to Gardiner; but it was now reduced to this—"that before going to the stake, he might be permitted to speak a *few words* to his wife." But this, like his fellow, the inhuman monster denied! Foxe

supposes that it was chiefly to inform her of his examinations and answers, in his own handwriting, which he had left behind him, concealed in the prison. But if it was, the Bishop's denial went for nothing, as they were afterwards found.

Upon being delivered up to the Sheriff, Woodroff, before they left the prison, urged Rogers to revoke his opinions. "That," replied the martyr, "which I have preached, I will seal with my blood."—"Then," said Woodroff, "thou art an heretic."—"That," replied Rogers, "will be seen at the day of judgment."—"Well then," said the Sheriff, "I will never pray for thee."—"But," said Rogers, mildly, "I will pray for *thee*." Thus they proceeded to the stake.

Upon entering the street, they found an immense crowd awaiting them. In walking towards Smithfield, Rogers was repeating a portion of that blessed book he had given to his country—the 51st Psalm. The people were giving thanks for his constancy; but there among the crowd, there met him the wife, whom neither Gardiner nor Bonner would permit him to see. His wife, the foreigner, with *all* her children—one of these, a youth named Daniel, if the eldest, now nearly seventeen years of age; the youngest, or the eleventh child, an unconscious babe, now hanging at the mother's breast! In the midst of this overwhelming scene, the husband and father stood firm, and having got through it, the bitterness of death was past!

At the stake they brought him a pardon, upon condition that he would recant. This, of course, he pointedly refused to do, and at last, washing his hands, as it were, in the flames, he cried with his final breath, "Lord, receive my spirit."

We have referred to his examinations and answers, as they were afterwards printed in full, from the copies left behind; and by John Foxe, who knew the martyr well. It so happened that Mrs. Rogers, with her son Daniel, had gained access to the prison, and after looking in vain for these manuscripts, they were about to depart, when the youth, looking round once more, spied his father's papers, deposited in a corner under the stair.

John Rogers appears to have been the son of a father of the same name, and born, not in Lancashire, as it has sometimes been stated, but in Warwickshire, at Deritend, in the immediate vicinity of Birmingham. Rogers had been mar-

ried in 1537, or the same year in which he had completed the Bible, to Adriana Pratt, alias de Weyden. She now returned with her children to Germany, and the lad who had found his father's papers was afterwards better known, as an Ambassador from Queen Elizabeth to different countries.[25]

With regard to Miles Coverdale, without farther explanation it must appear almost incredible that, only fourteen days after the death of Rogers, or on the 18th of February, Queen Mary was writing a letter, of which he was to be the bearer, to the King of Denmark. He also had been in trouble, as well as Rogers, since 1553, though not confined to prison. This letter was written only on Monday week after the scene at Smithfield, and the same day on which a splendid embassy was leaving London for Rome; and yet the very next day Coverdale had his passport, "for himself and two servants," by which was most probably meant his *wife* and *one* servant; and so he left England for Denmark. Thus, if the one man connected with the Scriptures must lead the van of martyrdom, the other can easily be extricated from the grasp of Government by the overruling providence of God.

The deliverance has been ascribed *solely* to the repeated and very earnest interposition of his Danish Majesty; and but for this, humanly speaking, he might not have survived: but there was a very curious concurrence of circumstances in favour of Coverdale's deliverance at *this* moment, for King Christian's

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[25] Daniel Rogers studied at Wittenberg, under Melancthon, as mentioned in one of his letters, and understood the German, Dutch, and Latin languages, as well as English. He then came to England, and at Oxford had taken his degrees in July and August 1561. In the years 1568 and 69, he lived with Lord Henry Norris, as his secretary. Having married Susan, the youngest daughter of Nicasius Yetsweirt, French Secretary to Queen Elizabeth; and once introduced to public notice, he not only became Clerk of the Council, but was afterwards employed as ambassador to Belgium in 1575, to Germany in 1577, and to Denmark in 1588. Thus he became the frequent correspondent of Cecil Lord Burleigh, as he was the valued friend of Camden the historian. He died in February 1592, and was interred close by his father-in-law, in the parish church of Sunbury, Middlesex. See Strype's Annals, anno 1594. Wood's Athenæ by Bliss, i., 570. Tanner's Bibl. Brit., p. 639. Wood, it is true, has sent Rogers, the father of Daniel, *abroad*, and noticed the martyr as though he were a different person; and Chalmers in his Biog. Dict. follows the Oxford annalist. But from Foxe we know the martyr's son was named *Daniel*, and from the son himself, the ambassador, that he added *Albi-montanus* to his name, as descriptive of his birth in Germany. Now, though we are indebted to Wood for the name of the martyr's father and his wife, nothing can be more improbable than that there should be two men of the same name, *both* of whom went abroad, and *both* returned, *both* in trouble at the beginning of Queen Mary's reign, *both* married to foreigners, and *both* having a son named Daniel, about the same age! Strype, who had the manuscripts of the ambassador in his possession and examined them, positively affirms him to have been the son of the martyr. This too he does in his Annals, under 1558, or *ten* years after he had published his life of Whitgift, in which he had only conjectured the fact. But besides Daniel, there is some ground for believing that an old and eminent minister, *Richard Rogers* of Wethersfield in Essex, was another son. At least, William Jenkin, father of the expositor on Jude, was brought up under *his* eye, and it is well known, married the *grand-daughter* of Rogers the martyr.

second letter to Mary on his behalf was nearly *five months* old. Why, then, should Coverdale, a married Bishop, and an old offender in their opinion, be suffered to escape, and that immediately after the fire had been kindled for Rogers? It will certainly prove to have been a memorable fact if the examination and martyrdom of the *one* man should have contributed to the escape of the *other*, and more especially as Rogers could have had nothing of the kind in view.

The circumstances, therefore, now referred to are the more worthy of notice, as they not only stand in immediate connexion with the examination of the Proto-Martyr, but discover not a little of the true character of these unprincipled men in power. Taken all in all, they form the richest scene in the reign of Mary, though scarcely, if it all, before observed.

The martyrdom of John Rogers, in February 1555, connects itself with that of the heroic female, Anne Askew, in March 1546. There had been no fires in Smithfield since the memorable night on which she suffered, almost nine years ago. Considering the progress which had been made during the reign of Edward, through the medium of the Scriptures, the death of Rogers must have been regarded by many in London with unmingled horror; but, beside this, a large and promiscuous assembly had been present at his notable examination on the 28th of January, when he caught Gardiner and his bishops in a snare, and the people marked it. The language of Gardiner could not fail to have been in the mouth of thousands ever since, and the excitement in a few days was such as to frighten for a moment all these men of blood, from King Philip downwards. The present juncture, embracing a space of less than three weeks, will explain this.

It was on Tuesday the 22d of January that Rogers was first examined. This was before Gardiner, as Lord Chancellor, and other members of the Council, such as Lords Howard and Paget, Sir Richard Southwell and Sir John Bourne, as Commissioners from the *Queen*.[26] But on Monday the 28th, to Wednesday the 30th, Gardiner and many more sat by *commission* from Cardinal POLE; and yet only the next week, when six other men were examined and condemned, they were

[26] Next day all the Bishops were down to Westminster, to receive the blessing and ADVICE of *Cardinal Pole*. Must not the ADVICE be inferred, from what followed?

not brought before the same tribunal, but merely before Bonner and his Consistory, with the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of London. Here were *three* distinct forms of proceeding, within the short compass of eighteen days. Then, to crown all, the very next day, or Sunday the 10th of February, we have a sermon preaching before King Philip, and by a Spaniard; but upon what subject? *The sin of persecution for conscience' sake!* Now, why this erratic course on the part of the persecutors? Why could they not go straight forward? And if this sermon was a base artifice, of which there is now no doubt, why was it resorted to at the present moment? The true character of all the parties in power is here involved.

Stephen Gardiner, who plumed himself on his sagacity or cunning, had, no doubt, imagined that if *he* once proceeded against certain leading men; or, in the cant phrase of the day, if the *head deer* were only brought to the ground, the common people would shrink with terror, and succumb to their authority. It was full of this idea that he commenced, in a high tone, with John Rogers on the 22d of January; but the very man with whom he thus began, proved to be more than a match for his proud and imperious temper. On the 28th, as soon as Rogers entered, nothing daunted, we know from himself that he remarked the change on the Court. Gardiner was there, of course, as Chancellor and Bishop, and chief persecutor; but "there were," says Rogers, "a great sort of *new* men, his fellow bishops, of whom I knew few"—after eighteen months' confinement. There were, in fact, not fewer than thirteen in all, six on each side of the Chancellor, besides three notaries, three noblemen, eleven knights, and a very great multitude.[27]

Gardiner perhaps never forgot himself so far as he did this day; but he could not stand the replies or remarks of his prisoner, and found it not so easy to examine these men as he had anticipated. In his wrath he actually called King Edward an *usurper*, and then tried clumsily to recall the term; but another expression, in reference to *the reigning Queen*, turned out to be vastly more awkward for him and all his order. Rogers had intimated his persuasion that "*her Majesty* would have done

[27] Gardiner being in the centre, on his right side sat *Bonner* of London, *Heath* of Worcester, *Thirlby* of Ely, *Bourn* of Bath and Wells, *Brookes* of Gloucester, and *Holyman* of Bristol; on his left sat *Tunstal* of Durham, *Aldrich* of Carlisle, *Watson* of Lincoln, *Morgan* of St. David's, *Hopton* of Norwich, and *Bayne* of Lichfield and Coventry. See here the result of Pole's ADVICE.

well enough but for his (Gardiner's) counsel." When, in his haste, in reference to the persecution now commenced, he replied—"*The Queen went before* ME, *and it was* HER OWN *motion!*" Thus affording another instance of persecutors wishing to shift the blame from themselves; though certainly, at such a time as this, the assertion was very hazardous, whether it was true or false. But Rogers replied—"Without fail, I neither can, nor will I ever, believe it!" Aldrich of Carlisle, in name of himself and all his brethren, immediately said—"They would bear Gardiner witness." "*Yea*," said Rogers, "*that I believe well.*" On which the laugh went round among the crowd assembled. Upon this, even Sir Richard Southwell, the Master-Comptroller of the Royal Household, and Sir John Bourne, Principal Secretary of State, stood up to *confirm* the Chancellor's assertion. Never had men more fully committed themselves. Rogers then said—"It was no great matter; but I think that they," the Bishops, "*were good helpers thereunto themselves.*" Such a dialogue was easily carried away, and every word must have told upon the people throughout the metropolis; but the assertion first made, in open court, and before such a crowd, for "the thousandth man could not get in," was felt, in the cool of the day, to have been no light matter. If it was true, they had betrayed a state secret! Accordingly, next morning, when Rogers and Hooper were brought up for condemnation, it was found convenient to do so, as already hinted, with *closed doors.*

Gardiner, however, both this day and the next, was equally nettled in the examinations of Tailour, Bradford, and Saunders. From Rogers, to the last man examined, he had had his own book,—"De vera obedientia," or "true obedience," quoted against himself, and his present conduct. To this book, Bonner had affixed a preface, or high eulogium; and both having been translated into English, and printed abroad, many had it in their hands, many more in their mouths, and it was now quoted, or referred to, before both the authors, by men who had been long familiar with the original publication in Latin. Tunstal also was forcibly reminded of his famous sermon before Henry VIII., printed by Berthelet in 1539, or sixteen years ago. It, therefore, could not fail to be no small mortification, after his furious attack on the *head deer*, when my Lord Chancellor found that here were *six* more men waiting to be examined; one of them, indeed, a gentleman,

Mr. Hawkes, but the other five precisely of that humbler class on whose boldness and principle poor Gardiner had not calculated. Hence, when these individuals came to be examined and condemned, neither the Chancellor nor eleven of his Bishops were there! The whole process was despatched, and that speedily, by Bonner alone, as Ordinary, who had called the Lord Mayor, Sir John Lyon, and certain aldermen, to sit with him and his underlings.

Bonner had examined the whole number on Friday, and condemned them all to the flames on Saturday the 9th of February, or the fifth day after the Proto-Martyr had been consumed to ashes; and what, then, could the reader expect to follow only next day? If it was a sermon—which, in these times, was a great rarity, and therefore the more to be observed—must it not have been a sermon in praise of the Bishops, for their burning zeal on behalf of "the old learning?" It was quite the *reverse*. The blundering assertion of Gardiner to Rogers, only thirteen days since, confirmed as it had been by all the Bishops present, and even two official laymen, had neither been forgotten nor unfelt. It had certainly placed *her Majesty* before the country in one of the most critical of all positions, as the sole and imperative persecutor; and there can be no doubt, from what followed, had made her tremble, not only for herself, but the husband on whom, at this moment, she doated. The truth is, that public feeling still ran very high against the Queen's marriage. She had allied herself to a Spanish prince, and the people had been foretold that, to a certainty, he would introduce the Court of *Inquisition* into England. Nothing, therefore, could have been more dangerous to the Queen than the positive affirmation of Gardiner, before a large and promiscuous audience. So, at least, it had been felt, but more especially by King Philip; and what was the miserable artifice to which he resorted? He had brought with him into England, as his confessor, Francis Alphonso di Castro, a Spanish divine, himself an author against *heretics;* and this was the man appointed by the King to preach before the Court, on the 10th of February, and *against religious persecution.*[28]

[28] The first edition of his treatise "De Hæresibus," had been printed at Paris in 1534, and an enlarged edition the year after this, or 1556. He died at Brussels, in February 1558, soon after having been appointed Archbishop of Compostella.

We regret not being able to find out his text; but in the course of his sermon he enlarged on the sin of taking away the lives of any for their religion—reprobated the practice of burning men on account of their opinions—and affirmed that the *Bishops* would search the *Scriptures* in vain for any authority to spill the blood of their flocks. The *Scriptures*, he insisted, taught Bishops, in the spirit of meekness, to instruct those who opposed them, and not to *burn* them for their conscientious opinions!

But the Lord Chancellor of England, at the moment, was a Bishop, and President of the Court for burning; Tunstal, who, in former days, led the van of persecution, had sat on his left hand, and Bonner on his right, who, only the day before, at one sweep, had appointed not fewer than six men to the flames. By the authority of these men, and ten others of the same order, on Monday before, Rogers had been consumed to ashes; on Friday, at Coventry, Saunders had followed; and only twenty-four hours before the sermon, Hooper was in the flames at Gloucester, and Dr. Tailour at Hadley!

As an exhibition, therefore, next day, nothing could have exceeded this. A Spanish priest upon English ground, preaching before the Court, and against the Bishops of England, especially those in power! Arraigning, nay denouncing them in public, for having embrued their hands in blood! While there sat Philip to sanction the sermon, not without some fear for his personal safety or favour; and, like Pilate of old, he seemed "to take water and wash his hands before the multitude," saying, "I am innocent of the blood of these just men." The occurrence was a remarkable one; and the more so, since it is evident, that nothing less than apprehension of some sort in the breast of the Monarch, could have been the impelling motive. "It was believed," says Collier, "that the Queen was overruled since her marriage, and that these fires had been kindled by *Philip:* however, the King, it seems, had no mind to lie under this imputation."

Where Gardiner and Tunstal were, or how engaged, at the moment when the Spaniard was preaching, we are not informed; but certainly our exulting Lord Chancellor had but little imagined, that *the Editor of Tyndale's Bible* would live to come to England, and lead *him*, in the last year of his life,

so to expose the Bench and the Court, at one stroke! Still less could he have supposed that the same man would so hit the mark, as to cause him eventually to shrink behind the curtain, and retire from playing at the game of persecution ever after!! Such at least was the fact, for "he never afterwards," says Lingard, "took his seat on the bench:"—"*whether* it was," says the same author, "that Gardiner disapproved of the measure, or that he was called away by more important *duties!!*" The latter alternative is, to say the least, strangely expressed; but neither the one nor the other will now serve the purpose of history, in accounting for the Chancellor's non-appearance. "Gardiner," says Soames, "having kindled the fires of persecution, *left* to others the hateful office of supplying them with a succession of victims:" but we have no evidence whatever of any change of disposition in the man. The circumstances now related, alone and perfectly account for that change of tactics which ultimately ensued. At present, however, there was a dead pause; the execution even of the condemned prisoners was suspended; and the crisis occasioned farther debate in the Council itself.

Now, it was precisely at *this* moment that *Coverdale was released*, and sent out of the country. On Monday week after this sermon, it had been thought *advisable* for the Queen at last to write her letter. It might very conveniently seem almost to contradict what Gardiner had said in open court, that day three weeks before, and on Tuesday the passport was also ready. It will, perhaps, therefore now be conceded, that there was at least some connexion, between the examination of Rogers, and the escape of Coverdale: though the interference of his Danish Majesty must not pass unexplained.

It so happened that Coverdale, as well as Rogers, was a married man; and strange as it may appear, that which had formed a source of such agonizing distress to the one man, became one of relief and safety to the other; a circumstance the more remarkable, as marriage, though "honourable in all," was alone sufficient, after the accession of Queen Mary, to ensure the bitterest mockery, as well as privation and punishment. *So* Rogers had felt, especially during the last ten days of his life. It was to an excellent woman, Elizabeth Macheson, that Coverdale had been allied for a number of years, and they were both at Exeter when he was summoned to appear before

the Council at Richmond, in August 1553. From that time he had been committed, though as a prisoner at large.[29] But then he and an exile from Scotland had married two sisters, known, from monumental inscription, to be of Scotish extraction, though they might have been born abroad. This exile, who had passed through England to the Continent, was John Macbee, named in his own country Macalpine, and known abroad as Dr. Maccabæus. Having retired to Denmark, he had been of great use to Christian II.; was not only one of his Chaplains, and professor of Theology in the University of Copenhagen, founded by the King, but had been one of the translators of the Danish Bible, first printed in 1550.[30] It was through his intercession for his brother-in-law, Coverdale, that the King interfered, and himself wrote a letter to Mary, so early as the seventh calends of May, or 25th April 1554. This drew forth a tardy and evasive reply, as if the only cause of displeasure with Coverdale had been, that he was in debt to the Treasury, or in arrears with his tenths. Taking advantage of this admission, his Majesty wrote a still more urgent letter—"it was only a *debt*, and the bishopric had not been enjoyed long enough to afford to pay anything—he would not trouble her Majesty by *repeating* the petition;" but "we plainly hope for such an end, that Coverdale himself shall shortly, in our presence, make declaration concerning the benefit of his welfare obtained of your Majesty." In this letter, dated from "our city of Otton (Odensee) the 24th of September 1554," the case was actually so put, as if a refusal might affect the good understanding between the two kingdoms; and yet we have seen that four months passed away, till at last they came to the examination of Rogers and its consequences. It may therefore be said, in conclusion, that to the influence of two men, Maccabæus and Rogers, both of whom had been connected with the translation of the Scriptures, the *third*, Coverdale, was indebted for his deliverance!

After an absence of more than three years and a half, Coverdale returned to England; and though his name will occur once more, under Elizabeth, since his labours in editing any edition of the Scriptures had now closed, we here briefly notice his remaining days. He was now

[29] So in May 1554, when Rogers, Hooper, Bradford, Philpot and others were in confinement, Coverdale subscribed his name after theirs,—"with these mine afflicted brethren, *being prisoners*."
[30] Frecheri Theatrum, pp. 174, 305. Townley's Bib. Lit., vol. ii., 339.

entering on his sixty-eighth year. It was in July 1551 that he had been nominated as Bishop of Exeter, and in July 1553 that his appointment came to an end—having sustained the office only *two* years out of eighty-one. During his incumbency, in 1552, Coverdale had republished his translation of Bullinger on "The Christian State of Matrimony," and well might he print on this subject; though not as yet aware that to his *marriage* he was to owe his *life*, while to his *bishopric* he had now owed his *imprisonment*. Once released, on the 18th of February 1555, and his passport signed next day, (though he was to be buried in London, honourably, *that day fourteen years* after,) with all despatch he repaired to Copenhagen, and after expressing his obligations to his Royal benefactor, he went to Wesel in Friesland, where, by this time, he met with at least one hundred refugees from England. After a short stay he proceeded to Bergzabern, at the request of Wolfgang, the Duke of Deux-ponts, where he had a pastoral charge assigned to him. In December 1558, we find him at Geneva, and next year he returned to England. Though urged repeatedly to return to his office as a Bishop, he could not now accept of it, nor assume the dress imposed. Grindal, however, in 1563, gave him the small living of St. Magnus, near London Bridge, remitting the first fruits, as he had nothing to pay them, and with respect to dress, he was permitted to do as he pleased; but in about two years more he either resigned, or was obliged to do so. Still, however, he continued to preach; only he who so zealously preached against the *sectaries*, about seventeen years before, was now called, at the age of seventy-eight, to experience what was involved in being one. On a Saturday, his hearers used to send inquiring where he was to officiate next day, but even this he at last declined mentioning, lest it should give offence! Yet, as long as he was able he continued to preach, and died, most happily, in February 1569, in the eighty-first year of his age. His remains were honourably interred in Bartholomew's Church, behind the Exchange, on Saturday, the 19th of February, when a vast crowd attended.[31] Thus, in the end, alas! was left to England no ground for congratulation, with regard to her treatment of *any* of the men concerned in her earliest editions of the Sacred Volume! Recently, after the Royal Exchange was burnt, Bartholomew's Church being to be taken down, the supposed bones of Coverdale were removed to the spot where he often ministered, St. Magnus, and a marble tablet has been erected to his memory, dated MDCCCXXXVII.[32]

On account of the intimate connexion of Rogers and Cover-

[31] "Miles Coverdale, doctor of divinity, was buried ano. 1568, the 19th of February."—Register of Burials in the parish Church of St. Bartholomew's by the Exchange. The date here being that of the *old* style, was in our 1569.

[32] See our former reference to this tablet, vol. i., p. 553, where the reader is requested to correct the *misprint* of 1537 instead of 1837.

dale with the Sacred Scriptures, it was to be expected that the *death* of the one, and the *deliverance* of the other, would here be fully explained; but before hastening to the history of the Scriptures themselves, it is not less necessary to glance at the events immediately following this crisis.

That the sermon of the Spanish friar was not merely a shallow artifice, but a piece of profane mockery, appeared but too soon. Lingard takes care to tell us, that "*it made a deep impression*," and providentially it was so deep, as to admit of Coverdale's escape, like a brand from the burning; but as if to render that escape only the more observable, we search in vain for one other happy result or lenient measure. And if the impression was deep, it was little more than a momentary panic; as perhaps no reader could divine how soon the patience of the Court, the Council, and the Bench, was exhausted. Only five short weeks had passed away, when Philip and Mary, and the Bishops by their authority, and that of Cardinal Pole, were once more fairly started on their pursuit after blood. Six individuals, it will be remembered, were under condemnation at the moment when *di Castro* was denouncing all cruelty. Five of these it was found expedient to send to the *country*, and put to death in *different* places; one of whom, Mr. Hawkes, did not suffer till so late as the 10th of June; but even so early as the 16th of March, the fire was first kindled for one of the six, Tomkins, and in Smithfield itself. Only ten days after this step, an order was sent to the Justices of *Norfolk*, in which they had special instructions to look after all preachers of heresy and private meetings; and this order, let it be observed, was by no other than the King and Queen.[33] Nay, before the 24th of May they had sent their "Letters unto the Justices within *every* of the counties of this our realm," and even Bonner himself must be roused and urged to proceed to extremities; their Majesties at the same time actually expressing "no little marvel" that there had been such relaxation on the part of certain Justices.[34] Pawlet, Marquess of Winchester, "the willow tree and not an oak," who bent with every blast, was specially vigilant in the Council, and Richard Lord Rich, a persecutor from the days of Sir Thomas More, was no less active down

[33] Cotton MS. Titus, B. ii., 116.

[34] Regist. Bonn. fol. 363

in the country; but still, even to the close of this year, 1555, it was found necessary to proceed with caution in *London*. Out of above eighty martyrs before the 18th of December, not more than seven appear to have suffered in the capital.

It was in January the next year, 1556, that the persecutors set off in full vigour, when seven individuals were committed to the flames at Smithfield, in one fire, and five at Canterbury, in another! In short, Gardiner, unchanged, must go the way of all the earth, and Cardinal Pole succeed as the adviser; when, what with his official authority, administered with characteristic policy, and that of the King and Queen, at certain convenient moments, Bonner, as "the chief slaughterman of England," powerfully aided by his Satanic assistants, and other persecuting prelates, contrived to perpetrate all the cruelties, or the sickening enumeration, which has been already given.

Throughout the month of September, 1555, the health of GARDINER, Bishop of Winchester, had been declining rapidly. On Monday the 21st of October, Parliament was opened. That day he was present, and the next, for the last time; when he spoke and exerted himself beyond his strength. On Wednesday, or seven days after Latimer and Ridley's martyrdom at Oxford, he was confined to his chamber, and after lingering for three weeks, he expired at Westminster, early on the morning of Tuesday the 12th of November. His body was immediately removed to his house in Southwark, but not carried to Winchester for above three months, on the 24th of February 1556. His true character we need not now depict; as it is to be read in the various transactions already recorded. In point of talent, he was certainly one of the most able men of his times; but this only increased an amount of guilt which the day of final reckoning will disclose. Before his death he is generally understood to have been in great trouble, if not agony of mind. At one time he is said to have requested the account of the Saviour's last sufferings to be read to him, and when they came to the denial of Peter, he desired the reader to stop. "I have denied," said he, "I have denied with Peter; I have gone out with Peter; but I have not as yet learned to weep bitterly, with Peter!"

As for Latimer and Ridley, they died, it is known and confessed by all, triumphantly at Oxford, twenty-seven days before this, on the 16th of October. Cranmer followed on Saturday the 21st of March 1556, in the sixty-seventh year of his age, and after the manner which has been so plentifully

described elsewhere, by conflicting authorities. Whatever imperfections were to be found in his character, the virulence with which it has occasionally been attacked, only proves, that for the part he acted as a whole, he is never, by certain parties, to be forgiven. His enemies, even still, will scarcely, if at all allow, that before his death he had learnt, what Gardiner had never done—"to weep bitterly with Peter:" even though a spectator of the last scene, and he of *opposite* sentiments, has told us that he stood there with a heart bursting with grief—"his face bedewed with tears, sometime lifting his eyes to heaven in hope, sometime casting them down to the earth for shame; and to be brief, an *image of sorrow*." His recantations assuredly were the more to be lamented, after the firm and heroic testimony borne by his two precursors four months before; and whom, it is said, he saw from his cell when they were on the way to the stake. But still the burning of his right hand—"that unworthy hand"—"that hand hath offended," as he emphatically repeated, and as long as his tongue would suffer him, was a testimony to the deepness of his regret, as powerful and expressive, as it was then possible for him to give; and still more so, from its being the only one then left to him.

In a history such as the present, however, the character of Cranmer now comes before us, under an aspect altogether different from that which it may have done in any other history. To every impartial reader of the preceding pages it must be evident that the present writer is not only relieved from entering farther into its merits or demerits, but that there is high, because sacred ground, for his abstaining. The "Articles," whether nine in number, as in 1536, or forty-two afterwards; the "Institution of a Christian Man," in 1537; the English Litany, in 1544; the Primer in 1545; the First Book of Homilies in 1547; the Liturgies or Service Books of 1548 and 1552; the Body of Ecclesiastical Law, with some other pieces, are properly to be discussed in connexion with Cranmer's character and principles. These productions have been regarded as either his own, or nearly so; but the translation of the Sacred Volume was the work of *another*. So far as Cranmer followed up the subject, under Henry's reign, in conjunction with Cromwell, we have endeavoured to do him ample justice. Under Edward he never appears to have per-

sonally returned to the work; but his abstaining from all interference with any others so engaged, ought never to be forgotten.

In a manner to which, in our English history, there is literally nothing parallel, the history of the English Bible, properly understood, had been preserved separate or aloof from the possibility of its being identified with the imperfections, the timidity, or inconsistency, of any one man living in England. The volume was originally prepared beyond the boundaries of the kingdom, and ever since its very singular introduction, no human being could as yet be at all regarded in the light of what is properly styled a patron. Nay, what should never be forgotten, in every instance of human agency, on the part of official men, we have discovered, not what any man can correctly style "only the pure and unadulterated love of Divine Truth itself, or for its own sake." All official men, without exception, have come before us, as either impelled by circumstances, moved by political considerations, or overruled. As to even the last of these, and at the very outset or beginning, no man was more distinctly moved than Cranmer, and moved from abroad; but even then he appeared first in sight, in the humble attitude of a petitioner without power. Nothing is more clearly or frequently marked in his correspondence, than entire subserviency to Crumwell, when at the top of his ascendancy. *He* sent an imploring letter to Crumwell, and *he* petitioned Henry, and HE was overruled! The King's heart was never more distinctly "in the hands of the Lord" throughout the entire compass of English history.

Let, therefore, the history of the English Bible be still regarded as altogether *sui generis*, for certainly so it ought to have been, all along. As yet, the general thread of our narrative has never been broken, or even disturbed; and what shall we say, should an all-wise Providence continue to preserve the Sacred Volume in the same high and singular position, throughout the long reign of Queen Elizabeth, and even down to our own day. At present, however, we have first to look at the reign of Mary, when there will be no risk of confounding this cause with any official person, whether at home or abroad.

Upon the accession of Henry's eldest daughter, and with immediate reference to the Scriptures, it need scarcely be re-

marked, that the country at large was in a very different state from what it had been less than thirty years ago, when there was neither a printed Bible, nor even a New Testament in print, within its borders. Just before Mary assumed the Crown, England seemed to be fairly on the way for becoming a land as distinguished for the possession of the Sacred Volume, as God had appointed it should be, in the end. About sixty-five editions of the New Testament, and thirty of the entire Bible had passed through the press: but here now was an opposing party, not only in full power, but determined to exercise it. Resolved to carry every thing before them, it might naturally have been supposed, that one of the very first movements must have been a systematic attempt to *destroy all these volumes*. Could the burning of the sacred *books*, have been a more obnoxious measure, than the burning of men and women, old and young? Was the seizing of the *Scriptures*, and at once burning them in open day, not as easy as the seizure and imprisonment of *men?* And yet, however much blood was shed ultimately, and however much cruelty inflicted, on the part of Government there was, on the whole, a most mysterious silence maintained, with regard to the English Bible, which has never been sufficiently observed.

In the days of Henry the Eighth, it was the *book* by way of eminence, the "pestiferous poison," as Tunstal profanely styled it; the "heretical fountain of all novel and dangerous opinions;" or, the Sacred Volume, under various abusive epithets, against which they gave forth their loudest thunder, and after which, under orders, they daily hunted. The very possession of it, or its distribution, whether by gift or sale, were crimes denounced and punished. There were a thousand copies in England now, for one at that period; and yet, under Queen Mary the great hue and cry had almost entirely changed. Justification by faith, as a tenet of Scripture, but above all, transubstantiation, as a chief corner-stone of "the old learning," were the engrossing topics; mixed up with an endless measure of low and even obscene abuse on the part of the examinators. But throughout these tedious and repeated cross-examinations, the cautious abstinence from reference to the Bible, as a book, or to the possession of it, is very remarkable. The examinators never appear to have been enjoined to abstain, and yet they did. Throughout the entire reign there

were three proclamations, and in the second only were *any* books whatever specified by *name*. The first of these, 18th August 1553, already mentioned, merely forbade the *public* reading of the Scriptures. The second was not issued till twenty-two months after, on the 13th of June 1555. In this, twenty-five authors are distinctly denounced by name, or thirteen foreigners,[35] and twelve Englishmen;[36] thus hinting, by the way, a continued and powerful *importation* of books from abroad, but nothing is enjoined as to burning the Scriptures already printed and possessed. The injunction related solely to the books specified being *imported* from *henceforth*.[37] The last proclamation was certainly the most dreadful. It referred to books, in general terms, wicked and seditious, to be delivered up on *pain of death*, *without delay*, *by martial law!* But this was not issued till *three* years after the former, on the 6th June 1558, or only five months before Mary's death; and still no mention is made of the Bible, or New Testament, separately. It was a proclamation against books of *human* composition only, not the Sacred Scriptures.[38]

Under the reign of Henry, we have seen first the New Testament Scriptures, and then the Bible entire, distinguished by *name*, and condemned in royal proclamations. We have seen the name of Tyndale in immediate *connexion* with the Sacred Scriptures, as well as that of Coverdale, distinctly branded; but it is material to observe that no similar proclamation is upon record by Philip and Mary: nor was the Divine Record, as such, in our language, whether as issued by Tyndale or Rogers, by Coverdale, Crumwell, Cranmer, or Taverner, once formally denounced by the throne! Yet Tunstal, on the borders of eighty, and having yet five years to live, one of the earliest enemies, was now in power; with Gardiner by his side, for two years, and as Lord Chancellor. Cardinal Pole, with powers unlimited, was in the country, for the express purpose of bringing every thing back to its ancient position. The Queen was so zealous as to urge even the Bishops, and

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35 Luther, Œcolampadius, Zuinglius, Calvin, Pomeraine, Alasco, Bullinger, Bucer, Melancthon, Ochine, Sarcerius, Martyr, and Justus Jonas. See Herbert's Ames, iii., p. 1585-7.

36 Tyndale, Fryth, Latimer, Barnes, Bale, Hooper, Coverdale, Cranmer, Turner, Becon, Roye, and Halle's Chronicle by name, the *only book* specified.

37 One *female* importer, Elizabeth Young, was examined by these inquisitors *thirteen* times, of which Foxe records nine. After all she escaped martyrdom.

38 Strype's Annals.

Bonner, to their duty; having a husband for King, the future hero of the Spanish Armada, who would now have most willingly introduced the Inquisition into England. Why then was even Gardiner's, the Lord Chancellor's pen so restrained? Why not now have come out, in round set terms, with all his malignity to the Book against which he had wrought hard for years? And after him, why was the pen of the Lord Cardinal fettered? A royal proclamation could have been very easily penned, and surely at some moment of wild exasperation, in the course of five years, the royal signature, or signatures, might have been as easily obtained?

But let us not be mistaken. Copies of the Scriptures no doubt were consigned to the flames, though we can fix upon no more than three occasions. The first is mentioned, three years after Mary had been on the throne, when at least one foreign author, Cabrera, has told us that "many of the Bibles, chained to desks in churches, were burnt about this time;" and again, in the opening of 1557, when the Universities of Cambridge and Oxford were visited by Ormaneto, a furious Italian, datary of the Pontiff, or chief officer of the Court of Rome. When the bones of Bucer and Fagius were actually dug up and burned at the former, *Bibles* as well as other books were also consumed; and the same course is said to have been pursued at Oxford, when the dead body of Peter Martyr's wife was treated with such indignity. But still, in the midst of so much Satanic opposition, and the royal denunciation of *other* books and *human* authors, perhaps there has never been a more striking line of distinction drawn, in reference to the Sacred Volume. What renders the fact already stated still more observable is—that the translations of the Bible by Tyndale and Coverdale had been once pointed out, or referred to, at least by the priests or clergy, and for destruction. In an address by the *Lower* to the Upper House, these were their words—"We the clergy of the province of Canterbury do humbly pray"—"that all suspect translations of the Old and New Testament, the authors whereof (*not however here named*) are recited in a statute made year of Henry VIII. &c. may be destroyed and burnt throughout this realm."[39] These few words are buried among twenty-eight other items, and

[39] Parker MS. Col. Cor. Chr. Cant. or Burnet, book 2, Records xvi.

the reference made must be to the Act of 34th of Henry; but still no express law followed, nor was there a single proclamation in compliance, or one in which the Sacred Volume was pointed out for destruction, either by royal authority or that of the Convocation, or that of Cardinal Pole. Why then not acknowledge the Overruler? "He maketh the wrath of man to praise Him, and the *remainder* thereof He restrains." Certainly neither Philip or Mary intended to draw such a line of distinction between the words of *men* and the "Word of *God*." When Henry's wrath was up, he drew no such distinction, and that he might shew that he imagined a vain thing, and fought in vain, he was permitted: but thus far Philip and Mary were restrained, and this, in connexion with what follows, was *progress*.

Nor was this the only point worthy of observation under this reign. Providentially, time was afforded for the preservation of the Scriptures, and by two distinct methods. One was by their being carried abroad, beyond the reach of danger. The pause at the commencement of Mary's reign was not unimproved as to personal safety, and the exiles unquestionably availed themselves of the opportunity as to that which they valued above most fine gold. A single copy, if more could be carried away, would not satisfy any one among them; and it was far more easy for them to carry books away at the time they went, than it was afterwards for some of these exiles to import their own writings. This, however, they afterwards did, and to such extent, as to provoke the royal inhibition of June 1555, which, after all, could not stem the influx. The stern proclamation of death by martial law, three years after, was a proof of *failure;* and the Queen was thus, in effect, only declaring—what her father before his death had done—that royal edicts, in certain circumstances, if not nearly impotent, possess no sovereign power.

But the other mode of preservation was by *concealment;* and this was practised to no small extent, whether in the crowded city or the hamlets of England. Even in the cottages of the latter there are supposed to have been methods of concealment so ingenious as to baffle all search—

> "Fierce, whisker'd guards that Volume sought in vain,
> Enjoy'd by stealth, and hid with anxious pain;

> While all around was misery and gloom,
> This shew'd the boundless bliss beyond the tomb ;
> Freed from the venal priest—the feudal rod,
> It led the suff'rer's weary steps to God ;
> And when his painful course on earth was run,
> This, his chief wealth, descended to his son."

This course, however, from its very nature, did not admit of its being put on record, and yet we are not without evidence of the fact. The highly-prized treasure, read often in the dead of the night, was concealed under the bed, in hay-lofts, or in out-houses ; and we have one notable instance of another mode. Mary had not dismissed from her immediate service *all* who had any value for the Scriptures ; on the contrary, Strype assures us, from manuscript, that the Gentlemen Ushers of the Queen were " almost all favourers of the Gospel." These had been in the service of Edward, her brother, with the exception of others that she had appointed. Of one of them the same laborious author gives a long account in his " Memorials,"—Mr. Underhill, a gentleman, who, though imprisoned and molested, after all continued to receive his pension, and outlived the present reign. At one period, " a diligent search being made for all suspicious books," he was then living in Wood Street, Cheapside. Underhill forthwith " sent for a bricklayer, and built up a wall in his chamber, against the place where all his books were, and so inclosed them in security from the danger of being taken, preserving them for himself against better times." Similar precautions were, no doubt, taken by others ; and it is impossible to say how many precious volumes, if not also printing materials, were built up until Mary should draw her last breath.[40]

It may now, however, be observed that, of all the *other* books printed up to this period in England, there are not a few of which not a vestige remains ; while, in reference to the *Scriptures*, of which so many editions had been printed, nay, and innumerable editions since, it is a most singular fact, that there are very few, perhaps not above three or four, of which we have not a copy, and of the great majority several copies, either in England or Scotland. In this point of view, our

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[40] Unhappy woman! the day before she expired was actually styled, and by the best of her subjects, *Hope-Wednesday!*

list of editions at the end of this work becomes one of the most remarkable in the entire range of English literature.

Returning, however, to the reign of Mary, it may be remarked by some that the writer has been only putting the best face upon a gloomy period. Be it so. Then this need not prevent us from looking round only once more.

Rogers, indeed, has been martyred, and Coverdale banished; Grafton and Whitchurch, though imprisoned, and excepted in the general pardon granted at Mary's accession, have escaped to the Continent. John Day, the spirited printer, and above twenty more beside, can act no more as they were wont to do, up to July 1553, when Edward died. Leaving, then, the numerous editions of the Scriptures which had been printed, to be preserved from the hand of the destroyer, whether at home or abroad, and as they best might, was there absolutely nothing to be done, under this Queen's reign, in the way of farther progress? With regard to printing the Scriptures, however humbling to national vanity, we are obliged to answer—*in England, absolutely nothing*. The press, we have seen, was fettered or suppressed, and not a leaf could be issued. The text of the translation also required to be *reviewed* with far more leisure and superior skill than it had ever yet been upon English ground, or since the first edition by Rogers; but this cannot be done, or rather, as Providence had determined, *must not*, in any corner of our native land. The Government has fallen back into very much the same condition in which it was in 1523, when Tyndale found at the last, that there was "not only no room in my Lord of London's house to translate the New Testament, but that there was no place to do it in all England."

But what did all this signify? Providence had at the first spoken to this Island, in a way not *common* to the other nations of Europe, and there was nothing now to prevent a repetition of the same singular mode. There was, indeed, perplexity and confusion in the councils of England, and all things were turning upside down; but human nature, strained to its highest pitch, in opposition to Divine Truth, presents but a feeble barrier; and "God's eternal thoughts moved on —His undisturbed affairs."

An *exile* from his native country, first accomplished the translation, and some how or other got the book introduced into

the kingdom, in spite of Henry VIII., and *his* Cardinal Wolsey. Then, an *exile* shall do the same thing once more; by correcting and printing the New Testament, and sending it into England in spite of either *Philip or Mary*, or *their* Cardinal Pole. In every point of view this was no other than a similar triumph; and in both instances at a moment, when there was nothing but opposition from the Crown and the bench of Bishops, as well as a Cardinal, by authority from Rome, triumphantly presiding in the country. It also deserves remark, that, in both cases, the Testament was published *anonymously*, without ostentation, or a dedication to any official individual whatever. In the first instance, the name of the translator was not known, nor till Tyndale was compelled by circumstances to disclose it. In the second instance, nothing having occurred to compel the improver of this version to disclose his name, it has been overlooked to the present hour. Both books were prepared, and sent into England, when persecution was the order of the day, and every seaport seemed to be shut against them. No analogy could be more striking, or complete.

But was this second triumph effected while Mary was yet on the throne? It was. The recension of the text must have commenced not long after the time when the stake was first prepared; the book left the press on the 10th of June 1557, one of the most awful months in the record of persecution;[41] and it was perusing *in* England, for sometime before the Queen's death. By how many indeed, it is impossible to say; but one authentic instance will be sufficient proof of the fact.

There was a priest of some learning at Auburn near Lincoln, who had been appointed to the place by Old Longland the Bishop, Henry's Confessor in the days of Wolsey. This man, named William Living, had married, and with his wife had taken up his abode in London, where he seems to have tried to support himself, in the time of Mary, by the sale of buttons. One Cox, a spy, or as they phrased it, a promoter, having lodged information against him, the constable and his assistants soon came, and upon examining his books, they made sure that he could not be a safe man. This happened to be in August or September 1558, when the Queen was far from being well. Among the books, Dean, the Constable, had fastened his eye on one that was bound and *gilt*, which happened to be a work on Astronomy—the "De Sphœra" of Manilius. On observing the figures, round, triangular and quadrilateral, this was enough! Carrying this book open with him in the street, along with its owner and his

[41] In *four days*, from the 18th to the 22d of this month, at least twenty-seven martyrs died! viz. one in the diocese of Bath and Wells, two at Newington, seven at Maidstone, seven at Canterbury, and ten at Lewis! Twenty-seven were thus consumed to ashes in *four* days!

wife,—"I have found him at length," said the constable, "and it is no marvel the Queen be sick, seeing there be such *conjurors* in privy corners; but now I trust he shall conjure no more!"

Delivering up both parties to Tho. Darbyshire, Bonner's relative and the Chancellor of London diocese, after ascertaining who Living was, and charging him with being a schismatic, he immediately ordered the husband to the Bishop's Coal-house, and the wife afterwards to the Lollard's Tower. In conveying the former to his prison, however, the jailor carried him first to his own house in Paternoster Row, and "there," says Living himself, "he robbed me of my purse, my girdle, my Psalter, and *a New Testament of Geneva*."

Bringing his victim to the nauseous Coal-house and to the stocks,—"Put in both your legs, and your hands also," said the cruel and avaricious man, "and except you *fine with me*," "I will put a collar about your neck." "What is the fine," it was asked. "*Forty Shillings*," said the jailor; a sum equal in value to at least twenty pounds of the present day! "I am never able to pay it," said Living. "You have *friends* that be able," was the reply; for well they knew how to take advantage of the generosity and sympathy of the lovers of truth. He then ordered both limbs into the stocks till supper-time, or six o'clock; when a cousin of the prisoner's wife, actually paid *forty-pence* (equal to about two pounds,) to this monster in waiting, for one hour's ease to partake of food! Then from seven that evening to two the next day he lay thus confined without any intermission; the man waiting no doubt for another fee. After this he also was carried to the Lollard's Tower, "having the *favour*," says the prisoner himself, "to put my leg in that hole which Master John Philpot's leg was in; and so lay all that night, nobody coming to me, with either meat or drink." Next day, however, Living was delivered, on the payment of fifteen shillings for his fees. Thus, on the most moderate calculation, the imprisonment had cost a sum equal to about eleven pounds of our present money; but had this happened one year earlier, or had the Queen even now, been as *lively* as the man himself, he certainly would not have escaped with his life. The "Testament," of course, which he most of all valued, was gone.

His partner in life had been separately handled, and one of her replies was sufficiently expressive. "You be not ashamed," said Dale, a promoter, "to tell wherefore you come hither." "No," replied the good woman, "that I am not, for it is for *Christ's Testament*."[42]

But what was this Testament of which they spake? It was the book to which we have referred; a very beautiful one, and now of rare occurrence, printed with a silver type, and on the best paper; by far the best review of the Sacred text that had yet been made, "diligently revised by the most approved Greek examples, and conference of translations in other tongues." It is the *first* English New Testament, *divided into verses*, and formed an important preliminary step to the revision of the whole Bible.

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[42] Foxe.—Herbert mentions, "Celius Secundus Curio to his dear friend Fulvius Morato," as translated into English by W. Living. "Printed by John Alde, 1576." It is an epistle for the godly bringing up of children, and concludes: "From Luce, 1542, the iiii. of the ides of June, quoth *W. Living*,"—of Saint Swithen's by London Stone. *Curio* may be remembered as one of the most interesting characters in M'Crie's Italy.

Few mistakes have been more common, and even up to the present day, than that of ascribing the translation of the Scriptures into English to a *number* of individuals. Thus the name of Tyndale has frequently been associated with various other men: with even an amanuensis, Roye, who was only about fifteen months in his service; with George Joye, though never an associate; with Constantine, though little else than one of those agents who, in early times, conveyed copies of the New Testament into England. The same confusion has prevailed, when referring to this "Testament of Geneva." "This translation," it has been said, "was made by *many* of the principal English Reformers."[43] The translation, correctly speaking, is an improvement of Tyndale's, on comparing it with the Greek original, once more: but so far from *many* being engaged, the address to the reader at the beginning incontestibly proves it to have been the work of only *one* man; and although it cannot even yet be very positively asserted who that individual was, we now offer some interesting particulars respecting one, which will probably leave no hesitation as to his being the person to whom his country stood indebted.

William Whittingham, the branch of a family, not extinct in the male line, till so recently as 1758, was born in the year 1524 at Holmeset, afterwards called Holmeside Hall, six miles from Durham, in the parish of Lanchester.[44] His father, William Whittingham, Esq. of Holmeset, had sent him to Oxford, where he became a commoner at Brazen-nose College about 1540, and made such proficiency in learning, that in 1545 he was elected a fellow of All-Souls. Anthony Wood affirms that he was after this chosen one of the senior students in Christ Church, formerly Cardinal College; "Henry VIII. endeavouring to *replenish* it with the *choicest* scholars in the University," precisely as, the reader may remember, Wolsey had first attempted. This is curious enough, as Whittingham was thus following in the *same* path by which John Fryth had been led, twenty years ago. Whittingham, however, so far from being, like his predecessor, confined in the dungeon below, in May 1550 had leave

43 Lewis, Newcome, Horne, Lowndes, and others.

44 It is perhaps the name of this parish which has led to a mistake, not unusual, that he was born in the city of *Chester*.

granted him, by the dean and canons, to travel for three years. He embarked for France, intending to go into Italy; but being taken unwell at Lyon, he proceeded first to Paris, and then to Orleans University, spending at least a year and a half between these two cities. After having visited several parts of Germany, his travels terminated at Geneva, where he remained till about May 1553, when his three years had expired. But what a change awaited him on his return! Edward died on the 6th of July. Christ Church now, must soon have proved as dangerous to him, as Cardinal College, or the same spot, had done to Fryth. Whittingham, with a mind now enlightened, had no idea of waiting till another Cardinal should bear sway, and his agents at Oxford burn Bibles, as Wolsey had treated the New Testament Scriptures. Instead, therefore, of "leave granted" a second time, just as if to make the parallel more complete, like Fryth or Tyndale before that, he must now fly to the Continent, where he arrived in safety, and at Frankfort, on the 27th of June 1554, with the first exiles who there took up their abode.

Into the painful and unseemly dissensions which arose among the exiles at this place, in March, the next year, well known since by the title of "The Troubles of Frankfort," it is happily not our province to enter. They come before us in connexion with Whittingham, only in passing, but it is in a light hitherto but little, if at all, observed. The war of opinion in England was rising to its utmost virulence, and the flames about to be kindled by it were to blaze in every direction. Nothing, therefore, could be more humiliating, than to see a number of good and able men, who had fled in haste, and but narrowly escaped with their lives, all at once discover so much pertinacity. Surely the ground which both parties had previously occupied, must, in itself, have been *untenable*, before such a scene could have occurred. There was no difference of opinion, at least expressed, as to the way of a sinful creature's acceptance before his Maker; none as to repentance towards God, or faith towards our Lord Jesus Christ; none as to justification, or the necessity for a holy life, the resurrection from the dead, or eternal judgment. But, strange to say, without taking time to exchange sentiments on these fundamental truths; without any time to recognise and bow to them, as the only *cement* of any acceptable or lasting union; taking no time first to kindle up the spirit of individual devotion, and of mutual love or esteem; although no difference of sentiment existed as to the obligations of social worship, they at once plunged into a vortex, respecting its mere *external* form of display! Had they been a company of simple-hearted disciples, no such misery need to have occurred, nor probably would; but they were not only possessed of learning, in a greater or less degree, but mostly *official* men; and, alas! "the wisdom that cometh down from above, which is first pure, then peaceable, gentle, and easy to be entreated," was not there. It had been usual to urge conformity to *ceremonial* observances, from respect due to the *regal* authority by which they were en-

joined; but here there was no authority whatever, quite the reverse. Yet the Service Book, drawn up by *Cranmer*, which had been set forth by the authority of a Monarch, under age, Edward VI., now no more, set them unhappily wrong. Neither party had sufficient light to take the high and sacred, the only safe ground, and stand upon it. That is, neither party saw, so as to adore, the *fullness and all-sufficiency of the Sacred Record itself*, as a Service Book, and Prayer Book, and every thing else in the shape of a book; and the contention actually became so sharp between them, that in the space of less than one solitary fortnight, or from the 13th to the 25th of March, they were divided into two hostile bands! Had both parties immediately died on the spot, no consequences might have ensued, and the hasty contest might have passed away, as the crackling of thorns under a pot. But Providence had appointed otherwise, and that with *immediate reference to Sacred Writ*, as infinitely above all human composition. One party retired to Geneva and Basil, and the other, who had conquered, and remained at Frankfort, were *never* united among themselves. Their's was indeed a chapter of "troubles" from beginning to end; thus affording to posterity a striking lesson of instruction and warning, from which it might have learned much. At this distance, indeed, it may be easy for many to see the cause of this division; and say—"it is perfectly evident that they were too precipitate, too hasty or impatient, than which nothing can be so injurious to Christianity; but besides, they seem to have been mistaken altogether as to the *essential* origin of 'social religion exemplified.' They were bent, and at once, on 'the uniformity of profession in the bond of ignorance,' instead of 'the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace.'" Be it so, only it would have been well for thousands since, had they not foundered, again and again, on the self same rock.[45]

Had Whittingham not gone to Frankfort, or had he not been a party concerned in this scene, we should have been saved the necessity of any reference whatever to the subject; but as he was not only present, but deeply interested, and then one of the *retiring* party; in retiring with him we shall now have occasion to mark the watchful care of the Almighty over his own Word; once more about to be given to a country, which was once more fighting against it. He, and let it be observed, immediately after this, found out for this confessedly eminent scholar, far different and nobler occupation than that of fighting at Frankfort, about the words which *man's* wisdom teacheth. Amidst all the war's tumultuous noise, God's own revealed will, must not be neglected. Whittingham had hitherto sustained only the character of a Christian and a scholar. Having had no official, that is, no ministerial character in the Church, he bore still nearer resemblance to John Fryth; and in his own apprehension, we

[45] For an account of "the troubles of Frankfort," anno 1554, see the original edition, 1575, or the reprint in the Phœnix, vol. ii., 46. Old Thomas Fuller gives a very candid statement in his characteristic Church History.

know, that, "from his former travels and observations, and his acquisition of several languages," he imagined "he had fitted himself more for civil or state employment than any other." No matter; this, we presume, is the individual now selected to sit down, with greater skill and more composure, to the New Testament, than any man since Tyndale himself; and like him also, happily now unfettered by any human authority whatever. Hitherto Whittingham had lived a single life, but after retiring to Geneva, where he had arrived in the autumn of 1555, he was married to Catharine, the sister of John Calvin.[46] Whatever may have been the date of his marriage, this was the time in which he must have applied assiduously to the English New Testament, with "the most approved Greek examples" before him. To his recension of Tyndale's version, he prefixed two things. First, "an Epistle declaring that Christ is the end of the Law, by John Calvin," his brother-in-law; and then his own address, of three leaves, "To the reader." In this, he speaks throughout in the *singular* number, taking the entire responsibility upon himself; and after the broil in which he had previously been involved at Frankfort, his language becomes the more impressive. Adverting to three distinct classes of men, he says—

"Some are malicious despisers of the Word, and graces of God, who turn all things into poison, and a farther hardening of their hearts: others do not openly resist and contemn the Gospel, because they are stricken as it were in a trance with the majesty thereof; yet either they quarrel and cavil, or else deride, and mock at whatsoever thing is done, for the advancement of the same. The third sort are the simple lambs, which partly are already in the fold of Christ, and so hear willingly their Shepherd's voice, and partly wandering astray by ignorance, tarry the time till the Shepherd find them, and bring them unto his flock. To *this* kind of people, in this translation, *I chiefly had respect*, as moved with zeal, counselled by the godly, and drawn by occasion, both of the place where God hath appointed us to dwell, and also of the store of heavenly learning and judgment, which so aboundeth in this city of Geneva. . . . To these, therefore, who are of the flock of Christ, which know their Father's will, and are affectioned to the truth, *I* render a reason of *my doing* in few lines, &c."

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[46] Wood, in his Athenæ, speaks, though with hesitation, of Whittingham having been married at Orleans, on his first visit to the continent, and to Katherine, daughter of Lewis Jacquierre, near that city; but we have no evidence whatever of his having been the husband of more than one wife, and that he was married to the sister of Calvin is certain, from the words in his epitaph—"Mariti Catharinæ Sororis Johannis Calvin theologi."—Willis, i., p. 253, where no mention is made of any other. Whittingham's name will occur again under the reign of Elizabeth, but any account of him taken from Anthony Wood must be compared with, and corrected by other writers. See Hutchison's History of the C. Pal. of Durham, ii., 143, 150, 378. Forbes State Papers, ii., 207, 418, 467.

"Counselled," as he tells us, by others, it is evident that the writer had obtained the palm for scholarship among his brethren: now as Whittingham will come before us, presently as the *chief* person engaged with the entire Scriptures, or the Geneva Bible of 1560, there can remain little or no doubt that he is the man now speaking in this preface. Afterwards he will appear to have availed himself of the learning of some other individuals, though by no means to the extent which has been all along so vaguely reported.

This New Testament, in duodecimo, neatly printed in roman and italic types, consists of 456 leaves, including the title—"The Newe Testament of our Lord Jesus Christ, conferred diligently with the Greke and best approued translations. With the arguments as wel before the chapters as for every Boke and Epistle; also diversities of readings and moste proffitable annotations of all harde places; whereunto is added a copious table.—At Geneva, printed by Conrad Badius, M.D.LVII." And at the end, "Printed by Conrad Badius, M.D.LVII. this x day of June." The date is worth notice on one account, that Whittingham died only six miles from the spot where he was born, or at Durham, on the very *same day*, twenty-two years afterwards, the 10th of June 1579. A copy of this book, at public sale, has brought as much as £11, 5s.

Here, then, was one set-off for the reign of Queen Mary, which she and her husband would have gladly dispensed with. Literally, in the time of "blood and fire, and vapour of smoke," in a dark and cloudy day for England, *that* was accomplished which had never been overtaken all the time of King Edward. The New Testament did require revision, but it must be done by an *exile* upon foreign ground, and be printed much nearer to Rome than London, while the book, as we have seen, was already in the kingdom. More than this, the entire Bible, still more improved by a careful comparison of the original Hebrew and Greek, was *already* commenced; nay, during the last year of this Queen's reign, the revisers at Geneva were engaged with it literally *night and day*. Whatever, therefore, had been overturned or trodden down in England, this cause had sensibly advanced. The storm had only enlivened its progress, and actually brought it into a *far better* state than it was before. We have yet to see how it fared with "the Exiles'" Bible, and what a blessing it proved to the families of our native land, for a period equal to ten times the duration of Queen Mary's reign. The Queen expiring on the 17th of November 1558, she was succeeded by her sister Elizabeth.

SECTION III. REIGN OF ELIZABETH.

A REIGN, EXTENDING TO MORE THAN FORTY-FOUR YEARS, BUT HOWEVER POWERFUL IN EVERY OTHER DEPARTMENT, HAVING NO ACTUAL CONTROL OVER THE CHOICE OR PREFERENCE OF THE PEOPLE OF ENGLAND, WITH REGARD TO THE SACRED SCRIPTURES IN THEIR NATIVE TONGUE, AND THUS PRESENTING THE ONLY EXCEPTION TO UNLIMITED SWAY.

THE second daughter and only surviving child of Henry VIII., or the last branch of the Tudor family, now ascended the throne, at the age of twenty-five. Born with the finest natural capacity, the education of Elizabeth, followed by the discipline through which she had passed, enabled her to hold the sceptre with a firmer grasp than that of any of her family who had preceded her; and throughout the long period of above forty-four years, England had no occasion to complain for want of what certain persons have styled a strong government. The preservation of the Queen to the present hour was very remarkable, and it proves, in the most striking manner, that a nation can no more judge of what may contribute to its stability, than any single man can tell what is good for him all the days of his vain life, which he spendeth as a shadow. Thus, the English people, when Mary was proclaimed, had drowned with joy the voice of the heralds; but their hearts revolted at the very prospect of her marriage to a Spanish prince, and the step once taken was never forgiven. Yet that prince must come into the country, and enjoying, as he did, entire sway over his English Queen, thus prove one instrument, and in no inferior degree, of preserving her sister from the block. The life of no heir to a throne was ever worth less than that of Elizabeth at one period; and had Mary only remained single, with Stephen Gardiner for her adviser, humanly speaking, her sister might have ended her days on the scaffold. One providential purpose for which Philip had come to England being answered, he may live abroad, and another day, with his armada, seem to be bent on the ruin of the princess he had saved; but she will outlive him, as well as every storm that shall be raised against her.

Without entering into politics, or the character of particular acts, it is allowed by all, that capacity for ruling formed the leading feature of the entire reign, whether we look to the Queen herself, or to the men by whom she was surrounded. Under other monarchs, it is by no means difficult to fix upon one man, as minister, who was, in fact, the presiding genius of the age, but Elizabeth, in her own person, formed a striking exception. Of all her ministers, it has been remarked, that they owed their advancement to her choice, and that they were supported by her constancy, but, with all their abilities, they were never able to acquire any undue ascendancy over her. "In her family, in her court, in her kingdom, she remained equally mistress." Inflexibly resolved never to divide her power with any man living, and never to marry, her object throughout life was to reign alone, a course which she pursued with a sagacity which has seldom, if ever, been exceeded. Should there happen, therefore, to be *one* palpable exception to her imperative sway, more especially should there be *only* one, and that one embrace the continued history of the Sacred Volume, this will not merely extend that line of distinction between it and all other affairs, which we have beheld as unbroken, throughout three successive reigns; but it will show that, as far as the current of events had any voice, the God of providence was lending increasing energy to that course which He had maintained from the beginning.

The first months of this able monarch were, however, remarkably distinguished by caution. At once she discovered a mind which seemed to have been accustomed to consult only with itself. As far as worldly prudence could foresee, she had resolved to mark out her own path, and in the meanwhile to do absolutely *nothing* rashly. On this account, her future course became the subject of deep solicitude and anxious speculation, rather than that of certain hope to either of the two parties, into which her council, as well as her kingdom, was divided. Had the Queen at once listened to either party, and implicitly followed its advice, there can be no question that persecution must have been the immediate result; for notwithstanding all that had passed over both, still neither the one nor the other understood how to separate power from persecution, or the exercise of mental freedom from obedience to civil authority. No more did Queen Elizabeth, or rather less, but determined, if possible, to make herself beloved by her people as a whole; some time was required, for a mind like hers, to trace out such a path as she supposed was most likely to secure that end.

The caution, however, to which we have referred, has been noticed here, on account of its having distinctly embraced the Sacred Volume. Even this, also, must be regarded with what Elizabeth imagined to be prudent expediency. It is true, that on Saturday, the 14th of January 1559, as has been often repeated, on proceeding through London, in public

procession, when an elegant English Bible was presented to her majesty, at the Conduit, in Cheapside, she received it with a grace peculiar to herself, and kissing it, said, while pressing it to her bosom, that she would "oftimes read that holy book." The Queen had just passed the spot where the Scriptures had been often burnt; and the present gift had been adopted, no doubt, with the view of drawing forth some pointed declaration; but it went no farther, and then, the very next morning, or that of her coronation, it was *not* to be understood that she had already signified her approbation of either printing or circulating the Sacred Volume!

"Queen Elizabeth," says Lord Bacon, "the morrow of her coronation, it being the custom to release prisoners at the inauguration of a prince, went to the chapel, and, in the great chamber, one of her courtiers, who was well known to her, either out of his own motion, or by the instigation of a wiser man, presented her with a petition, and, before a number of courtiers, besought her, with a loud voice,—'That now this good time, there might be four or five principal prisoners more released.' It was inquired who they were, when he replied,—'These were the four Evangelists and the Apostle Paul, who had been long shut up, as it were, in prison, so as they could not converse with the common people, who were eager to see them abroad.' The Queen, however, answered very gravely,—'That it was best first to inquire of themselves, whether they would be released or no.'"[1]

The last Queen had now been dead two months, but nothing definite had ever escaped from the lips of her successor. On the other hand, the steps actually taken conveyed no certainty of signification, so that the hopes and fears of two adverse parties were alike quivering in the beam. Thus, in reference to her Council, Elizabeth had retained a majority of professed disciples of "the old learning," some of whom had been active in its defence, and all of them men distinguished either for capacity or influence; but to these she added eight others of opposite sentiments, not exempting some who had suffered imprisonment or exile for their opinions. Cecil, the Queen's principal adviser and Secretary, as well as herself, had *conformed* under the late reign, and though it was understood that they had merely bowed to the storm, from a Council so constituted, it was impossible to augur anything. There was in fact a very different, or secret cabinet, of much smaller dimensions, with whom rested the power of control.

A number of steps had only prolonged the public uncertainty. Thus, on the 14th of December Elizabeth had buried her sister, with all the rites of the old learning, and on the 23d ordered a solemn dirge for the *soul* of the Emperor Charles: but then two days after, the prisoners on account of religious opinion were released, while on the 27th all preach-

[1] This courtier, says Heylin, was named Rainsford, probably Sir John Rainsford, a Knight of Essex, said to have been the generous protector of George Buchanan on his flight from Scotland in 1539.

ing by any party was imperatively suspended, till consultation was held by the Queen with the three estates. She had passed through London indeed with great eclat; but the very next morning, as we have seen, checked her too forward courtier. The Princess Regnant must be let alone, to think out, and resolve upon, her own course, and to consult farther with Cecil and Bacon; but this is not to be done now, in open Hall, and before the Crown has yet been set upon her head. Parliament itself must first assemble, as it did in ten days after, when her Majesty had no reason to be dissatisfied with the amount of power conferred upon her. Its very opening however must be distinguished by the characteristic ambiguity. It was on the 25th of January, when Elizabeth assisted, in state, at a solemn high mass; but after this followed a sermon, and by no other than Dr. Cox, the tutor of Edward, and one of the *exiles* just returned from banishment. Not a little business was done, while a cautious expediency is still very observable. Certain laws of Henry the Eighth were renewed, many of Edward's revived, and those of Mary repealed: but in Parliament there must not be a single movement as to *faith* of any kind. They were summoned to consult respecting an uniform "order" of religion. Analogous to Cranmer's proposal, twenty-three years ago, they must first decide upon the ceremonial or external order; only now no "Articles" in reference to doctrine or the fundamental *truths* of Christianity must be once propounded. In the Convocation indeed, also assembled, "and which, owing to the times," says Fuller, "was very small and silent," the adherents of "the old learning," with Bonner for their leader, were broaching, for the last time, certain articles, but though presented to Bacon, the Lord keeper, and they led to a discussion afterwards, such subjects are not to be admitted within the walls of Parliament.

The "Supremacy," however, must now be both discussed, and settled. But here again, her Majesty had objected decidedly to a title, first assumed by her Father, and one in which he gloried,—"the *Head* of the Church." The world, it has been said, is ruled by names; and so the *apparent* rejection of a cherished title on the one hand, and non-interference, as to faith, at present, on the other, must have had their respective objects. Abroad at least, the first movement might sound auspiciously for the moment, and the last, if it had no softening effect at home, at least left the way still open for indulging a pleasing dream, or the hope of amalgamating two hostile parties. Meanwhile the title by which Elizabeth chose to be distinguished was that of "*Governor* of the Church;" but according to Fuller, complaints were heard still, "that the simplicity of poor people was abused; because while the Queen declined the former title, and assumed the latter, though less *offensive*, it was more *expressive;* so that while their ears were favoured, in her waving the word, their souls were deceived with the sense under another expression.

There was now to be no Parliament or Convocation for three years, but at last, and without therefore having consulted either the one or the other, about midsummer or the autumn of this year we hear something respecting the Scriptures; and by virtue of Elizabeth's authority, certain injunctions were issued. Among these were the following, left with every parish visited.

"To provide within three months after this visitation, at the charges of the parish, one book of *the whole Bible* of the largest volume in English, and within one twelve months the paraphrases of Erasmus also in English, and the same to be set up in some convenient place within the said Church, where the parishioners may most conveniently resort and read the same. All parsons under the degree of A.M., shall buy for their own use the New Testament in Latin and English with paraphrases, within three months. Enquiry was to be made whether any Parsons, Vicars, or Curates, did discourage any person from reading any part of the Bible, either in Latin or English."

No intimation was given, here, or any where else, as to how or where *such* volumes were to be found, and hence it has been inferred by Lewis, that under the late reign they had *not* been destroyed or burnt to any very great extent. At the same time, it may be observed that this was nothing more than a *royal* injunction; buried too among not fewer than fifty others, some of which are strange enough; and if the effects resembled those which resulted from *Henry's* voice, then there would, in many instances, be a reluctant, in others, only a tardy compliance.

As for the preparation of more copies, Elizabeth said not one word, while the printing press, as we shall see presently, far from approaching its freedom in the days of Edward, has become more fettered than it had ever been, since the art was first introduced into England!

All this, however, will only render the progress in printing of the Sacred Volume still more remarkable. This was a cause in which neither the reigning Prince nor the Privy Council, the Parliament or Convocation, had ever been much consulted, and *never* with a view to its essential progress. It had commenced contrary to the will of all these parties, and as certainly proceeded without taking orders from them. For the progress, therefore, at this crisis, as we were accustomed to do in the days of Elizabeth's father, we must now look abroad. From *thence* the Queen requires to be *put on her way*,

and in a manner not unlike to Henry's reception and sanction of the Bible at first, in 1537.

Before turning to her Majesty on the throne, however, we are met by an old acquaintance still alive, in perfect keeping with our narrative; a man who, as an instrument, at least in this history, occupies a place superior to that of any reigning Prince. We refer to no other than Richard Grafton, the printer of the *parent* Bible, and others following. Before Elizabeth had done any thing, nay, when, as Jewel informs Peter Martyr, she was "wonderfully afraid of any innovations," Richard appears again in sight, and quite in character, as if summoning afresh to their work, the friends of Divine Truth. But before he called, they were answering, for they had been busy "night and day." Only, let it be observed, that as it happened in the days of Henry, the answer or echo will once more come from *abroad*. It was in 1559 that Grafton began by a reprint, first published at the accession of Edward in 1547, after his father had, only with his breath, ceased to frown. The title is,—"A godly invective in the defence of the gospel, *against such as murmur and work what they can, that the Bible should not have free passage, very necessary to be read of every faithful Christian.*" By Philip Gerrard, yeoman of King Edward's chamber."[2] We are thus reminded of the "Supplication" which preceded the New Testament, under the Queen's father, as well as of the fine opening of King Edward's reign: but the reigning Princess is resolved to be as cautious as she was vigilant and powerful. We shall see, therefore, whether these can prevent her from being overruled, and to the end of her long sovereignty.

While Elizabeth was yet in jeopardy of her life, and under the guardianship of Sir Thomas Pope, we have already seen that an edition of the New Testament had been printed at Geneva—that copies were finding their way into England, in despite of all opposition,—and that an edition of the entire Scriptures was already commenced, in the same city. The exiles themselves inform us *when* this was begun. It was when "the time was dangerous, and the persecution, in England, sharp and furious." The fact is, that no sooner had the New Testament left the press, than Whittingham, with one or two others, were preparing for their larger undertaking, and, at the latest, by January 1558 they had commenced. These men tell us that "they thought they could bestow their labours and study in nothing more acceptable to

[2] Maunsell's Catalogue, p. 53. Herbert's Ames, pp. 523-538.

God, and comfortable to his Church;" and they add,—"God knoweth with what fear and trembling we have been for the space of *two years and more, day and night*, occupied herein." The space referred to, therefore, was from January 1558 to the 10th of April 1560, when the last sheet was put to press.

Considering the high character of this version, and the number of editions through which it passed, it would have been gratifying could we have fixed, with more positive certainty, on the individuals to whom the nation stood indebted. They were most probably not more than *three* in number, or four at the most; but whether it arose from modesty or motives of prudence, we are left to find out the real parties. The revision has been often, it is true, and very loosely ascribed, to *six*, and even *nine*, individuals, as though engaged in one body: viz., William Whittingham, Anthony Gilby, Miles Coverdale, Thomas Sampson, Christopher Goodman, Thomas Cole, John Knox, John Bodleigh and John Pullain. This, however, is doing nothing else than numbering up certain men possessed of learning, who happened to be then living at Geneva. It requires but a little investigation to reduce the number to one-third, and then, we presume, the great burden, if not the entire responsibility, will appear to have fallen upon three of these scholars. It is true that all these men, with many others, were intimately and affectionately connected with each other. They were members of the *same* Christian church, and a church, be it observed, who as a *body* felt deeply interested in this edition of the Sacred Volume. The entire expense not only of this Bible, but of an edition of the Psalms by itself was to be, and *was* defrayed by "such as were of most ability in that congregation." There was no application to their native country, no solicitation of one farthing from without. Amidst the storm that raged against the truth, they had been driven into a corner, and thus the Church was employed. In the fullness of their hearts, the sound *learning* of certain members, and the pecuniary *substance* of others, being devoted to the cause of their common Saviour, nothing could be a finer exhibition of Christian zeal for the highest interests of their native land. Thus, as the first translation of the Sacred Word, commenced in 1524, had sprung from the devoted zeal of a solitary Christian *exile*, whose heart had bled with pity for his country; so

the next thorough revision of the entire Sacred text, must come from the bosom of a small Christian community, also in *exile*, "for the word of God and the testimony of Jesus Christ."

The accession of Queen Elizabeth, however, in November 1558, naturally filled this entire circle with joy, and the men we have named, as well as others, were as naturally separated; but then this was with the *exception* of those who had devoted themselves to the revision and printing of the Bible. The good news had reached Geneva in December, and at that moment, we are informed, that the *greater part* of the book was *not* finished; but "Whittingham, with *one* or *two* more, did tarry at Geneva an year and a half after Queen Elizabeth came to the Crown, *being resolved to go through with the work*."[3] Le Long has affirmed that "the chief and most learned" of the men already mentioned, were Coverdale, Whittingham, and Gilby; but Coverdale, now seventy years of age, cannot be traced as at Geneva sooner than December 1558, and it is certain that he returned in 1559; how early we cannot tell. He was preaching at Paul's Cross on the 12th of November.[4] In short, *Knox* had left Geneva as early as January 1559; *Goodman* followed him to Scotland, where we find him in September; while it is as certain that *Coverdale and Cole*, *Pullain and Bodleigh*, returned to England in the same year.[5] The only three left, therefore, were Whit-

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[3] Wood's Athenæ, 4to, i., p. 447.

[4] Strype's Life of Grindal.

[5] Wood's Athenæ, &c. That COVERDALE and KNOX, the most conspicuous of those who now left Geneva, could not have been engaged with this translation, may be made more evident. COVERDALE, as already mentioned, had left England in February 1555, and went direct to Denmark, where the King would have sustained him; but bent on being useful, he went first to his expatriated countrymen at Wesel in the duchy of Cleves. Being, however, acquainted with German, and having formerly ministered to a church at Bergzabern, in Bavaria, there he sojourned; the first time his name is to be found any where else is at Geneva, on the 15th of December 1558. Now, as the Bible was begun nearly a year *before* this, and as he so soon took his departure for England, some casual or passing advice was the utmost that his time afforded. The same thing is equally evident with regard to JOHN KNOX. He had gone to Frankfort from Geneva in 1554, where he first met with Whittingham, when by the unanimous suffrages of his brethren he was chosen pastor of the church. It was in March following, that he was unceremoniously ejected by Dr. Cox and his supporters, just arrived from England. By the 12th of June 1555, Knox had returned to Geneva. It was then only, and on the borders of 50, that he *first began to study Hebrew;* but in August he left Geneva for Scotland, and was in Edinburgh by November. In the spring of 1556 we find him in Ayrshire, at Edinburgh again in May, which he left, with his family, in July, for France, proceeding by Dieppe to Geneva. But by March 1557, he was anxious to return to Edinburgh, and had gone to Dieppe in October, where he remained two months, returning, however, to Geneva early in 1558, when the Geneva Bible was already undertaken. The English Church at Geneva had chosen two pastors. Knox was one of them, and Anthony Gilby had ministered in his place when absent. But even now, throughout 1558, Scotland still dwelt on his mind, as it was in this year he penned his letter to the Queen Regent, as well as his Appellation and Exhortation. By November of this year, indeed, letters from his native country had arrived, urging his return, and he left Geneva for the last time in January 1559; Whittingham having been ordained as his successor.

tingham, Gilby and Sampson, and with their names *only* the translation should have been associated; since the men who completed "the greater part," must have been those by whom it had been begun. Many of their brethren, indeed, they tell us, "*put* them on this work by their earnest desire and exhortation;" while others encouraged them "not to spare *any charge* for the furtherance of such a benefit and favour of God toward his Church."

Although we cannot now notice every edition here, but refer to our list, yet as the *only* English Bible distinctly pointed out in any patent, from Elizabeth downwards, and especially as the basis of so many editions for above eighty years to come, this demands some farther notice.

Title.—"THE BIBLE AND HOLY SCRIPTURES conteyned in the Olde and Newe Testament. Translated according to the Ebrue and Greke, and conferred with the best translations in divers langages. With moste profitable annotations upon all the harde places, and other thinges of great importance as may appeare in the Epistle to the Reader." Beneath is a wood-cut, of the Israelites passing through the red sea. "At Geneva. Printed by Rouland Hall, MDLX." *Collation.*—After a dedication to the Queen, and an Epistle to the Readers, about to be noticed, we have the text from Genesis to 2d Maccabees, fol. i., 474. "The Newe Testament of our Lord Jesus Christ," &c., with the same wood-cut and imprint as before. "The Holy Gospel," &c., fol. ii., cxxii. A table of interpretation of proper names—of principal things—the years from Adam to Christ—and the years from Paul's conversion. There is no Colophon. The Sacred text is in Roman, the contents of chapters in Italic type. A full page contains 63 lines.

Not at all aware, perhaps, of the cautious expediency by which the Queen of England was now guided, they subjoined a dedication to her Majesty, remarkably free from that fulsome adulation, which had been far too common, and expressing with great frankness their zeal for further progress in the cause of truth and righteousness. But there was a *second* address or "Epistle," still more worthy of notice. In what they had done, the translators now fixed an eye of sympathy and love, not upon *England* alone, but, taking a nobler flight, upon all those to whom the English language was *vernacular*. Such was the happy effect of *adversity* and *travel;* the one softening, the other enlarging their minds. Their epistle of explanation, therefore, as to this version, is addressed to no

Returning by Dieppe, he landed at Leith on the 2d of May. To say nothing, therefore, of Knox's but recent attention to Hebrew, it is evident from these movements, that, however interested, *he* could never have been engaged with this new version of the Bible.

particular party; but—"To our beloved in the Lord; the brethren of England, Scotland, and Ireland." A most judicious title, and if there must be any Epistle to the Christian Reader at all, it would have been well for the interests of the United Kingdom had the words been preserved *inviolate* from that day to this. Amidst all that has occurred since, it is the *only* one to which no objection worth notice, could, or can, be brought; to say nothing of its being so akin to the simple majesty of the Divine Record, and to that only light in which God has regarded the entire number of his people, in this highly favoured country, all along.

The last sheet of this Bible having been committed to the press on the 10th of April 1560, Whittingham, Gilby, and Sampson returned home immediately; but of all the men already mentioned, there was one, who had not only fostered the translation when proceeding at Geneva, but was specially interested in its circulation throughout England, immediately afterwards, and he must not now be passed over. Bodeleigh or Bodley is a name that one should have imagined would not have escaped notice, as it has generally done.[6]

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[6] Neither Foxe, Burnet, or Strype, Mr. Todd or Mr. Whittaker, give us any information. Lewis glances at him as *one* John Bodleigh; and Mr. Townley, in his valuable "Biblical Literature," after some notice of all these men, closes by saying—"Of John Bodleigh no account has been obtained." Of the three men who returned last, it may here be added, that they never appear to have made any public statement respecting the good work in which they had engaged; leaving the translation to be estimated by its own merits. At one period or another, in future life, all the three seem to have been befriended by Henry Hastings, Earl of Huntingdon. As for Gilby, he lived and died at an advanced age, as Rector of Ashby-de-la-Zouche, the gift of this nobleman. Whittingham's talents we have mentioned as of the first order. This partly appeared as soon as he returned home. He was immediately nominated to accompany the Earl of Bedford on a mission to the Court of France, and on his return went with the Earl of Warwick, through whose influence with Elizabeth he was chosen Dean of Durham. Soon after this, his character and abilities being known and acknowledged, when Sir W. Cecil, Principal Secretary of State, was made Lord Treasurer, Whittingham was thought of, and according to A. Wood, (who was no admirer of course), actually nominated among others to succeed him. Whittingham, however, was not in the least anxious for Court favour, and remained where he was, at Durham. Neither he, nor his two friends, were ever reconciled to the dress imposed by authority on the clergy, and in several things, like Coverdale, never conformed; but it was not until near the close of his life that Whittingham was molested. This had reference to the validity of his *ordination*. He had, it is true, been only an eminent Christian scholar, till he went to Geneva the second time, where he was called to the ministry by the unanimous suffrage of his brethren, and was then ordained, precisely as John Knox had been before him. Edwin Sandys, though himself once also an exile, was now Archbishop of York, and with 35 articles, and 49 interrogatories, he now fell upon the Dean; but the chief charge related to his Geneva ordination. Whittingham denied the power of Sandys to visit Durham at all, and appealed to Elizabeth. But her commission being addressed to Hastings, Earl of Huntingdon, as Lord President of the North, and to Hutton, Dean of York, &c., as well as to the Archbishop, the two former were warm in favour of Whittingham. On one occasion, the Dean of York made no scruple in telling Sandys, though his own superior, that Whittingham was "ordained in a better manner than the Archbishop himself." After two attempts to visit, they alike failed, and our translator died soon after, on the 10th of June 1579; or twenty-two years after his New Testament was finished at press. Sampson, after his return, was offered the See of Norwich by the Queen, but he declined, and in Michaelmas 1561 was elected Dean of

John Bodley, Esq., was a native of Exeter, according to the statement of his own son. "In the time of Queen Mary," he says, "after being cruelly threatened and narrowly observed, by those that maliced his religion, for the safety of himself and my mother, (formerly Miss Joan Hone, an heiress in the hundred of Ottery St. Mary,) who was wholly affected as my father, knew no way so secure as to fly into Germany; where, after a while, he found means to call over my mother, with all his children and family, whom he settled for a while at Wesel in Cleveland, and from thence we removed to the town of Frankfort. Howbeit, we made no long tarriance in either of these towns, for that my father had resolved to fix his abode in the city of Geneva, where, as far as I remember, the English Church consisted of *some hundred* members." Here it was that the father first took that deep interest in the Geneva Bible, which comes before us presently, and here too it was that *this* son acquired that taste for literature and books, for which so many generations, ever since, have had such reason to revere his memory. For who was this son? No other than Thomas, afterwards Sir Thomas Bodley, who, under his father's care, spent from his twelfth to his fifteenth year in Geneva, and then studying Greek and Hebrew, as well as other subjects under the best teachers. On returning home, his father in 1559 or 1560 placed him in Magdalene College under Mr. Laurence Humphry, and in six years after, at the age of twenty-one, he was reading publicly a Greek lecture in Merton Hall, or the College of Wickliffe. The founder of the *Bodleian*, one of the most magnificent of all libraries, at home or abroad, is annually remembered by a solemn speech in the schools; and certainly on the day when the visitation of the library is held, all petty prejudice aside, Geneva may well be glanced at, as the spot where the seeds of learning were first sown in the founder's mind, and his taste for literature was first implanted. At all events, whatever be done or said at Oxford, in the *present* day, let not the zeal of his worthy Father be forgotten elsewhere, on behalf of the Sacred Volume itself, and that in a translation which was read in the *families* both of England and Scotland, for more than half a century to come.

Although, however, these exiles had completed their translation of the Bible, and borne the charge, it by no means followed that the book should be forthwith admitted into Eng-

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Christ Church, Oxford. In the application to Elizabeth on his behalf, subscribed by twenty men of letters, they say that they found "none to be compared to him, and it was very doubtful whether there was a better man, a greater *linguist*, a more complete scholar, or profound divine." Yet in four years after he was removed, and simply for non-conformity as to *dress;* the mere garb of the man being regarded as a superior consideration to all others. On the 13th of September 1570, he was collated to the prebend of Pancras in St. Paul's, thus occupying to his death the same stall which *Robert Ridley and John Rogers* had done before him. Though much disabled by palsy for the last fifteen years of his life, yet as master of the hospital at Leicester, he was of great service; where he died 9th April 1599, aged 72.

land, and more especially by authority. They had laboured "night and day," indeed, but though so zealous, this was a point yet to be ascertained. The New Testament of 1557 had been secretly introduced, but it was then an interdicted book—it had not since been recognised as lawful, and already we have witnessed the extreme caution of the reigning Queen. Besides, there was a translation under the name of Matthew, and, above all, of Cranmer, both of whom had been once, or already sanctioned; while this new version had been accomplished by men, who, like Tyndale of old, had been obliged to fly the kingdom. But, notwithstanding, the time had come for the Geneva book to be admitted, and this was as soon as it was finished; only all these circumstances render its reception at the moment more worthy of notice. On returning to our native land, while not one word has yet been said as to any reprint of *Cranmer*, and in the face of John Cawood and Richard Jugge having been already appointed *her Majesty's printers*, the first distinct notice of the Geneva Bible having arrived in England is by no less than a patent from the Queen, granted in favour of John Bodeleigh already mentioned.[7]

"Elizabeth, &c.—To all manner of printers, booksellers, &c.—We do you to understand, that of our grace special, we have granted and given privilege and license, and by these presents for us, our heirs, and successors, do grant, and give privilege and license, unto our well beloved subject John Bodeleigh, and to his assignes, for the term of *seven* years next ensuing the date hereof, to imprint, or cause to be imprinted, *the English Bible, with Annotations, faithfully translated and finished in this present year of our Lord God, a thousand, five hundred and three score*, and dedicated to us; straitly forbidding and commanding, as well printers and booksellers as other persons, within our realms and dominions, in any manner of wise, to imprint, or cause to be imprinted, any of the foresaid English Bibles, that the said John Bodeleigh shall, by the authority of this our license, imprint, or cause to be imprinted, or any part of them, but only the said John Bodeleigh and his assignes; and that every offender shall forfeit to our use forty shillings, of lawful money of England, for every such Bible at any time so printed, and all such books to be forfeited, &c. In witness whereof, &c. 8th Jan. 1560-1561."[8]

Whether this patent was of much advantage to the patentee is at present of secondary moment; but it forcibly reminds us

7 Cawood had been appointed by Mary her printer for *life*. Elizabeth sustained the appointment, but joined Richard Jugge along with him, to print either separately or together. But till the year 1577, or sixteen years later, the printing of Bibles and Testaments was *common to all printers* who took out a license. See Lansdowne MS. 48, No. 78, and the subsequent pages, where the subject will be more fully explained.

8 Their year of 1560 ran on to the 25th of March.

of Henry VIII., in the year 1537. It presents Elizabeth before us, now *at the first call* from abroad, and without any hesitation, herself opening the way for the general circulation of this Bible throughout her dominions, for seven years to come. Little did the exiles imagine, when flying abroad for *their* lives, that one grand intended purpose was the improvement of the Book of *Life* itself, and that no sooner should *that* be finished, than it should be at once, and so received! Both Philip and Mary had thus, unconsciously, been pushing forward the cause they wished to destroy, and Elizabeth, however imperative at other moments, or however cautious, must not now stand in the way.

But is this the selfsame Queen who spake so warily before all her courtiers, less than a year ago? It is the same. Her reign was the commencement of a new era, in many respects; but, in the present case, one is forcibly reminded of another, in the reign of her father, twenty-four years ago, and the analogy is not faint. As only *eleven* months had elapsed between Henry's winking at the martyrdom of Tyndale and the royal sanction of his translation, so only *eleven* months had now passed between the evasive or cautious reply of his daughter and her royal patent. Both volumes had been prepared upon foreign ground, and both in the face of clouds and darkness, or the frown of the reigning government; yet the second is now come into England, as did the first, by the declared consent of the Sovereign. Henry had not read the Bible he sanctioned, nor had his daughter assuredly examined the present volume. In this second instance, however, there is equal, if not superior, emphasis. The present Sovereign, no less arbitrary and inflexible, was far more quicksighted and vigilant than her father. It has been said that "her eye was everywhere," and as far as free inquiry through the medium of the press was concerned, the reader may now form his own opinion, as to whether it had ever been in a more singular state or more guarded, since the introduction of the art into England. One of the injunctions which the Queen's Majesty had recently issued was the following:—

"*Item*, Because there is a great abuse in the printers of books, which for covetousness regard not what they print, so they may have gain, whereby ariseth great disorder, by publication of unfruitful, vain, and infamous books and papers; the Queen's Majesty straitly chargeth and commandeth, that no manner of person shall print any manner of *Book or paper, of what sort, nature, or in what-*

soever language it be, except the same be first licensed by her Majesty, by express words in writing, or by *six of her Privy Council*, or be perused and licensed by the *Archbishops of Canterbury and York, the Bishop of London, the Chancellors of both Universities, the Bishop being Ordinary, and the Archdeacon also of the place*, where any such shall be printed, or by two of them, whereof the Ordinary of the place to be always one, and that the names of such as shall allow the same be added at the end of every such work, for a testimony of the allowance thereof, &c. And touching all other books of matters of *religion* that hath been printed, either on this side the seas, or *the other side*, because the diversity of them is great, and that there needeth good consideration to be had of the *particularities* thereof, her Majesty referreth the prohibition, or the permission thereof to the order which her Commissioners within the city of London shall take and notify.[9] According to the which her Majesty strictly commandeth all manner her subjects, and specially the Wardens and Company of Stationers, to be obedient."[10]

Under these circumstances, the patent granted to Mr. Bodley for the Geneva Bible, with annotations, must appear, in its true light, as not a little extraordinary. Here, as it had happened before under Henry VIII., no reference could have been made, either to Parliament or to the Convocation, for they did not assemble for two years to come; nor was there any reference to the Privy Council, much less to such Commissioners in London. As Crumwell formerly at once obtained Henry's admission of Tyndale's Bible, without the King being aware of what he was doing, so some one now, perhaps Cecil, had gained the assent of Elizabeth. Such, however, was the fact. The Bible, completed by these exiles, being intended for English eyes, the habitual caution of the Queen must be laid aside, and her *first* official act in reference to the Scriptures, sanction its printing in England, and that without the slightest reference to any Bible *previously* admitted or sanctioned by her father or brother.

As already stated, the expense of the Geneva Bible of 1560 had been defrayed by the English Church in that city, but there had been an edi-

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[9] The supremacy now granted to the Queen, gave her power to depute any persons to exercise it in her name whom she chose to appoint, and this gave rise to a court, but too well known afterwards—*the High Commission Court*. It exercised the same power which had been lodged by her father in the person of one man, Crumwell, as Vicegerent and Vicar-General. It continued throughout the whole of the present reign, and for two in succession, or till its deeds had rendered its very name odious. On being dissolved by Parliament, the Act declared that "No such jurisdiction should be revived for the future in any court." But whatever may be said of the Commissioners now appointed, Elizabeth's patent was *her own* deed.

[10] The "Company of Stationers" had reference to the preceding reign, a creation of Philip and Mary's. On the 4th May 1556 they had appointed "the Stationers' Company," including printers and booksellers in London, to the number of ninety-seven. The Company had been talked of loosely, from the days of Wynken de Worde; but there was no *charter* granted before this; and what was the leading object in then doing so? To prevent "the renewal and propagating very great and detestable heresies against the faith and sound Catholic doctrine of Holy Mother the Church." Under that reign, this language was perfectly *intelligible*; but what meant Elizabeth? On the 10th of November, or two months before granting her patent to Bodley, Elizabeth confirmed the Stationers' charter in these words:—"We ratifying and allowing the foresaid letters, *and all and every thing* contained therein, do, as much as in us lies, accept and approve them *for ourselves*, our heirs, and successors, and do ratify and confirm them to our beloved Reynold Wolfe, now the master of the foresaid mystery," &c.—See Herbert's Ames, vol. iii., pp. 1590-1600.

tion of the New Testament in 16mo, suitable for the pocket, and in both of these Mr. Bodley, as a member of that Church, had borne his share. By the day on which his patent was granted, however, a second edition of the Bible, in folio, was far advanced at Geneva, and finished by the 10th of April 1561, or precisely one year after the former. For this book he seems to have been personally or chiefly responsible; and the patent, applied for and obtained, would aid him in the sale. Rowland Hall, the former printer, having returned home, had by this time begun business in England, so that he had no concern in this folio; and probably, from prudential motives, owing to the critical state of the times, *no* printer's name was affixed to it.

Such was the commencement of those numerous editions of the Geneva version which followed, not only during the long reign of Elizabeth, but down to nearly the middle of the next century. As for the present moment, placed in circumstances the most critical, but surrounded by men of high renown as politicians, a Prince more potent had never swayed the sceptre of England; only we have yet to see whether Elizabeth had power sufficient, either to control, or in the slightest degree regulate, the stream of Divine Truth which in a few years flowed over the land; or, in other words, whether the public opinion and taste, as to the translation of the Sacred Word, was influenced by regal authority or not.

After that two editions had been executed abroad, besides two of the New Testament in a separate form, it was certainly time for the English printers to bestir themselves; and the man who had printed for Queen *Mary* all along, John Cawood, must be allowed to take the lead. He had changed with the times, and now came forward with an edition of Cranmer's Bible in quarto; while Richard Jugge, silent since the days of Edward, now gave two editions of the New Testament, one of Tyndale's, and, it has been affirmed, one of Coverdale's. Richard Harrison, too, though *not* printer to her Majesty, having obtained license, had printed an edition of Cranmer's Testament.[11] Thus, and before the year 1561 had expired, it is curious enough, the people had Tyndale and Coverdale, Cranmer and the Geneva version all before them. Seven

[11] Whoever printed, it was necessary to obtain a license, of which, however, be it observed, there were at present two descriptions, viz., one from the Crown, another from the Stationers Company. Harrison, in 1562, printing a second Testament, had disregarded even the latter. "Hence," says Herbert, "it appears that he printed two editions at least of the *New* Testament. But doing this without license, he was fined viii. *sh.*"

years must pass away before another competitor appears; but this will be no other than Parker's or the Bishops' Bible, and the result remains to be seen. These, even including Parker's Bible, it must be borne in mind, were, without exception, personal undertakings, or affairs managed with certain *stationers* —that is, printers or booksellers for the time being, the license granted for every single edition being applied for to secure the parties against loss by their outlay of capital. The different *versions* were like so many candidates for public choice, or so many feelers, put forth through an all-wise, overruling Providence, leaving time to discover *which* was to prevail, as esteemed by the readers to be the best, or nearest to the Divine original.

But before referring to the Bible of Parker in 1568, there were intervening events not unworthy of notice. In the year 1562, an edition of Cranmer's Bible appeared, the first in *folio* under Elizabeth: and it is worthy of notice, that this came from *neither* of her Majesty's printers, but from the press of Richard Harrison, already mentioned.[12]

A pause of four years succeeded, before any other Bible appeared, when Mr. Bodley comes before us, and once more calling attention to the subject. The Geneva Bible, it must be remembered, was not much read in public assemblies, or at least not understood to be so, so that there could be but little demand from them; but it had proved such a favourite in *family* reading, that the two editions, already noticed, had been exhausted. In 1565 Bodley was preparing for a new impression; and by March the next year, a careful review and correction being finished, this zealous man, anxious to print upon English ground, wished to *renew* his privilege beyond the seven years first granted. With this view he applied to Sir William Cecil; but Parker's Bible being already in hands, the cautious Secretary suspended all reply, till

[12] Lewis has led to a mistake sometimes made, that there were *two* editions of *this* year. Dr. Gifford upon his copy now in the Bristol Museum, had written as follows:—"This seems to have been the first Bible printed in folio, in Q. Elizabeth's reign, and agrees with that edition of the Great Bible printed in 1541, oversene by the Bishops of Dureme and Rochester, which I call the sixth, seventh, or eighth edition. Though it is the same date at the beginning and end, and the same printer, and has the same title-page, and has both the callender and prologue with that described by Lewis, p. 213, yet it is doubtless a *different* edition—from its having quite a different title-page in the *New Testament*." The title, says Lewis, of the New Testament runs thus:—"The New Testament in English after the last recognition and setting forth of Erasmus;" that in Dr. Gifford's Bible being "The New Testament in English translated after the Greek." But, says an intelligent correspondent of the author—"I have no doubt that the copy from which Lewis took his description, had been made up with a New Testament title, or perhaps more, from the Cranmer's Bible printed by Petyt and Redman for Berthelet, 1540,—the title of which is the same with that which he quotes. Singularly enough, when I bought my copy of Berthelet, 1540, the first leaf of Matthew was from 'the edition of Harrison, 1562, with which it reads word for word,'" After this there can be no question that there was only *one* edition of the BIBLE, though apparently two of the New Testament.

he had consulted the Archbishop, and Grindal, Bishop of London. They both replied ; Parker himself writing to the Secretary, that—

" He and the Bishop of London thought so well of the first impression of this Bible, and the review of those who had since travelled therein, that they wished it would please him to be a means, that *twelve* years' longer term, might be by special privilege granted to Bodleigh, in consideration of the charges sustained by him and his associates in the *first* impression, and the review since : that though another special Bible for the *Churches* were meant by them to be set forth, as convenient time and leisure hereafter should permit ; yet should it nothing hinder, but rather do much good to have diversity of translations and readings. And that if the license hereafter to be made went simply forth, *without proviso of their* oversight, as they thought it might so pass well enough ; (and as it will be remembered every license had so done,) yet they told the Secretary, that *they* would take such order with the party, *in writing under his hand*, that *no* impression should pass, *but by their direction, consent, and advice!* Dated ' Lambeth, 9th March 1565,' *i. e.* 1566."[13]

The condition here proposed, was exactly the same for which the Bishops as a body had panted all along. It was this " direction or control" which they had been aiming at, ever and anon, from the beginning, though never permitted to enjoy it. As now offered for acceptance, and in such a singular style by PARKER ; in the page of history it serves for a striking contrast to the *non-interference* of CRANMER, throughout the entire reign of Edward, when he possessed double the power which Parker ever did. But if the condition or proviso itself excites notice, how much more the manner in which he proposed to enforce it ? The Queen is here understood to act, precisely as she had done before, nay, as *likely* to do so. Suppose then, that, without reference to any Bishop, or any restriction whatever, Elizabeth, under her sign-manual, granted the privilege requested. Then was to come the Archbishop, and stepping between her Majesty and her patentee, he proposes to " take order from Mr. Bodley, *in writing*," that *no* impression shall pass, but by " the direction, consent, and advice" of himself and his brethren ! Where, then, lay any advantage in applying to her Majesty ? Was the Archbishop about to make so little account as this of the royal authority ? Or did he not perceive the illegality of his proposed step ? Under a Sovereign so alive to her supremacy, he might have found the course proposed, to have been rather dangerous—only he was now saved all farther trouble. The idea of such a rider on his royal privilege, once communicated to Bodley, seems to have been quite sufficient, for after this date, we hear not one word more of the patent ; and the Geneva translation must be printed again and again, without one being either *asked* or *granted !* After all that had passed in England, the proviso specified was one, to which subjection could be yielded,

[13] Strype's Life of Parker.

no, not for an hour. Neither Matthew's Bible, when first imported, nor Taverner's, or Cranmer's afterwards, when first printed, had ever been subjected to the "direction, consent, and advice of the Bishops;" and Mr. Bodley, however zealous, had no idea of the Geneva version being made an exception. By Cecil's caution, indeed, most cordial approbation of the translation itself, as well as of the present "review," had been drawn forth in writing, under the hand of both Parker and Grindal, and so far all was well; but if their "direction, consent, and advice" are to be imposed, then the "review," as it stood, must be sent as far distant as Geneva, and the Bible be printed in the city from whence it first issued. There was an ingenious and learned printer, John Crespin or Crispin, who still lingered behind, and printed there from 1556 to 1570.[14] Accordingly, as soon as Archbishop Parker was ready with his Bible in 1568, if not before, another edition of the Geneva Bible, from the press of this man, was finished, as well as an additional impression of the New Testament, both in quarto.

This, however, was not for more than two years to come; and the printing of the Scriptures must not be suspended, no, not for one day. Already indeed two printing presses were fully occupied. An edition of Cranmer, in folio, for public reading was wanted, and it was time for the Book to be brought into a more portable shape. Accordingly, we have two other fine instances of individual enterprise, one even in France, the other in London, and both of them equally independent of the Archbishop, or either of her Majesty's printers.

About twenty-eight years ago, or in 1538, the reader cannot fail to remember an edition of Matthew's Bible being commenced under Coverdale's inspection at Paris, which however had to be finished in London. But if the state of France was unpropitious to such an attempt then, it seemed to have been much more so now. There happened, however, to be a short pause in the civil wars which for forty years had desolated that fine country. The King of Navarre had been killed at a siege, the Duke of Guise assassinated, and fifty thousand Hugonots already slain. Elizabeth, for her own safety's sake, had aided this people; and in 1563 a peace was concluded which lasted till 1567. A gentleman, then living at Rouen in Normandy, belonging to the customs, and of good repute, resolved to seize the opportunity here presented him; and *at*

[14] Crispin, a native of Arras in France, originally clerk to Charles du Moulin, and admitted advocate to the parliament of Paris, having formed a friendship with Beza, retired to Geneva, where he gained reputation by his printing, till his death by the plague in 1572. He was author of a Greek Lexicon, *Geneva* 1574, reprinted in London 1581, 4to.

his own cost and charges, committed to the press an edition of Cranmer's Bible in folio. This is a very fine book, on royal paper, printed "at Rouen by C. Hamilton, *cum privilegio*, 1566." This gentleman, Richard Carmarden, the frequent correspondent of Cecil, as in the Lansdowne manuscripts, was afterwards in the London Custom House, and living as late as the year 1599.[15]

The other instance referred to, at home, was no other than the last edition printed by the same man, who in the midst of actual pestilence, and with but doubtful prospect of success, *first* brought the Bible of 1537 into England, Richard Grafton. He had weathered the storm in Mary's reign, and now saw his old virulent enemy, Bonner, still living, but under general contempt, and in prison. Though advanced in life, Grafton ventured on an edition of Cranmer's Bible, evidently intended for family use. It was the *first* edition of the English Bible in *one volume octavo;* and seems to have been a very large impression. At least there is a passage in the annals of Queen Elizabeth, by Sir James Ware, the Irish Camden, which, if correct, could bear upon no other than the present octavo Bible. "In the year 1566," says he, "John Dale, a bookseller, imported seven thousand copies of the Bible from London, and sold the whole, in Ireland, within two years." What a singular contrast to so many succeeding years! But it would be a circumstance no less memorable, if the very same individual who first brought the Sacred Volume into *England* in 1537, should, before his death, have been the first employed in printing it even for *Ireland* itself. Accordingly, there does not appear to be one copy left in the possession of any private collector, or public library, on this side of the channel, nor have we heard, whether there be one left in Ireland.[16]

At last, in 1568, or the tenth year after Elizabeth had

[15] In the Bibl. Harl. No. 172, there is an edition of this Bible dated 1562, which has been inserted by Herbert; but this appears to be a clerical error for 1566, or it may have been *presumed* from a copy without the title, as the *Almanac* prefixed, begins at 1561.

[16] This eminent printer, GRAFTON, as the first who brought the Bible into England, is never to be forgotten. After which he continued to employ the press in London, at intervals, for nearly thirty-five years. His fine printing may be traced on nearly 150 distinct pieces; of which about 65 were the chief, and of these the Bible in folio was the *first*, and the Bible in octavo the *last*. By a fall, when far advanced in life, he had his leg broken in two places, which ever after lamed him. Of his sickness, death, and burial no account is left, nor is there any notice of him later than the year 1572. EDWARD WHITCHURCH, his partner from 1537 to 1541, who afterwards printed separately, is said to have married the widow of Cranmer; but he is not to be traced later than 1560.

ascended the throne, the first edition of the Bible, superintended by Parker, Archbishop of Canterbury, was published. Great care had been taken in this revision of the text, by more than fifteen learned men, Greek and Hebrew scholars, besides Parker himself, who superintended the several portions, as they came from the hands of those to whom he had committed them.

The *Pentateuch* was consigned to W. E. or William Alley, Bishop of Exeter; *Joshua, Judges and Ruth,* to R. M. or Richard Davies of St. Davids, who had previously been engaged in translating the Bible into Welsh; *Samuel, the Kings and Chronicles* were assigned to Edwyn Sandys of Worcester; *Ezra, Nehemiah, Esther and Job,* to A. P. C. or Andrew Pearson, Prebendary of Canterbury; the *Psalms* to T. B. or Thomas Bentham of Litchfield and Coventry; the *Proverbs* to A. P. C.; *Ecclesiastes and Solomon's Song,* to A. P. E. or Andrew Perne, Dean of Ely; *Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Lamentations* to R. W. or Robert Horn of Winchester; *Ezekiel and Daniel* to T. C. L. or Thomas Cole, once at Geneva, afterwards Dean of Lincoln; the *minor Prophets* to E. L. or Edmunde Grindel of London; the *Apocrypha* to J. N. or John Parkhurst of Norwich; the *four Gospels and the Acts,* to R. E. or Richard Cox of Ely; the *Romans* to Edmund Guest of Rochester; the *Corinthians* to G. G. or Gabriel Goodman, Dean of Westminster. Mr. Laurence, a learned Grecian, was also engaged, with one or two other individuals. From the majority of these men being on the Bench, this translation has been styled "the Bishops' Bible," the initials above mentioned, being printed at the end of their respective parts.

Parker had now at last accomplished that which Cranmer had attempted in vain, or a version of the English Bible, generally revised from the preceding, in conjunction with certain brethren on the Bench, and other scholars. It was a decided improvement on the whole. They had watched Cranmer's or Coverdale's leaning to the Vulgate; they expunged the three verses from the fourteenth Psalm, which the latter first inserted at Paris, and in Timothy, they altered Cranmer's rendering "by authority of *the priesthood*" to that of "the eldership," besides other amendments of the text.

This Bible, as presented to the Queen, was by far the most splendid that had ever been printed, containing not fewer than 143 engravings in copper or wood, of maps, portraits, and coats of arms. The portraits include one of Elizabeth on the title; one of Dudley, Earl of Leicester, at the beginning of Joshua; and one of Cecil, afterwards Lord Burleigh, at the Psalms. In short, Parker had left nothing undone to secure the favour of his royal mistress; and yet one is immediately struck with several points of contrast between this book, and those large Bibles put forth under Elizabeth's father. Parker had certainly paid far more attention to this edition, than Cranmer had ever done to any, or to all of

his put together ; but whether it arose from jealousy of prelatic authority in the reigning Princess, or any other cause, his name must not be emblazoned on the title-page like Cranmer's, nor indeed anywhere else, throughout the volume. The primate, indeed, had slipped his paternal arms, empaled with those of Christ Church, Canterbury, into an initial letter T at the genealogical table in the Old Testament, and at the preface to the New ; and his brethren, by his orders, had placed their initials only, at the end of their several parts, as already noted, but there must be nothing more. The book was beautifully executed by Richard Jugge, with the customary addition to his colophon—" Cum privilegio Regiæ Majestatis," but without any token whatever of Elizabeth's peculiar preference. There is here no dedication to the Queen Regnant, and to crown all, the simplicity of the titles is a very marked feature of the book. They are—" THE HOLIE BIBLE, *conteyning the Olde Testament and the New*." " *The New Testament of our Saviour Jesus Christe*,"—nothing more. In short, so far from the royal smile having been already obtained, some protection must be implored for Jugge, lest any one else should print the version ! These circumstances only invite farther explanation.

It has been long erroneously supposed that this revision was UNDERTAKEN *by Royal command*. Le Long had said as much, (and others have blindly followed him), but it was on no higher authority than the mere assertion of Arnold Boot, the Dutch physician. There is not only no direct proof, but the evidence presented forbids any such idea. When the book was finished in the autumn of 1568, Parker was in such poor health, that he " dared not adventure" to wait upon the Queen personally. He therefore addressed her by an inclosure, on the 5th of October, directed under cover to Sir William Cecil, Principal Secretary to the Queen's Majesty, &c., when, if Elizabeth had ever laid her commands upon him, he could not have so expressed himself. He prays, through Cecil, that her Majesty's " gracious favour, license, and protection to be communicated abroad," may be extended to this " recognition of the Bible,"—" not varying much from that translation which was commonly used by public order, except where the verity of the Hebrew and Greek moved alteration, or where the text was, by some negligence, mutilated from the original." He begs this gracious favour of her Majesty, " not only as many churches want their books, as that in certain places be *publicly used* some translations *which have not been laboured in her realm;*" plainly alluding to the Geneva book, now being read, not only in private but in public. When presenting this Bible, here bound in a style fit for Royalty to accept, Parker intreats that Cecil will apologise to the Queen for his " disability in not coming himself ;" informing him that the *initials* of the assistants concerned was a policy of *his own*, to make the parties " more diligent, as answerable for their doings." He

intreats his honour to obtain of the Queen's Highness a license for this version, "to be *only* commended in public reading in churches, to draw to one uniformity," and "that Jugge, only, may have the preferment of this edition; for if any other should *lurche* him, to steal from him these copies, he were a great loser in this first doing."[17]

Such were the letters of Parker, to which there seems to have been no written reply, at least there is none extant; while subsequent events prove that the requests as preferred were *not* granted. At the very moment in which the requests were made, the same printer was issuing Cranmer's version as "The Bible in English," having the words —"*according to the translation appointed to be read in the churches*," on its title, and his fellow printer Cawood did the same thing *next* year. While, on the other hand, the same simplicity of title-page, as that which we have quoted, continued on all the editions of Parker as long as he lived. He expired on the 17th of May 1575, but on the editions of 1569, 1570, 1572, or the second folio with only 30 engravings; on that of 1573 in quarto, of which there is a splendid presentation copy in Lambeth Library, painted and richly bound in five volumes;[18] and finally in the third folio of 1574 without engravings, there is no indication of any advance in point of royal privilege or authority. Cranmer's version had been long pointed out in the title-page as "appointed to be read" in public, but Parker's version never as yet. Moreover, in this the very year of that primate's death, we have the decided evidence that no exclusive privilege had been granted to the printer for whom he had interceded. Jugge, it may be remembered, had been aiming after a monopoly for printing the New Testament, under Edward, but failed in it.[19] Now, however, he was actually "printer to the Queen's Majesty," and that since 1560; but this, then, as ever before, lent to him no exclusive privilege, and hence the application of Parker through Cecil.[20] But if the Archbishop had failed in obtaining the royal authority for his revision of the Bible to be the only one used in public worship; so neither had he succeeded in obtaining his request on behalf of Mr. Jugge. The proof of this is to be seen in the edition of Parker's version, printing at the season of the primate's death.

This Bible deserves particular notice, otherwise the book may be mis-

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[17] See the letters by Parker, among the collection of Eccles. Papers in the State Paper Office. They have been printed by Mr. Pettigrew in the Sussex Descriptive Catalogue.

[18] The author is not aware whether the Bible first sent to Elizabeth be in existence; but after examining these volumes in the Lambeth Library, they seemed to almost warrant the supposition of another effort on the part of the Archbishop. The book has been mistaken for an edition of *Cranmer*.

[19] See before, page 242, *note*.

[20] To Cecil's *prudence* indeed, he left the whole affair. "I have caused one booke to be bound, as ye see, which I heartily pray you to present favourably to the Queen's Majesty, with your friendly excuse of my disability, in not coming myself. I have also written to the Queen's Majesty, the copy whereof I have sent you, the rather to use *your opportunity* of delivery, if your prudence shall *not think them tolerable*." After such language, it is certain that there had been no royal command on the subject.

taken, as it actually has been, for so many as six separate editions, in the same year. It is a very pretty volume, in small folio. On certain titles will be found "Printed by Richard Jugge," but on others "*printed by Richard Kele*,"—*by* John Walley, *by* Lucas Harrison, *by* John Judson, or *by* William Norton. It was evidently a joint undertaking, Jugge being able to bear nothing more than his own share, though most probably the printer of the whole impression. They are, without exception, the same book, having only different titles, and the last leaf answers equally for them all. Here, it is curious enough, were printers or booksellers, who had lived under four successive Sovereigns, all grouped together. Kele, if not Walley, under *Henry* VIII; Jugge, under *Edward;* Judson, under *Mary;* Harrison and Norton, under *Elizabeth,* and all equally concerned in *one* book, one BIBLE. This edition, in short, was analogous to that of 1551, under Edward. These five men had borne their proportions, along with Jugge, in the expense or cost of this large impression, and their names, therefore, *must be so* inserted in the title. At this moment a more striking instance could not have occurred in proof, that, as yet, *the printing of the Sacred Volume was* NO EXCLUSIVE PRIVILEGE OF THE CROWN PRINTER FOR THE TIME BEING, OR OF ANY OTHER.

As far, however, as printing editions could carry it, all justice had now been done to the Bishops' Bible; and backed by the influence of so many men on the Bench, personally interested, it must have been presumed that this book would at last carry the *palm* of superiority, and put not only Cranmer's version out of sight and out of mind, but the Geneva Bible also. Had not Parker completed his task, and even his final corrections? He was now deceased, a circumstance which might be supposed to lend additional interest to his labours; and he had been succeeded by Edmund Grindal, one of the translators actually engaged in the work. The Queen, therefore, if she had any zeal, such as the Bishops desired, seemed to owe it to the Primate's *memory*, that this, and this *alone*, should be the Bible in general use; and so, it may be supposed, certain parties anticipated. Besides, to make this the more probable, there had evidently been some hindrance, if not demur, about allowing the Geneva Bible to be printed at all. We know not whether it was owing to Archbishop Parker's fixed determination to have it under *his* control; but it is certain that while he lived, no edition was printed upon English ground. After Mr. Bodley's attempt, there had, it is true, been three impressions, dated in 1568,

1569, and 1570; but all these had been printed at Geneva. Since 1570 there had been no reprint, and in 1575, the sixteenth year of the reigning Queen had come. By this time, complaint as to the long delay in printing it at home, had been publicly and strongly expressed. "If that Bible," it was said, "be such, as no enemy of God could justly find fault with, then may men marvel that such a work, being so profitable, should find so small favour as not to be printed again."[21]

Such was the state of things in the year when Archbishop Parker expired. With regard to that version of the Bible frequently distinguished by his name, and that which had been accomplished by his expatriated countrymen, matters now stood very much in the same position, as they had done in the days of Henry and Edward, when Tyndale's and Cranmer's versions were before the people of England. The reader, therefore, may be the more curious to inquire, whether the present course of events bore any resemblance to the preceding. The former result under Edward's reign, as to the public choice, we have seen; and seen also Cranmer's memorable non-interference with the public press as to the Scriptures: but Parker, as already witnessed, was a different man. He had indeed very cordially expressed his approbation of the foreign or Geneva production; but this proposal of his, to have every edition under his own "direction, consent, and advice," had formed the boldest possible contrast to his predecessor in the same chair. If, therefore, this "direction and advice" were not now, or rather never to be, conceded, where was there any prospect of the Geneva circulating far and wide, compared with the Bishops' Bible? Besides, though Cranmer had chosen to act with such superiority to all personal prejudice, the slightly altered version was only his own, with Coverdale to assist; so that he had no other man's feelings to consult on the subject; but in the present case, though Parker, the superintendent, be gone, here were at least seven Bishops, and other learned men, possessing the feelings at least of *correctorship*, and living in the favour of their Sovereign. On the other hand, the version imported from abroad, was the production of merely three or four

[21] See "The Troubles of Frankfort."

exiles, by no means ever popular with Government, after their return home. Where then was even the shadow of success for the latter, in comparison with the former? Was Queen Elizabeth, so resolute and so imperative on every other subject, down to the merest trifle, to give way here, and on a subject of such magnitude? Was a sceptre so potent in general, to be powerless here? To these queries, we merely reply—We shall see, presently, and for more than a generation to come.

In the meanwhile, let it be observed, that her Majesty was never applied to again, to license by patent the Geneva Bible. Mr. Bodley's, of course, had expired in 1568; and it may have been on the strength of his expiring patent that the book was edged into England, as it was also into Scotland. If it was now to be printed in London, and far more frequently than any other version; if, after it begins to be so, scarcely a year is to pass without one, or two, or three editions issuing from the press, then this must be brought about in some other way. But if under a government so rigid, so intermeddling, so imperative, there is to be one palpable deviation from all other affairs, throughout the entire reign and beyond it; and one with which neither her Majesty, the Parliament, or Convocation, must ever interfere; it will only confirm what has been so frequently pressed upon our notice—that the history of the Bible had a character of its own, or one by itself, which it steadily retained. Of this before long, the reader will be able to judge for himself; but in such a history as the present, of all the events of the time, whether civil or religious, we know not one that is more worthy of consideration. However imperative in a thousand other things, great and small, there was to be no force applied here. So far as the Queen was concerned, and her authority was paramount to all other, there were to be no "injunctions" that Parker's Bible was to be received into families, or alone read under the domestic roof.[22] Nay, there had positively been none whatever *as yet*, as to its being read in public assembly. The man too, styled "her Majesty's printer," and now, moreover,

22 The only approach to the *domestic* circle was a curious one. It pointed only at the *dignitaries*, and their own Bible, *three* years after its first appearance. In the Convocation of 1571, it was ordered, for it required to be *ordered*, that copies should be provided by all *dignitaries* for their private houses. *Wilkins' Conc.* iv., p. 263.

he *alone*, shall continue, from year to year, to meet the choice and wishes of the people: and though in many other things, connected with their ideas as to the supposed *form* of religion, Elizabeth be determined to have her own way, and so to *cross* their will; one whisper of disapprobation as to *the people's* BIBLE, or its domestic use, and almost universal perusal, shall never be recorded to have escaped from her lips! If the silence of her sister Mary, in issuing no denunciation of the English Bible by name, was remarkable, considering the general tone of Elizabeth's character, *her* silence was far more so; for let it only be remembered that after Parker's decease in 1575, Elizabeth had yet twenty-eight years to reign, yet this shall not prevent the Geneva Version from being now printed either in folio or quarto, and being read in churches also. Parker has already told us, that they were so read in his days, and twelve years afterwards, we know they were. For the proof of this fact we are indebted to the best of all witnesses, then living in the kingdom, the Archbishop of Canterbury, Whitgift, himself. "Divers," says he in the year 1587, "Divers, as well Parish Churches, as Chapels of Ease, are not sufficiently furnished with Bibles, but some have either none at all," (observe still!) "or such as be torn and defaced, and yet *not of the translation authorised by* THE SYNODS OF BISHOPS."[23] But the preference shewn, both before the sway of Whitgift, as well as under it, survived him for years. If the Queen knew any difference between the two versions, it must have frequently met her Majesty's ear, when present at sermons before the Court; and it might have met her eye, if she deigned to look into what was printed around her. Thus Gervase Babington, a pupil of Whitgift's, who preached his funeral sermon, and had been successively Bishop of Llandaff, Exeter and Worcester; if we turn to his "comfortable notes on the Pentateuch," to his other expositions, or his sermons preached before the Court at Greenwich, or at Paul's Cross in 1591, we find him uniformly quote the *Geneva* Bible, as well as read his text from it. Thus George Abbot, the successor of Bancroft, and predecessor of Laud, when Master of University College, Oxford, under Elizabeth and Whitgift, not only preached, but published in 1600, his sermons upon Jonah,

[23] Cardwell's Documentary Annals, ii. p. 11. This, however, was not *Royal* authority.

and throughout he used the *same* version. Other instances might be adduced, but however striking, they would, taken altogether, prove but a feeble indication of that decided preference which began to be shewn by the people at large, from the year immediately after Parker's death.

Here then we are met by a course of events, and the moving cause of that course, or two indelible, if not the most signal features of Elizabeth's reign, which after all that has been written, have been passed over by most historians, and never fully explained by any. But are they, on this account, of but inferior moment? An *extraordinary demand* for the Sacred Volume, and supplied by means not less extraordinary, can never be unimportant in the estimation of many; while at the same time the *cause of this demand* was of such a character, as to form, in the history of the English Bible, one of its brightest pages. To each of these in turn, therefore, the attention of the reader is now solicited.

This eager desire for the word of life, and decided preference for it, in the Geneva Version, were simultaneous, in the year 1575. There are therefore several circumstances connected with the times, as well as the character of Elizabeth's sway, which here invite notice, and will reward it. If the reader, however, will first turn for a moment to our List of Bibles at the close of this work, he cannot fail to be struck with one peculiarity in its appearance. For a period extending to fifty years, or from 1525 to 1575, he may observe what a number of *different* men had been engaged in printing the Scriptures; after which, or from 1577, *one* name alone meets his eye, from year to year. That name is *Barker*, and since the change, or rather the origin of the change, has never been explained, so that great confusion still prevails on the subject, it becomes of no little importance to understand it now.

Had the government of Elizabeth not been distinguished for economy, and at the same time the advancement of several great national objects, it could never have been endured. Frugal in her own expenditure, she could carry measures in Parliament, with a higher hand than her father; and far from resembling him, in perpetually craving money from the senate, she could there assume even a loftier tone of language. Her unbending sway must be traced, in part, to her superiority to all extravagance, as this alone lent her not a little power. Instead of contracting debt, she discharged that of her deceased brother and sister, both

principal and interest. She restored the debased coin to its former purity; and so far from receiving any pension from France, like her predecessors, or from any foreign power, she controlled foreign politics by the money of England. But then, on the other hand, this determination of Elizabeth's to economise, led to different modes of procuring supplies; and among these, to one, which it might have been supposed such a Queen could never have deigned to stoop—moneys received for granting *monopolies* to her subjects.[24]

For the word *patent*, as an adjective, or free to all, her Majesty seemed as though she had entertained an instinctive dread; but upon the same term, as a noun substantive, or exclusive privilege, she almost doated, for the better part of thirty years. The truth seems to be, that up to this period Elizabeth had entertained no idea of granting patents for *nothing* in return, even at the request of a Bishop, and he might be her Primate; but now, at last, if any thing may be gained, any debt or obligation discharged, merely by her royal seal and signature, it became by no means difficult to gain the royal ear. Her's, in short, by way of eminence, became the age of patents. In such a course she must have been encouraged by her advisers, several of whom very largely shared in the spoil; but jealous to a proverb of her prerogative, the granting of patents became one of the most cherished modes of displaying it.

Since, however, this potent Prince is about to lead the way in granting a patent such as will now be described, we have only to request the reader's attention to the manner of its operation, not only at this crisis, but during all the days of her mortal existence. Every one knows with what a watchful eye Elizabeth regarded all the prelates in her kingdom —that she was, with a high hand too, her own Vicar-General, maintaining throughout life, both a tight and a steady rein; nay, by this moment even her Primate, Edmund Grindal, was in disgrace;[25] and yet this very year, 1577, as if in marked contrast to her rigidity in all such matters, if any exclusive privilege be put forth with reference to the Scriptures, the Queen will be *no party to any one version in* PREFERENCE *to another.*

This, it is freely granted, could not justify the interference, and such

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24 There was still another mode. So early as 1567, the Queen, borrowing a hint from some of the continental governments, had recourse to the expedient of a STATE LOTTERY, the *first* ever known in England. In the absence of modern puffing, she adopted the mode of personal application, through the Lords of the Privy Council, in her Grace's name! The prizes were tardily paid, if paid at all! Elizabeth had recourse to a second in 1585. The contrast to all this, under her sister Queen Mary, only twenty years before, cannot fail to strike many readers. See before, p. 272. At the same time, it must not be forgotten that Mary had her compulsory loans and arbitrary exactions; that she had borrowed large sums of money, and died deep in debt, leaving her sister to discharge it.

25 The shameful treatment of this excellent man will come before us before long. But it may be stated here that Grindal had condemned the wicked and disgusting marriage of Julio Bergarucci, an Italian physician, to the wife of another man. Julio was a great favourite of the Earl of Leicester's. *That* nobleman interfered, and Grindal lost the *Queen's* favour for ever! See Lodge's illustrations, 8vo, vol. ii., p. 83.

a step as a patent or monopoly applicable to the Sacred Volume, ought to have received far more deliberate and serious reflection. To many, no doubt, it might appear as nothing different from any other commercial transaction, though upon second consideration, there was a distinction, demanding, before such a step, the deepest cogitation from any Monarch, as well as in every age.

"The question itself," said the late Robert Hall one day, at Leicester, "whether the Sacred Volume was designed to be communicated to mankind at large without distinction, or to a particular class, with a discretionary power of communicating it at such times, and in such proportions as they may deem fit, can only be determined by itself. If it bear decisive indications of its being intended for private custody; if it be found to affirm, or even to insinuate, that it is not meant for universal circulation; we must submit to hold it at the discretion of its legitimate guardians, and to accept, with becoming gratitude, such portions as they are pleased to bestow. From the Word of God there can be no appeal: it must decide its own character, and determine its own pretensions. Thus much we must be allowed to assume; that if it was originally given to mankind indiscriminately, no power upon earth is entitled to restrict it; because, on the supposition which we are now making, since every man's original right in it was equal, that right can be cancelled by no authority but that which bestowed it. If it was at first promulgated under the character of a universal standard of faith and practice, we are bound to recognise it in that character: and every attempt to alter it, to convert into private what was originally public property, or to make a *monopoly* of a *universal grant*, is an act of extreme presumption and impiety. It is to assume a superiority over revelation itself."[26]

Whether the "patent of privilege" first granted by Queen Elizabeth, including as it did, the Holy Scriptures, did not come within the sweep of this pointed and solemn language, we shall leave the reader to determine, after he has read a few pages farther. But, in the meanwhile, her Majesty began and continued to abound in granting patents of various descriptions, to the close of her career. After pursuing this course for more than twenty years, we find the Lord-Keeper standing up in Parliament, in reply to the Speaker, when the subject was introduced. He said—

"The Queen hoped her dutiful and loving subjects would not take away her prerogative, which was the choicest flower in her garden, the principal and head *pearl* in her crown and diadem; but would rather leave that to her disposition; promising to examine *all patents*, and ABIDE THE TOUCHSTONE OF THE LAW."

But were they examined? Nothing of the kind. Her Majesty had, in four years more, increased the number of such grievances, so that in the Parliament of 1601, at the close of the session, a debate ensued, and such confusion as the Secretary of State had never before witnessed. A list, though imperfect, of such commodities, for the exclusive traffic in

[26] Spoken at the Leicester Bible Society Anniversary, 13th April 1812.

which, patents had been granted, was read to the House by Sir Robert Wroth. These had been given away in certain cases, as rewards for service done, or to be done—not a very princely mode of payment; but, in general, they had been *sold* to the parties concerned. This list comprehended not only such important necessaries of life as *salt and coal, leather and cloth, but steel and lead, tin and glass, Spanish wool and Irish yarn;* or, in short, above forty different articles, and certainly a sufficient proof of the extent to which the evil had gone.[27] After the list was finished, a member of the House, and of considerable celebrity, Mr. Hakewil, of Lincoln's Inn, rose and inquired—Is not bread there? "*Bread*," said one,—"BREAD," said another, "this voice seems strange." "Nay," said he, "if no remedy be found for *these*, BREAD will be there, before the next Parliament." After four days of warm debate, the Queen and Council at last taking alarm, a gracious message from the throne was sent down to the House, which the Secretary of State, Robert Cecil, improved by an assurance that the existing patents should be repealed, and no more granted. The language in which the Secretary insulted the House is worth quoting:—

"And because you may eat your meat more savoury than you have done, every man shall have *salt* as good and cheap as he can buy it, or make it, freely, without danger of that patent, which shall be presently revoked. The same benefit shall they have which have cold stomachs both for *aquavitæ* and *aqua composita*, and the like: and they that have weak stomachs, for their satisfaction shall have *vinegar* and *alegar* and the like, set at liberty. *Train oil* shall go the same way; *oil of blubber* shall march in equal rank; *brushes* and *bottles* endure the like judgment. Those that desire to go sprucely in their ruffs, may, at less charge than accustomed, obtain their wish; for the patent for *starch*, which hath so much been prosecuted, shall now be repealed."

Nine other articles he enumerated which were to be tried at law. The complaints of many years seemed as though they were to be immediately redressed; while her Majesty, who was never at a loss for choice expression, now appeared as if to render assurance doubly sure.

"GENTLEMEN," said the Queen, addressing the deputies of the Commons, "I owe you hearty thanks and commendations for your singular goodwill towards me, not only in your hearts and thoughts, but which you have openly expressed and declared, whereby you have recalled me from an *error*, proceeding from my ignorance, not my will. These things had undeservedly turned to my disgrace, to whom nothing is more dear than the safety and love of my people, had not such harpies and horse-leeches as these been made known and discovered to me by you. *I had rather my heart or hand should perish than that either my heart or hand should allow such privileges to monopolists as may be prejudicial to my people.* The splendour of regal majesty hath not so blinded mine eyes that *licentious* power should prevail with me more than justice. The glory of the name of a king may deceive princes that know not how to rule, as gilded pills

27 See Herbert's History of the Livery Companies, vol. i., pp. 152-153.

may deceive a sick patient. But I am none of those princes; for *I know* that the commonwealth is to be governed *for the good and advantage of those that are committed to me, not of myself*, to whom it is intrusted; and that an account is one day to be given before another judgment-seat."—"I beseech you, that, whatever misdemeanours and miscarriages others are guilty of by their false suggestions may not be imputed to me: let the testimony of a clear conscience in all respects excuse me."

The subdued tone of this language from the lips of this sagacious and imperative monarch is remarkable, and it becomes more impressive from its being addressed to her *last* Parliament. The sentiments, so well expressed, may have been of value to posterity; and they possess the advantage of *never* being unimportant as out of date. The only regret left is, that the speech itself, in one point of view, bears so strong an analogy to the extraordinary address of Henry VIII., the Queen's father, to *his* last Parliament; and that the fine language now employed must be taken for no more than it was worth *afterwards*. These grievances had been complained of and reprobated for many years; and ignorance of almost any subject, much less of this, was not one of Elizabeth's infirmities. Was her Majesty ignorant also of her message in 1597, just quoted, and as delivered by the Lord-Keeper to the House when the debate on monopolies ran not so high? When redress was promised, and, so far from being performed, the evil increased? But, after all these last smooth, yet pointed expressions, was relief at hand now? *Certainly not* to any degree worth notice, and that is but vague conjecture. With *salt*, perhaps, something was done, as Sir Edward Hoby had asserted in the House that it had been raised by the patent from 16d. to 15s. a bushel! But still a list of these very monopolies granted by Elizabeth, indorsed by the Earl of Shrewsbury, is to be found *unrepealed* under the next reign. It is dated 25th May 1603, or two months after the Queen had ceased to live, and they were still about forty in number![28]

Among these patents, however, there was one class, styled, by way of eminence or distinction, PATENTS OF PRIVILEGE—the privilege of some one man selling a license, or licenses, to the highest bidder; and these, as affecting, not only the Livery Companies, but the *Stationers' Company*, had produced great discontent. These were given to gentlemen or courtiers, either as rewards or under the *pretence* of at once benefiting the public and filling the coffers of her Majesty. What then, meant the poor old subdued Queen's plea of *ignorance* in 1601? Thus Lord Mountjoy, in 1565, had a patent for copperas ore. Thus Sir Thomas Gorges, in 1580, eager to be appointed "Gauger of Beer," brought the wrath of the Brewers' Company upon himself. He was to put £200 a-year into the Treasury; but the Company proving that he would make

[28] See the list in Lodge's Illustrations, 8vo, vol. iii., p. 6—10.

£10,000 annually to himself, and the Queen nothing, no patent was granted. Thus Sir Walter Raleigh had a patent, in 1588, to make licenses for keeping of taverns and retailing of wines throughout *all England!* He is said to have blushed in the House, under the debate on monopolies; but his patent was left unrepealed by Elizabeth. Edward Darcy, Esq., a courtier, in 1590, succeeded, but for little more than a year, in reference to *leather;* as his privilege, brought up, in formidable array, a swarm of more than thirteen dealers in the article, and his patent was revoked. Even an Italian had a license granted to him by the Queen, and no doubt for some consideration, that *he* only should bring into England "common and sallad oil," and to sell the same at *his own beam;* against which the Grocers' Company remonstrated. After the same mode we find one man dealing largely in tin, and Sir Thomas Wilkes, about to be mentioned, in *white salt.* Nor should the Earl of Oxford's case be overlooked, of which her Majesty could not plead ignorance. He attempted an excise patent against the Pewterers' Company: but the Privy Council, aware of the general discontent against those "*patents of privilege,*" submitted the proposal to the Attorney-General; and what was the result? The question was—"*Whether* SUCH *patent might stand with the laws and statutes of the realm, or not?*" He NEGATIVED the application, when the Queen conferred the privilege on the Company itself.[29] In short, it was the age of patent-hunting; and we have now to see how far the *Stationers'* Company had been affected.

To all who have only glanced at the history of patents it is well known that the noble art of printing did not escape. On the contrary, it was about the earliest of the arts which came under their power, whether direct or indirect.

Under the reign of Elizabeth there were two gentlemen, FRANCIS FLOWER, Esq., a Justice of the Peace, afterwards in the service of the Lord Chancellor, Sir Christopher Hatton;[30] and Thomas, afterwards SIR THOMAS WILKES, well known as Clerk to the Privy Council, as an Ambassador of Elizabeth's to France, Holland, and Germany, and who, but for Lord Burleigh's influence, would have succeeded Sir Francis Walsingham as Secretary of State.[31] To the former was granted, in 1573, one of those "*Patents of Privilege,*" as "her Majesty's printer of the Latin;" and to Sir Thomas, about 1575, *another* as *her printer of the English tongue.* The former, of inferior value, was forthwith *farmed out* to more assignees than one, Thomas Vautrollier, a Frenchman, being one, if not the chief.

WILKES, immediately after obtaining his patent, first bestowed the

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29 Herbert's History of the Livery Companies, i., p. 156. Strype's Stow, ii., 294.

30 Lansdowne MS., 68, no. 105. He is petitioning Burleigh that he may continue, after Hatton's death, to enjoy his profits in the First Fruits Office, 1591.

31 See Cotton MSS., *passim;* and Lodge's Illustrations of British History, 8vo, ii., p. 426.

chief part of it on *John Jugge*, son of Richard the printer, with whose name we are already familiar. The evidence on which this fact is founded is no other than a formal complaint, addressed to the authorities, and subscribed by twenty-five stationers and printers, in the name of one hundred and seventy-five, all members of the Stationers' Company. To this are adhibited the names of *all* in London who lived by bookselling, being free of other Companies, but "also hindered by the said privileges." This document, subscribed by forty-five men, in name of not fewer than one hundred and eighty-five, being the *first* formal voice raised in England, upon record, against what they conceived to be the injurious operation of such privileges, is not only curious in itself, but entitled to special notice by any who wish to understand a subject hitherto involved in obscurity. Though it be above two hundred and sixty years since these persons came forward in a body, as one man, and subscribed their names, the ground of their complaint and their main grievance cannot be uninteresting or of little moment even at the present hour, since, in the united apprehension of the entire craft, *accuracy in printing*, and the *price of books* were alike in jeopardy. Thus they expressed themselves :—

"*The privileges lately granted by her Majesty, under her Highness's Great Seal of England, to the persons underwritten, concerning the art of printing books, hath and will be the* OVERTHROW *of the printers and stationers within this city, being in number* 175, *besides their wives, children, apprentices, and families, and thereby the* EXCESSIVE PRICES *of books, prejudicial to the state of the whole realm, besides the* FALSE PRINTING *of the same.*

"1. JOHN JUGGE, *besides the being her Majesty's printer, hath gotten the privilege for the printing of Bibles and Testaments,* THE WHICH WAS COMMON TO ALL THE PRINTERS.[32]

Thus, whatever may be said of this unanimous opinion, the language of the complaint establishes two historical facts. *First*, That for a period of about forty years, or from 1536, when the New Testament first began to be printed in *London*, up to the present moment in 1576, the printing of the Sacred Scriptures in England had been *common to all printers*—that is, to any printer who applied and secured a license for the edition, or to any gentleman, such as Marler and Bodley, both of whom had obtained one. *Second*, That the printing of the Sacred Volume had never, all along, been regarded, as in *any* sense or degree attached to the office or title of the King's or Queen's printer. The previous history, indeed, as well as our list of editions at the end, alike demonstrate this ; but still it is satisfactory to have it from the pen of the craft as a body.

Of the complaint recorded in the authentic manuscript now quoted, we have here only to remark that, among the names subjoined to it, there is that of one man, then a member of the "worshipful Company of *Drapers*," and not as yet of the Stationers' Company, but, living as he did by book*selling*, he subscribed

[32] Lansdowne MS., 48, no. 78. This is dated, externally, by some person in 1582, confounding it with a following document of *that* date, though it has been taken for correct in the Archæologia, xxv., p. 101. It is printed in Strype's Stow, ii., p. 222, anno 1575 ; and this we believe to be correct, only recollecting that such was *their* year till the 25th March 1576. *Besides these* 175, *ten more subscribed who lived by bookselling, or* 185 *in all.*

accordingly ; and this is no other than *Christopher Barker*, a name which the reader may bear in mind till he see what followed.

John Cawood and Richard Jugge, it will be recollected, had been her Majesty's printers. The former died on the 1st of April 1572, and the latter, soon after printing his last edition of the Bishops' Bible, in 1577. *John Jugge*, of whom all the stationers, including *Barker*, here complained, lived but a very short time, and, in fact, never *once* exercised the privilege held up as so injurious. He never printed either a Bible or even a New Testament. On the contrary, from what soon followed, or so early as September 1577, it is almost evident that he must have been dead before then. At all events, the consequences deprecated by the printers and booksellers commenced *not* with him.

It was on the 28th September 1577 that an exclusive patent was purchased, *not from her Majesty* for this time, as has been all along supposed, but from MR. WILKES, and of a far more extensive character than that of which complaint had been made, but very specially including *the Old and New Testament* in the *English* language ; nay, and of *whatever* translation, *with* notes, or *without* them ! !

In these circumstances, it is very curious to observe the last expiring effort of Richard Jugge, and it may be seen now in his final edition of the Bishops' Bible this year. He was still " Printer to her Majesty," and though possessing no exclusive privilege on that account, he had printed this version all along, no one else interposing. Probably, after Parker's decease, Jugge had not the means or the spirit to bring out a *folio*, but, at all events, the present Bible was only in large *octavo*. To the simple title of all previous editions, however, he now added the words—" *Set foorth by authoritie*." What he meant to convey by this, more than his customary " cum privilegio," it is difficult, if not impossible, to divine. If it was merely some limited authority from Primate Grindal or his brethren, *he* was entirely out of royal favour by the month of June this year. But, at all events, it was no direct authority from her Majesty, for that was already given away to Mr. Wilkes ; nay, nearly at the very moment when Jugge was printing his Bible, *another man* was negotiating with Wilkes as to the very extensive patent to which we have alluded. Moreover, as if to crown all, Elizabeth at this moment actually appears as if she had entertained no more taste or preference for the Bishops' version than she had discovered for the head of the Bench. Certainly the Geneva version, in *folio*, of this very year, 1577, had been presented to her, and as certainly *the covers were embroidered by her Majesty's own hand*. This identical book was formerly in the Duchess of Portland's museum, and it is now in the *Sussex Library*, never, it is to be hoped, to leave this kingdom.

But to proceed.—By whom was the purchase of this unwonted patent from WILKES secured ? By no other than one of the men who had complained so lately and so loud—Christopher Barker ! This was certainly not a very honourable commencement of such business ; and the fact might have been questioned, had we not Barker's own evidence at hand—for a few months only had served to change his tone. When protesting against a grievance likely to produce " the overthrow of many entire families," he could speak as already expressed ; but when once enjoying the fruits of that grievance, he will express himself in very different terms.

It so happened, that, in the end of 1582, or about six years after his complaint, Barker addressed Lord Burleigh, whether of his own accord or by request, does not appear. He gives, however, a " Note of the offices, and special licenses for printing, granted by her Majesty to divers persons," with his own conjecture of their value. The selfish special pleading by which the whole do-

cument is distinguished, cannot fail to amuse the gentlemen printers of the present day throughout the kingdom.[33] But part of it, in relation to himself, is essential to our present narrative, and must not here be omitted. He had spoken of Mr. Flower, already referred to, and then he comes to himself.

"CHRISTOPHER BARKER.—Mine own office of her Majesty's printer, *given to* MR. WILKES, is abridged of the chiefest commodities belonging to the office, as shall hereafter appear in the patents of Mr. Seres and Mr. Daye; but as it is, I have the printing of *the Old and New Testament*, the Statutes of the realm, Proclamations, and the Book of Common Prayer by name, and, in general words, all matters for the Church." After complaining of inferior existing patents as preventing his gains, and speaking lightly of other privileges included in his own, he comes to the SCRIPTURES. "Testaments *alone* are not greatly commodious, by reason the prices are so small as will scarcely bear the charges! The whole Bible together requireth so great a sum of money to be employed in the imprinting thereof, as Mr. Jugge kept the realm twelve years without before he durst adventure to print one impression.[34] But I, considering *the great sum I paid to Mr. Wilkes*, did, as some have termed it since, give a desperate adventure to imprint four sundry impressions for all ages; wherein I employed to the value of three thousand pounds in the term of one year and a half, or thereabout; in which time, if I had died, my wife and children had been utterly undone, and many of my friends greatly hindered by disbursing round sums of money *for* me, by suretyship and other means, as my late good Mr. *Master Secretary* for ONE. So that now, this gap being stopped, I have little or nothing to do but adventure a needless charge, to keep many journeymen in work, most of them servants to my predecessors."[35]

The reader may be ready to suspect that this man was now about to throw up his monopoly as a losing concern; but he indulged in no such dream. He well knew what he was about, when he paid "the great sum" to Mr. Wilkes, and as well, when he "gave a desperate adventure" to the public. He saw clearly that whatever the Bishops thought of *their* Bible, it was never likely to afford *him* any munificent return in the way of business, and, therefore, he had taken special care in 1577, or five years before this, that the *Geneva* version should be fully embraced by his patent. What is still more curious, the

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[33] For example, he says to the Lord Treasurer—"There are 22 printing-houses in *London*, where *eight* or *ten* at the *most* would suffice for *all England; yea, and Scotland too!* But if no man were allowed to be a Mr. printer but such whose behaviour were well known and auctorised by warrant from her Majesty, the art would be *most excellently* executed in England, and many frivolous and unfruitful copies kept back which are daily thrust out in print, greatly corrupting the youth, and prejudicial to the commonwealth many ways." Such was the magnanimous proposal, and such the language of Christopher Barker, our *first* monopolist.

[34] This innuendo was very unfair, to say the least. *Richard* Jugge had no *exclusive* patent, as Barker had attested with his *own* pen; and *John*, the son, against whom he had protested, soon died. Why, then, could not Barker have left the grievance to die also, at least for consistency's sake, so far as he was concerned.

[35] MS. Lansdowne, 48, No. 82, and indorsed "December 1582. Writt by Christopher Barker to the Lord Treasurer." We know not why, but before he got his patent, this man spelt and printed his name *Barkar;* after that, *Barker*. He is understood to have been related to Sir Christopher Barker, Garter King-at-Arms; but, at all events, it is evident that he had been in circumstances which may account for his having not barked in vain. He had once been in the service of *Sir Francis Walsingham*.

Such was by far the largest slice of Wilke's "patent of privilege;" but this was not the amount of his gains. To JOHN DAY, who must no more print Bibles as in young Edward's reign, Wilkes sold a patent for printing "the Psalms set to Music," "the Catechism,"—and this at the suit of the Earl of *Leicester*. To WILLIAM SERES, a patent for printing the Psalter, the Primer for children, besides several others, which it is too tedious to enumerate.

Bishops' Bible, though published nine years before, was not there in his patent, specified even by name, nor indeed *ever was* throughout the entire reign! The terms of the patent, therefore, were—"All Bibles and Testaments, in the English language, of *whatever* translation, *with* notes, or *without* them." Thus, however unceremoniously, the Bishops' version was safely included, but the Geneva also, and on the *same* footing, as well as another, Tomson's, about to be mentioned.[36]

By Barker himself, therefore, we are now furnished with a key to the change which took place in printing the Scriptures, even from the year 1575. There was then, it is true, another Archbishop of Canterbury, Edmund Grindal, and certainly he had no objections to the foreign version, nor had he now expressed any desire, like his predecessor, that it should be subjected either to his "consent or direction." But though he had done so, this could not have accounted for any change whatever, as he had already fallen under the displeasure of his royal Mistress, Primate though he was, and his influence cannot be estimated at anything more than that of a neutral party. Here, however, was Barker's "good Master," Mr. Secretary, *Sir Francis Walsingham*, so far concerned in the business. "Round sums" and "surety-ship" were at stake, while Sir Francis was only one of "many friends," all alike alive to the success of the new and unwonted patent.

On the road to favour, therefore, and *before* the patent was secured, Parker being once out of the way, and Sir Francis, Secretary of State, Barker had commenced in 1575, by employing Vautrollier to print the Geneva Testament. This was followed by editions of that Bible, both in quarto and octavo, in 1575, and again in quarto in 1576. More than this, as the Scriptures had hitherto, in England, been printed only in the black or German type, Barker had now the credit of introducing the *Roman* letter; an improvement which had commenced at Geneva. But in 1576 Barker brought out a beautiful edition of the Geneva Bible, in *folio;* the text being in *Roman*, and the arguments in *italic* type. This year, also, the under-Secretary of Sir Francis, Laurence Tomson, had finished a translation of the New Testament, with Beza's *notes;* the first edition of which was now also printed "by Christopher Barkar—at the sign of the Tygre's Head, cum privilegio." And well might he fix the sign of the Tiger's head above his shop door in St. Paul's Church-yard: it was the *crest* of Walsingham, to whom also the book was dedicated, in a long epistle.

Now all this, as already explained, was done in the face of Richard Jugge, her Majesty's printer for the time being, because no *exclusive* privilege belonged to him, more than to his predecessors. Nay, it was also in the face of

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36 Barker, it is known to all, stands at the head of a long list; but since he chose to commit himself even in addressing the Lord Treasurer, in common justice to the memory of Richard Jugge, his language and conduct ought to be understood. With the contemptible view of exalting himself in the eyes of Lord Burleigh, he had basely affirmed that Jugge "had *kept* the realm *twelve* years before he durst adventure to print one impression of the whole Bible together." This, to say the least, was a notorious falsehood. By the *twelfth* year of Elizabeth, Jugge had printed *four* Bibles, though even this is not a sufficient answer. R. Jugge, though Queen's printer, never had an exclusive patent, much less an exclusive round and roving one, such as that in which Barker now gloried, without his yet being satisfied; but even in the *third* year of Elizabeth, Jugge's copartner, Cawood, had printed Cranmer's Bible, and Jugge could not print the Bishops' version till it was ready in the ninth and tenth year of the reign. And how did he proceed then? After the splendid folio of 1568, he repeated the version in 1569, 1570, 1572, 1573, 1574, 1575, 1576, 1577, and then he died. While Barker was thus defaming a preceding printer *five* years after his death, he had printed this version, and that by assignment, how often? Only *once!* Of the Geneva version, however, he had given four editions, for a reason sufficiently obvious—*the demand*.

John Jugge's exclusive patent, of which Barker, among his brethren, was *then* complaining to the authorities! To the other printers and booksellers at that moment, Barker must have appeared to be fighting manfully in their favour. But September 1577 arrived, and though, according to the document he had subscribed, not fewer than 175 families might be "overthrown," to say nothing of the price of books, or incorrect printing, he had altered his opinion! No more sympathy was to be either felt or expressed now, for the "overthrow of other printers, their wives and children," within this city of London! Pity of another character had taken full possession of the patentee. He now speaks only of *his own* wife and children. A change had come over the spirit of the man, and such as may remind some readers of the language which Cowper has put into the mouth of his "Trader to the African shore,"—

> This pity, which some people self-pity call,
> Is sure the most heart-piercing pity of all—Which nobody can deny.

Thus, however, it was that Mr. C. Barker, for "a *great sum* paid to Mr. Wilkes," secured his exclusive privilege. It included every version, whether the Bishops', the Geneva, or Tomson's Testament, and whether with or without notes,—a sweeping *grievance*, as he had expressed it in 1576, or six years ago.

Barker then went on, and confessedly with great spirit, printing both versions of the Sacred Volume; and for the best of all reasons, because there was such an eager demand, especially for the Geneva. Had the patentee himself evinced any prejudice in favour of one version more than the other, it might have so far accounted for what ensued; but he was influenced by no such partiality. According to his own shewing, he was regulated solely by the popular taste, or the prospect of remuneration. He, as we have heard from himself, soon, and within the short compass of about eighteen months, advanced not less than three thousand pounds in printing the Sacred Scriptures, an amount but little short of *thirty thousand* of the present day! In the entire range of English literature at that period, there was nothing once to be compared to this; and yet the demand under this reign was but *begun;* it will be long before it is satisfied.

Notwithstanding his artful grumbling to the Lord Treasurer Burleigh, in 1582, the occupation of the patentee growing under the privilege he had bought; a crisis arrived, of which he was not slow to avail himself most fully. If his patent had proved only a poor affair, he had now a fine opportunity of *throwing it up*, only he may have changed his mind, as he had done before. Exclusive patents for *life* having been introduced, in several inferior cases, it will be Barker's object to secure one; but as it is of the nature of all injurious desire to rise in its demands, perhaps there may be something *more* obtained, than a patent extending only to the day of his *own* decease!

Mr. Wilkes, the gentleman to whom Barker owed his license, had gradually become a man of greater importance. As early as 1575, we observe he was at Strasburg, and corresponding with the Earl of Leicester; but in 1586, when in Holland, he was writing not to Lord Burleigh only, but to the Privy Council as a body, if not to the Queen herself. Having returned home, not satisfied with Barker's "great sum," and wishing to resemble some others, he longed for another monopoly, and began to dabble in one of the most important necessaries of life. One "patent of privilege" was not sufficient. Perhaps it was in consideration of service done; but on the 24th of February 1587, Wilkes had obtained *another*, for making *white salt* at Hull, Boston, and Lynn. From some cause, however, he got himself involved in trouble, and falling under the displeasure of his Royal Mistress, it cost him nearly two years to weather the

storm. *This* was Barker's opportunity. Her Majesty's Printer of the English tongue, by *title*, being in durance, it was time for the *actual* printer to look out for himself. A license from a man now in Fleet prison was worth little or nothing.[37] Accordingly, well known to Cecil, and patronised by Walsingham, his old master, if not also his supporter in business, he applied and obtained a patent from the *Queen direct*. Notwithstanding the great sum paid to Wilkes, in September 1577, Barker was now ready, no doubt, to pay *another*, if not a greater; but at all events he will contrive to secure a longer privilege.

He had an only son, named Robert, then comparatively but a young man. However, he was successful in getting him included in this new patent, dated 8th August 1589; the extensive range of which was to continue for both lives.[38] The father died on the 29th of November 1599, but the son survived him, for the long period of forty-six years; so that the interest now acquired was not extinct till the twentieth year of Charles the First, or 1645! This, however carrying us far beyond the boundaries of Elizabeth's reign, as the Barker family will come before us again, we now return to the moment of the father's success.

The extensive patent of Christopher and Robert Barker once secured, in regard to the Scriptures, it embraced "all Bibles and Testaments whatsoever, in the English language, of whatever translation, with notes, or without notes, printed

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[37] In July of this year, 1587, Wilkes landed in Fleet prison, from whence, on the 22d, he was writing to Cecil for his enlargement, and more earnestly on the 22d of September. "I trust," he says, "in respect that my case is no more heinous than that of others, who are in the *like* predicament, *though my betters*, I shall not be refused, after two months' imprisonment, to stand in like terms for my liberty as they do." It was not, however, till 1589, that he was presenting his reasons for his patent being continued, as involving "the best and chiefest stay of his maintenance." So capricious, however, was the royal favour, that before the end of next year, after Walsingham's death, Wilkes had risen higher than ever. "The resolution for secretaries," says Mr. Francis Needham to the Earl of Shrewsbury in 1590, "lieth between Mr. Robert Cecil and *Mr. Wilkes*. Your Lordship can easily judge whose creatures they are, and the choice were happy if they happen to run in one course; the one in respect of the great helps he shall have from his *father;* the other a well experimental gentleman, of good understanding, and great despatch, and no less courage." The place of Secretary of State was, however, kept vacant for six years after Walsingham's death, by the Earl of Essex's ineffectual efforts to procure the restoration of the unfortunate Davison. Sir Robert Cecil, who in the meantime conducted official business, was at length appointed in July 1596. From 1590 Mr. Wilkes was frequently employed on foreign embassies, on one of which he was *knighted*, but by the King of France, in return for kindness shewn to him, when King of Navarre. At last, in March 1598, Cecil, the Secretary, and Herbert, Master of Requests, having accompanied him to France, Sir Thomas died there, as soon as he landed. See Lansdowne MS. 54, art. 54, and 71. Idem 59, art. 66, 68, 69. Lodge's Illustrations, 8vo, vol. ii., p. 426. Cotton MS., Julius F. vi., fol. 94; and Wood's Fasti, anno 1572. Mr. Wilkes, however, was not the only ambassador whom Elizabeth paid with *salt*. There was another patent. And hence Wilkes had pled in 1589, "If the grant shall be thought *unlawful*, because it seemeth a *monopoly*, I beseech their Lordships to remember that her Majesty hath granted others of the like nature; as that for the bringing in of *sweet wines, currants, cochineal, cards*, making of *starch*, printing of the *common laws, grammars*, and such like—and of the *same* nature, viz., *salt*, one to Mr. Harborn of Yarmouth," *i. e.*, once ambassador to Constantinople. All these facts give a most melancholy character to her Majesty's *last speech*. Uttered as it was within fifteen months of her death, the finely turned expressions will not allow us to forget the deliberate falsehood contained in them.

[38] It is quoted at length by *Ames*, p. 357. This patent, it is now of some importance to observe, commences with *recognising the former one*, dated 28th September 1577. That, however, it will be recollected, was nothing higher than a *branch* of a PATENT OF PRIVILEGE. We have already seen what was already judged of such privileges as being illegal, nor can the reader forget the terms in which Elizabeth had pledged her *heart and hand* to Parliament on the subject; and yet all subsequent patents in relation to the English Scriptures, take their rise from Barker's *first*.

before then, or afterwards to be printed by our command." The privileges are granted, professedly, in consideration of Mr. Barker's great improvement in the art of printing.[39] But the most singular feature of the document at such a crisis, is this, that no notice whatever is taken of any *one* translation, as preferable to another, no, nor of any one as having been either ordered or sanctioned by the *Queen*. This too becomes more remarkable, when it is observed that the patent was granted under the sway of Whitgift, Archbishop of Canterbury, the strenuous promoter of *uniformity* in every thing else, and whose decided preference of the Bishops' version, had only the year before been strongly marked and enforced. Burleigh, indeed, and Sir Francis Walsingham, may be presumed to have acquiesced in a license so broad; but at all events, here, under one of the most powerful Monarchs that had ever held the English sceptre, and as rigid a Primate as had occupied the See of Canterbury, since the invention of printing, if we look to what followed, it is not difficult to see there, an overruling hand once more. Whatever may be said of Queen Elizabeth, assuredly Archbishop Whitgift did not intend to promote the perusal throughout all England of any version of the Scriptures, save one, now sanctioned by "the Synod of Bishops;" but then here comes her Majesty, with open eyes, and by her sign manual, she has left the people free to choose, *in the highest sense*, when, so far as her power extended, she would on no account allow it, in *any* other.

No one will stand up now, to justify the course pursued by Barker from the beginning. It was a most mercenary affair from first to last; and yet even when a man is so influenced, the consequences, whether immediate or remote, by the hand of God may easily be overruled for good. One consequence, at all events, is here worthy of special observation. Even under an exclusive patent, granted by a Queen imperative even to trifles, since the supply was after all regulated solely by the *demand*, and only the sordid prospect of *remuneration*, we are able to see, and as clearly as we did under Edward the Sixth, what was the taste or choice of the great body of English readers.

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[39] This was little else than a mere flourish, as there were equal, nay, superior printers. But at all events, Barker, from this date, actually printed only by *deputy*, the father retiring to his country house at Datchet, near Windsor, at the age of sixty.

In contemplating this long and powerful reign, with immediate reference to the Sacred Volume, there are three distinct points alike worthy of notice and recollection. The *first* is, the number of editions on the whole, so very far beyond that which has ever been observed. A *second* peculiarity is very manifest, or the number of impressions in what is usually styled the Geneva version, in comparison with others, or with Cranmer's and Parker's versions taken together. But the *third* point, as soon as our list at the close is glanced at, cannot escape notice—the large number of *Bibles*, as compared with the editions of the *New Testament* separately.

Apprehension, approaching nearly to horror, had been expressed in Parliament, at the very idea of a patent for *bread;* but here was a commodity infinitely above it, in point of importance and value—*the bread of Life;* and since it had been delivered into the hands of one man, to deal it out in conformity to privilege granted; this being the first movement of the kind, every reader must be curious to observe the experiment in its first operation and consequences. Here, then, he may now do so, at the distance of two hundred and forty years, and for a space of time equal to that of the entire generation first so circumstanced.

The supply on the *whole*, cannot fail to occasion delightful surprise, even in those who have been long, to the usual extent, acquainted with the subject, as it so far exceeds what has ever been pointed out in history. Speaking of the Geneva version only, Lewis conjectured that there had been "above *thirty* editions in folio, quarto, and octavo, printed from the year 1560 to the year 1616." And so very loosely has the history of our Bible been regarded, that, although the editions of Shakspeare have been scanned and counted with the most vigilant scrupulosity, this vague estimate of the Scriptures has been repeated in print, by Newcome and many others, down to the present hour! Lewis took great pains in his day, and then spoke according to the extent of his research; but had he multiplied by three, and said *ninety* editions, instead of thirty, and added *thirty* editions more of the New Testament separately, he would have been not far from the truth. We are here, however, confined to the reign of Elizabeth terminating in 1603, or thirteen years before the esti-

mate of Lewis; and, referring to our list at the end for particulars, we can now speak only in round numbers.

From the year 1560 to that of 1603 inclusive, there had been certainly not fewer than *one hundred and thirty* distinct issues of Bibles and Testaments, or about eighty-five of the former and forty-five of the latter, which presents an average of three issues *annually* throughout the entire reign; and notwithstanding all the caution exercised for the first sixteen years. With reference to the Geneva version, out of the gross issues now stated, the number approaches to ninety editions, thus leaving only forty for all others. Or if we speak of Bibles alone, while the number of Cranmer's and Parker's version put together, we state as *twenty-five*, that of the Geneva Bible had amounted at least to *sixty* editions. The very remarkable disproportion, however, between the New Testaments issued as compared with the Bible entire, demands more particular observation, and it will come before us presently.

Here, it is granted, we have a subject which previous historians have overlooked, as either below their notice, or unworthy of investigation. The imprisonment and death of Mary Queen of Scots, the invincible Spanish Armada, and the dominant power of Elizabeth, on the one hand; or the life and actions of Parker, Grindal, and Whitgift, of Bacon and Leicester, Cecil and Walsingham, on the other, have so engrossed the mind, that history on this subject has been cold, nay, silent. But may we not leave it to the judgment of every unbiassed reader, whether there was any movement of the passing day to be compared to this, either in itself, or in its consequences? What are the footsteps of men or monarchs, moving like shadows o'er the plain, when compared with the progress of Divine Truth in any nation? Editions of the Sacred Volume, at any given time, rise in importance infinitely above those of any human composition; but at this period especially, owing to peculiar circumstances, they formed the only unerring index to the thirst for Divine revelation, or the actual progress in Christian knowledge. This, it will be granted, is a state of mind the most vital of all others, so far as Christianity in its proper sense is concerned; while, far from being a transitory ebullition, it extended over a space of time equal to more than a generation. This was a growing and pro-

digious *purchase* of the Sacred Scriptures, for they were neither given away, nor sold at *reduced* prices, as in modern times. In short, justice has never been done either to the period as such, or to the people of the day, whether in England or Scotland, who *purchased* all they read, nay, and paid *ten* times the value of the present prices.

The CAUSE, therefore, of this remarkable demand for the Word of Life, at such a time, is the problem to be solved: and in the page of history, this is of equal, if not of greater, importance to us, than the demand itself. There are *two* agencies, to which, in other circumstances, such a result might have been ascribed; more especially as either of them, at another time, would have been equal to the effect produced. We refer to the influence of the people themselves, providing for their own wants; or to the ministry of the Word, in the hands of God, exciting in them such desire: in other words, the power of *party*, or the power of *preaching*. Both of these may now be tried, by any who are best acquainted with the times, to account for what we at present contemplate; but they will be tried in vain. Neither the one nor the other, nor both together, can correctly be assigned as the cause of such a glorious result, at this particular period of English history. If, therefore, we look at each of these in order, it may afford another view of this reign, than that which has perhaps ever before been presented.

In the days of Edward the Sixth, we have already witnessed an extraordinary demand for the Sacred Scriptures, and now, under his sister's reign, a second; but there is a material difference between the two cases. In the time of that youthful monarch, there came before us only *two* great parties, often styled the "Friends of the *Old* Learning" and "Friends of the *New*." Under Elizabeth, on the contrary, and more especially from the moment when Barker began to print the Scriptures, the last of these were divided in opinion. The country, it is notorious, was divided into *three* great parties; and this occasioned all the restless uneasiness of that, in other respects, powerful reign. Now, it is in these new, or altered, circumstances, that we are called to observe the History of the English Bible, and to observe it, as steadily maintaining *its own high ground*, that is, ground far above that of *any party*, whether in power or out of it. Under the reign of Edward, not fewer than thirty men in business were engaged in supplying the thirst of the people for the Sacred Word—a noble and animating proof of activity in the Friends of the New Learning; and had the same number been employed at present, these editions of the Geneva version might have been, and *would have been*, at once ascribed merely to *party* zeal. Here, however, now, her Majesty's own patent printer stands in the way, and he will at once effectually prevent any such misconception. When parties have waxed

warm, or party spirit run high in a country, should there be any one thing proceeding at the same time as an index to the state of the *people, which cannot*, with truth and accuracy, be ascribed to any party as such, because not within its power, that very thing may prove by far the most important object for consideration by *posterity*. The doings of Christopher Barker, then, shall now serve for such an index. He, and no one else, is to satisfy the desire of the people for the Sacred Scriptures; and he is so far from being even tinged with zeal for a party, that only one prospect regulates all his movements, and that is the prospect of sale and remuneration. The sheets of both versions, whether the Bishops' or the Geneva, must issue, indeed, from his press *alone;* but he will not wet a sheet of either, except simply as they are demanded.[40] Now, had this man been a partizan in favour of the Bishops' version, or the fine book presented to the Queen, from whom he had received or purchased his patent, it must have been more frequently printed; but if *she* should never interfere, as she never did, then *he* would go with the stream, that is, wherever the prospect of gain may carry him. On the other hand, the readers of the Geneva Bible, as a body, cannot be distinguished by any opprobrious party epithet of the day, for that version was to be found in ALL *the families of England* where the Scriptures were read at all. In running down the list of Editions, it is one of the most pleasing of all associations, that all these were *family* Bibles; and in the eye of impartial posterity these people can be no otherwise now designated than simply as "the readers of the Bible." But then, to supply their own necessities was *not within their power*. Call them a party, and as such they were the noblest of their time; yet, *as* a party, they could not help themselves. They might besiege the door of Barker, and to this he had no objections, but then he *would not work* as the readers could have wished, of which he has left behind him most notable evidence. Finding the desire of the people to be so strong, at a very early period he had firmly made up his mind as to the most *gainful* way of gratifying it. This he had done before 1582, or above seventeen years before his death,—a lucrative business being the man's sole object. "*Testaments* ALONE," said the poor mercenary monopolist, "*Testaments* ALONE, *are not greatly commodious, by reason the prices are so small as will scarcely bear the charges!*"[41] Passing strange! After they had been so *commodious* in the days of Edward that so many different men had embarked in printing them! But it is curious enough that we should now, in any degree, be obliged to this man for his complaint. It was, indeed, never heard from the lips of any printer before the run of an *exclusive* patent, yet it enables us to account for a very glaring ano-

[40] Whatever English Bibles were printed in Holland will not affect our subsequent statement, as the foreigners were working under his sanction or control.

[41] As quoted before, see page 347.

maly in our list of editions, which cannot fail to strike as soon as it is pointed out, and one which, whenever observed before, could *never have been explained.* We allude to the number of editions of the New Testament under *Edward,* compared with that under *Elizabeth.* In the *five* years of Edward there were above *thirty* editions. According to the same proportion, under Elizabeth, there might have been nearly nine times more, or approaching to three hundred editions. There were, however, only about forty-five ! However hard, therefore, this may now bear on the patentee from 1577, one thing is clear : Barker himself had stood in the way, preventing any man, however biassed, from ascribing those numerous editions of the entire Scriptures to the energy of a PARTY ; and we are now as effectually prevented from such a supposition. This is not the way in which such energy would have wrought. All we can say, therefore, is,—such was the will of Providence at this period, that they who desired to see *a part,* must, in many instances, pay for their curiosity, and purchase the *entire* volume ; and so they did, though generally in *quarto,* and to this most remarkable extent. It was an ardent desire, and to be gratified only at great personal expense.

In answering this demand, however, another singular circumstance occurred ; and since the *reverse* of the truth has been generally stated, and therefore believed, it must not be passed over. We have already stated that the Geneva Bible was *dedicated* to Queen Elizabeth, with an *epistle* prefixed, and one, in its title, certainly rising far, far above all *party* spirit—" *To our Beloved in the Lord, the Brethren of England, Scotland, and Ireland.*" This was in the spring of 1560, soon after the storm in England had drifted to leeward. Such a style of address was the first flight of its kind that had ever occurred, holding out the same *olive branch* to the *three* kingdoms ; and well would it have been for them all could they have only *accepted, retained, and cherished* the spirit expressed by it, up to the present hour. The title had at least this advantage—that every Christian must or ought to approve of it, if any prefix whatever be necessary for the Sacred Volume. Like a foreign plant, brought home into their native land by these exiles, if it should afterwards there droop or be crushed, let not the " readers of the Bible" be charged with the violence done. The Bible itself, as we have seen, was abundantly printed in England ; but it may very naturally be inquired how it fared with each of these prefixes ? The DEDICATION to Elizabeth, far from being suppressed immediately, as it has been often erroneously stated, was reprinted in every edition, up to the twenty-fifth year of her reign—that is, to 1583, or in twelve editions, including that of 1560, *seven* of which were printed in London. It was then withdrawn, and the time will strike certain readers, as it was the first year of Whitgift's primacy. Whether this was done through his influence or not, to every unsophisticated mind it will now appear to have been an improvement,

for the Bible was better without it, while the omission had not the slightest effect in checking the sale. After this, and while the Queen reigned, many more editions were printed, and, of course, by her own patentee, without any dedication. As for the "EPISTLE," with its original TITLE, it passed through *ten* editions up to nearly the same period, or 1582, that being the last Bible in which it is found.[42] In the edition of 1579, however, while the epistle itself remained, down to the period of our present version and beyond it, by some cold and narrow-minded spirit the *title* was altered to the following terms :—"*To the diligent and Christian Reader;*" and then simply "*To the Christian Reader.*" A change from the *social* to the *personal*—from a breathing of love intended to cheer three kingdoms, to the *solitary* reader, wherever he might be found, was certainly no improvement ; but again, if there was *party spirit* here, let not these purchasers and readers of the Bible itself be charged with this spirit. If the olive branch was *crushed*, it was not them that crushed it ; though neither had this any effect on the circulation. In the present day there are those who may remark, that, if there had been no monopoly, the unobjectionable and expansive title would have survived ; but, at all events, even incidents such as these throw light on the times, as well as relieve the numerous readers of the Scriptures from the charge of a narrow spirit. It must now, then, be apparent that we are constrained to look for some higher cause than mere party zeal. To the human eye all this was nothing more than one man employed, under the royal sanction, to meet a desire which her Majesty had no power, perhaps no disposition, to control. It was, however, a current too strong even for Elizabeth, while her own printer must stand by, to satisfy the demand.

But since the people were so eager for the Geneva version, as the printer has proved, it may now be asked—Were they not excited by addresses from the *pulpit ?* They might have been, and the ministry of the Word would have accounted for all that had occurred. No doubt they who feared God then spake often one to another, and met as they might ; but will any man, acquainted with the times, venture to trace the growing desire of this people to the energy, or the growing energy of *preaching ?* To the living voice of such a man as Luther, or such a chosen band as his coadjutors ? No ; Britain, surrounded by her own sea, is little to be associated with Germany, from first to last. From her own Wickliffe until now, she has had a case of her own to be traced out, and the direct dealing of the Almighty with this nation is yet to be more

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42 For more than a century it has been said that the dedication and preface were *both immediately* suppressed, or that, after the first edition of 1560, they were left out in *all* the subsequent editions ! But there was more than enough, for which her Majesty was responsible, and let not the slightest injustice be done to her memory. The statement now made may be relied on, as it has been verified by comparison with all the Bibles themselves.

carefully studied. Where, then, was there, throughout this long reign, extolled as so glorious, even one Apollos or Boanerges permitted to raise his voice across the kingdom, and excite the people to read and live? Or one Latimer in all England? As for Bernard Gilpin, the Apostle of the North and Friend of the Poor, to say nothing of his having been once on the road to martyrdom under Bonner, and often thwarted since, he had died out of the way as early as the year 1584. Even in London, where these Bibles were perpetually printing, what say the petitioners to Parliament?

"There are in this City a great number of churches, but the *one half* of them, at the least, are utterly unfurnished with preaching ministers. The other half, partly by means of non-residents, which are very many, partly through the poverty of many meanly qualified, there is scarce the *tenth* man to be found that maketh any conscience carefully to wait upon his charge, whereby the Lord's Sabbath is often wholly neglected, and, for the most part, miserably mangled."

In one word, it is undeniable that, as far as intelligible preaching of the Truth was concerned, generally speaking, the entire country was deplorably destitute. The people at large were living under a Sovereign, who, throughout her entire reign, could never divest herself of apprehension from two sources—the liberty of *preaching*, and the freedom of the *press*—both of which were under restraint, as far as her power could extend. As for the press, one requires to look no farther than the decrees of the Star Chamber; and, with regard to preaching, though historians of the most opposite sentiments had not conceded the point, the Queen herself has not left them to inform us what were her sentiments—for as to hearing a sermon of any kind, she but seldom did so. In the course of her reign she had three primates in succession, Parker, Grindal, and Whitgift; one of whom conscientiously dared to speak out on this very subject. No language could be more respectful than that with which Grindal approached her Majesty—none required to be more argumentative—nor, in the conclusion, more solemn. After warning the Queen, by the authority of Scripture itself, he did so by her own mortality, the judgment-seat of the Crucified—by Him who dwelleth in Heaven, who taketh away the spirit of princes, and is terrible above all the kings of the earth—at the same time tendering his resignation.

"Alas, Madam!" said he, "is the Scripture more plain in any one thing than that the Gospel of Christ should be plentifully preached, and that plenty of labourers should be sent unto the Lord's harvest, which, being great and large, standeth in need, not of a few, but many workmen. There was appointed to the building of Solomon's material temple a hundred and fifty thousand artificers and labourers, besides three thousand three hundred overseers; and shall we think that a few preachers may suffice to build and edify the spiritual temple of Christ, which is his Church?"—"Public and continual preaching of God's

Word is the ordinary mean and instrument of the salvation of mankind. Paul calleth it the *ministry of reconciliation* of man unto God. By preaching of God's Word the glory of God is enlarged, faith is nourished, and charity increased. By it the ignorant is instructed, the negligent exhorted and incited, the stubborn rebuked, the weak conscience comforted, and to all those that sin of malicious wickedness the wrath of God is threatened. By it also due obedience to Christian princes and magistrates is planted in the hearts of subjects."

But the Archbishop, though he manfully discharged his conscience, might have saved himself the trouble of writing, and especially so long a letter, with his *own* hand that she *alone* might read it. In language, at once daring and presumptuous, because arraigning the appointment of God himself, the Queen had already told him, "that it was good for the Church to have *few* preachers; that three or four might suffice for a *county;* and that the *reading* of the Homilies to the people was sufficient!" Nor was this merely "a sudden sally," as, too much in the spirit of sycophancy, it has been represented. Firm as a rock, Elizabeth never relented. Too like her father, above all things else she could not bear to be told the truth, however confidentially, by any man. It is, indeed, very observable, that, near the throne, in both courts, there seems to have been a *Micaiah*, and in both instances he met with similar treatment. The first referred especially to *the Word of God itself;* the second to the *ministry of that Word;* and no unbiassed writer, when estimating the character of either monarch, is likely to forget the long imprisonment of Latimer under Henry, or the lengthened disgrace of Grindal under Elizabeth. These were two palpable facts, evincing a disposition which lasted from year to year, and which by no sophistry can be softened down. As for Grindal, after this, if not for this alone, he enjoyed the honour of never being admitted to the Privy Council, so that he *never was* a member; and though the Convocation entire petitioned for his restoration to freedom and favour, the Queen remained inexorable, with her primate in disgrace, and reigning, as Henry the Eighth never did, so unquestioned and so alone.

Now, all this happened just *before* Barker obtained his first license to print the Scriptures. In June, the Archbishop was sequestered from his office, and confined to his house, by an order from the Star Chamber; and Barker got his license in September. Grindal, therefore, could have had *no* influence whatever in promoting the sale, much less in creating the thirst.[43] But, again, the patent was renewed, and verbally the same in August 1589, at the very moment when Whitgift was at the height of his power; pleasing the Queen too, in spite of some others who were in her confidence, and at her Council board. But it was, indeed, of but

[43] No doubt, not aware of these circumstances, or not observing dates, the sale, or popularity of the version, has been ascribed to *Grindal* by *Dr. Cardwell*, in his DOCUMENTARY ANNALS.

little moment who was in disgrace at that court, or who in power. In the midst of many conflicting interests and opinions, and much to do, those numerous editions of the Divine Word were printing throughout the four seasons of the year, and the demand was rising progressively to the glory of Him who so signally gave that Word, and at such a time,—the Governor *among* the nations.

In conclusion, and on the whole, we enter not here into the comparative merits of the Bishops' and the Geneva versions, nor should the attention at present be diverted to any such point. Both went on to be printed, and they will, therefore, come before us under the next reign. Suffice it to say, that, as translations,—as instruments in the hand of God, both were all-sufficient for His purpose; but it is of more immediate consequence, that the mind should rest on the remarkable fact, that under the reign of Elizabeth not fewer than *one hundred and thirty* distinct publications of the Divine Word passed through the press, mainly to meet the desires of the people; while the disposition thus to purchase and to read must have had a *cause*.

Unable, therefore, to point out any adequate instrumental cause upon earth, why should there now be any hesitation in all England, to refer immediately to Him "from whom all good counsels and all such desires proceed?" Considering the people *as* a people, far from being any disadvantage or discredit to them, that God himself should thus speak to them more *directly* than usual, and by his own Word, it only placed them in a higher state of responsibility. The number of its editions has shed quite a new light, and in reference to the period itself, it is questionable whether any people in Europe can now produce a parallel; but certainly there was, at that period, no similar proceeding in any nation.

The Queen upon the throne might cast indignity upon the ordinance of Heaven for saving the souls of men, or care not for it. For this the primate of all England, being of another mind, might pine for years under her frown; or, as ever after, his successor, Whitgift, might carry every thing before him. The Commons' House of Parliament itself might propose to meet for prayer, and to hear a sermon; when being rebuked by her Majesty for their presumption in not first asking counsel of *her*, to obtain her sanction, they gave up the intention, and never heard one. One half of the buildings called

churches in the capital might stand there, and no one faithful voice be heard within their walls, while only the tenth man of the remaining half possessed any conscience. All this, and more might be, but the Word of Jehovah must not be bound.

Nor was it that the Almighty Redeemer undervalued the ministry of his own appointment. Far from any mind be such a thought. But He is a sovereign, "having no need either of his own works or of man's gifts," and for a season might suspend their operation for a higher end, even the glory and power of his *Revealed Word*. True religion revived in Babylon, when Jerusalem lay in ruins, as it had prospered in the wilderness, before the temple was built; and of that favoured people, as the depositaries of the truth, it was once said, "If they hear not Moses and the prophets, neither will they be persuaded though one rose from the dead,"—but a greater than Moses was here.

All this while, the nation was seen rising, confessedly, into far greater power, though often agitated; and if without were fightings, within were fears. The reign had been stained by the blood of persecution; and as liberty of conscience was understood by no party, instances of oppression occurred with a frequency which cannot be explained fully, till the State Paper Commission has done the same justice to Elizabeth which it has done to her father. But throughout all the tumultuous scene—the zeal for what was styled uniformity —the decrees of the Star Chamber, and the restrictions of the press, the "still small voice" was there. In other words, from year to year, and as with pointing finger, a benignant Providence stood above the nation, directing it to the Bible alone, as its only charter to the skies; or God's own divine grant, in the language of the people, to all the glories of life eternal.

When the general character and proceedings, not to say the superior acquirements or talents of her Majesty are calmly reviewed; since, officially, she never appears to have much, if at all, concerned herself with one translation more than another; perhaps one of the most melancholy circumstances of the time was this, that Elizabeth never seems to have understood or felt, that *the circulation of the Sacred Scriptures*, was by far the most important feature of her entire reign.

We are now, however, on the borders, not only of another

reign, but of a new dynasty, when our own venerated version of the Bible will engage notice; but as all that has been recorded had taken place before it was commenced, one parting glance is due to the past, before bidding adieu to the princes of the house of Tudor.

To every unprejudiced mind, the high purpose of the Almighty with regard to this nation had now become very apparent. And may we not inquire, whether, throughout the compass of four successive reigns, a period of seventy-seven years, any other movement is to be discovered, which can be either confounded with this extraordinary procedure, or once compared with it, in point of importance? To convey His own Blessed Word to this island, now appears to have been God's one fixed purpose, but such a path had been chosen as for ever to defy any impartial pen from being able to identify the design with any *mere party*—with any peculiar or any private interest, within its shores. And precisely the same path we shall find to have been pursued in Scotland. We have mingled with the men, and with the rulers of successive governments. There had been different opinions throughout the land, and the volumes since written respecting these, cannot be numbered. Mental friction, in abundance, there had been, and so there was still: but in regard to *the Sacred Scriptures in our native tongue, and the possession of them by the people, all along*, if any mere circle, or any section of men, however privileged, or of whatever name, had put in its claim for exclusive, or even eminent honour and renown; we can see now that it might with equal propriety have arrogated credit to itself, for the rain that came down, or the snow from heaven.

There had indeed been many changes, and there will be many more: but throughout all we have yet beheld, a contrast, by way of relief, has been presented to the eye of posterity. It has been *one continuous or unbroken design*, nor is there one other vein of English history, of which, on the whole, as much can be said. Elizabeth is dead; but from the days of her father down to the close of her long reign, "the trumpet has given a certain sound." If Providence had spoken at all, or rather had done so, from year to year, and to more than two successive generations, has not the voice been unambiguous? the purpose invariable? the object one? Such was the self-moved and unmerited favour of God.

The extraordinary number of the editions of the Sacred Volume, in whole or in part, having never before been marked or known, one is called away from every thing else, as of far inferior moment to us now. What signify to the present age, many other events, which have long since spent all their force or influence on posterity? But there is a voice here, which has never died away in the ear of this country, nay, and one that is sounding louder than ever at the present hour. Apart, then, from all the turmoil of these successive reigns, let the eye only *now* be turned to those venerated monuments of the entire period; for it is not the least remarkable feature in these volumes as a whole, that there should be copies still in existence, and, perhaps, without one exception, from the first edition to the last! At least we have no account to present of editions now no more. Now in such peculiar times as those of which we have read, for more than seventy-five years past, every fresh *issue* must be regarded as an *event*, while, upon an average, more than *three* times *every year*, the same event had occurred—the same voice was heard. And is there then no conclusion to be drawn from such a series of volumes? A series, printed and published amidst contradiction and blasphemy; preserved and read in the face of denunciation and the flames: a series, demanded and perused ever after, not by the voice, or through the encouragement, of human authority; for, generally speaking, they were read, as we have witnessed, independently of all such influence: a series, not given away, or sold at *reduced* prices, as in modern times, but purchased by the people, and at such rates as at first remunerated the bookseller, and then the monopolist. When the eye thus runs over the general current of these numerous editions, and sees them now occupy in the record of impartial history, a place so sacred and so high; we need not ask whether any thing else of *human* composition, is to be mentioned with decorum, at the same moment, much less placed by their side. This, it is presumed, would now appear to be profane. But the entire range, and especially in its historical character, puts the same inquiry to every reader—"Whether there could have been given at the time, or left for the grave consideration of posterity now, a more pointed testimony to this one all-important truth—"*The* ALL-SUFFICIENCY *of the Scriptures.*"

Christianity, not an outward conventional form, being essentially a mental subject, addressing the heart and soul of man, this first and fundamental truth—" the *all-sufficiency* of the Divine record,"—it was worthy of its Divine Author to repeat, so emphatically, in the ear of the people, from month to month, and from year to year, amidst all their wild confusion and the strife of tongues. This was a consideration, which, *historically*, had taken *precedence* of every thing else, whether of the *Ministry* itself, or the *form* of godliness. Nay, and it is a truth still, which if the heart and conscience of this nation were once fixed upon it, the consequences would surpass human foresight: Meanwhile this, and by way of eminence, seems to be one main instruction to be drawn from all that had yet occurred. By the man of mere party, it is true, of whatever class throughout the kingdom, from Oxford all round to the sea, the monition may not even yet be heard; and that simply because the subject is one which happens to be above his customary sphere of judgment. But should the slightest hesitation remain in the mind of any reader, let him read on. Upon this subject there is no ambiguity awaiting him, in the sequel.

SECTION IV.

JAMES I. TO THE COMMONWEALTH.

ACCESSION OF JAMES—HIS JOURNEY TO LONDON—HIS STRANGE PROGRESS THROUGH THE COUNTRY—HIS HEEDLESS PROFUSION—CONFERENCE AT HAMPTON COURT EXPLAINED—REVISION OF THE SCRIPTURES—OUR PRESENT VERSION—CONSEQUENT LETTERS—THE REVISORS—INSTRUCTIONS GIVEN—PROGRESS MADE—REVISION OF THE WHOLE—MONEY PAID, BUT NOT BY HIS MAJESTY, NOR BY ANY BISHOP, AFTER THE KING'S APPLICATION, BUT BY THE PATENTEE—THE PRESENT VERSION PUBLISHED—NO PROCLAMATION, NO ORDER OF PRIVY COUNCIL, OR ANY ACT OF THE LEGISLATURE UPON RECORD, ON THE SUBJECT—DID NOT BECOME THE VERSION GENERALLY RECEIVED THROUGHOUT ENGLAND, SCOTLAND, AND IRELAND, TILL ABOUT FORTY YEARS AFTERWARDS—THE LONDON POLYGLOT BIBLE PUBLISHED BY THE PEOPLE, FOR THE PEOPLE—

THE LAST ATTEMPT TO INTERFERE WITH THE ENGLISH BIBLE BY A COMMITTEE OF PARLIAMENT, REPRESENTING ENGLAND, IRELAND, AND SCOTLAND—UTTERLY IN VAIN—THAT ACQUIESCENCE OF THE PEOPLE AT LARGE IN THE EXISTING VERSION OF THE SCRIPTURES SOON FOLLOWED, WHICH HAS CONTINUED UNBROKEN EVER SINCE.

Up to the present moment, the history of the English Bible had maintained a character peculiar to itself. Originating with no mere patron, whether royal or noble, the undertaking had never yet been promoted at the personal expense of any such party. But now in regard to that version of the Sacred Volume, which for two hundred and thirty years has been read, with delight, from generation to generation, and proved the effectual means of knowledge, holiness, and joy to millions; it may be imagined by some, as there was now another and a final change, that our history must, at last, change, or in other words, *forfeit its character*. If, however, the accounts frequently given of our present version have been involved in as much inaccuracy of statement, as they have been with regard to all the preceding changes, there is the greater necessity for the public mind being disabused; and that, too, whether in Britain, or America, or the British foreign dependencies. This is a subject which alike concerns them all, as they all read, and prize, the same version.

If because that a dedication to James the First of England has been prefixed to many copies, though not to many others; and if because not only historians at their desks, but lawyers at the bar, and even Judges on the bench, have made most singular mistakes—it has therefore been imagined by any, or many, that the present version of our Bible was either suggested by this monarch; or that he was at any personal expense in regard to the undertaking; or that he ever issued a single line of authority by way of proclamation with respect to it, it is more than time that the delusion should come to an end. The original and authentic documents of the time are so far explicit, that, just in proportion as they are sifted, and the actual circumstances placed in view, precisely the same independence of personal royal bounty, and, on the part of the people at large, the same superiority to all royal dictation, which we have beheld all along, will become apparent.

James himself, however vain, is certainly not so much to be blamed for any different impression, as some others who have misrepresented his Majesty. On the other hand, his character was such that to many writers it has occasioned some exercise of patience even to refer to it. But since his name occurs in connexion with this final revision of the English Bible, it is of the more importance to ascertain the exact amount of this connexion. From the moment in which he was invited to the throne, and to be King of Great Britain, his own favourite term, down to the year in which our present version was published, his "royal progress" is forced upon our notice.

Elizabeth had expired on the 24th of March 1603, when the King of Scotland succeeded as James the First, finally assuming the style of King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland. Having left Edinburgh for England on Tuesday the 5th of April, James proceeded by way of Berwick and Newcastle, through York to London, where he did not arrive till the 7th of May. Throughout this journey he had already furnished a strong contrast, in point of character, to his predecessor. With regard to rewards, whether in point of honour or emolument, Elizabeth had been so sparing, that she has been charged with avarice. But James, having once procured from London such supplies as might enable him to advance in befitting style, actually hunted most of the way, scattering the honour of knighthood with such profusion along the road, that by the day he entered his capital, the number of his knights was about one hundred and fifty; and before one fortnight had passed, or by the 20th of May, they were "accounted at two hundred and thirty-seven, or better, since the time he entered Berwick" on the 6th of April. The Queen, with her children, having followed in June, the coronation took place in July; after which, his Majesty immediately returned, with great ardour, to his favourite sport of hunting. Though now entered into his thirty-ninth year, and having affairs to manage which had demanded all the talents of an Elizabeth, never was a boy let loose from school, more bent upon his amusement.

It was, however, but a few weeks, when matters all around began to assume a very grave aspect. From the beginning of the year, indeed, there had been symptoms of the plague in London, but in the summer it had raged with violence, and so far from abating afterwards, in one fortnight before the 13th of September, there had died in London alone 6385 persons. The disease, at the same time, was far from being confined to the city. One might have imagined that this was sufficient to have made any man slacken his rein; but no, sixty miles distant from the metropolis, at Woodstock, one of the new made knights, Sir Thomas Edmonds, on the 13th of September, informs the Earl of Shrewsbury, "Since the time that your Lordship left us, we have wholly spent our time in that exercise" of hunting. The prevailing disease, however, paying no respect to persons, by this time had reached the Court. In the same letter, therefore, it follows, "The Court hath been so continually haunted with the sickness, by reason of the disorderly company that do follow us, that we are forced to remove from place to place, and *do infect all places where we come.* We are now going within a few days to Winchester, to seek a purer air there;

where," says the same writer, on the 17th, "we shall stay till we have also infected that place, as we have done *all* others, where we have come!" On the same day, Robert, lately created Lord Cecil, writes to the Earl, "I assure you our *camp volant*, which every week dislodgeth, makes me often neglect writing, otherwise my mind wisheth the body with you once a-week for an hour." And why? His anxiety does not refer to the plague or its ravages, but to somewhat else, which will come out presently. By the 24th of September, the Court had reached Winchester; it removed to Wilton about the middle of next month; to Basing and several other places in November; when, at last, the sickness in London having greatly abated, the King and his attendants, after an absence of three months, had returned to Hampton Court by the 23d of December. A more *heartless* "Royal progress" through England, is probably not upon record. The general mortality throughout the year must have been very great, as in London alone it had amounted to not less than thirty thousand, five hundred and seventy-eight!

But if the hand of God had occasioned perplexity to thousands, some other men, officially near the King, had found a different source of daily and growing anxiety, in supplying the profusion of the monarch. Thomas Sackville, Lord Buckhurst, the first Earl of Dorset, had succeeded Burghley, as Lord Treasurer, under Elizabeth; and as James had confirmed him in office, already the force of contrast had frequently come in his way. He was now in his seventy-seventh year, and though a hale old man, no situation in the kingdom could well surpass his for anxiety. This was not owing to the expense of a coronation, in the midst of the plague, in July, which, by the way, had cost twenty thousand pounds; but to the rate at which the King went on. It was not two months after that pageant, when Edmonds reported to Lord Shrewsbury—"My Lord Treasurer is much disquieted how to find money to supply the King's necessities, and protested to some of us poor men, that were suitors to him for relief, that he knoweth not how to procure money to pay for the King's *diet*. We do here all apprehend that the penury will more and more increase, and all means be shut up for affording relief!" Nor was this merely the language of some solitary suppliant, complaining to a distant friend; for very shortly we have farther explanation. "The inconveniences that have grown by the late profuse gifts, hath caused a restraint to be made of passing any new grants till there be a consideration how to settle things in some better state, and to improve some means for the raising of money for supplying of the King's necessities; about which, some of the Lords that are selected commissioners for that purpose, have been all this week much busied, and all inventions strained to the uttermost, for the serving of that turn." On the same day, Lord Cecil tells Shrewsbury—"Our Sovereign spends £100,000 yearly in his house, which was wont to be £50,000. Now think what the country feels, and so much for that." Thus he wrote so early as the 17th of September, after which, as far as James was concerned, the monotony of hunting was only interrupted by the compliments and congratulations of ambassadors at their first accesses, by the bestowment of more grants, with "a royal and ample jointure to the Queen, his Majesty's dearest wife," and the choosing of her household. On arriving at Hampton Court late in December—"We are now," says Cecil, "to feast seven ambassadors; Spain, France, Poland, Florence and Savoy, besides masks and much more; during all which time I would, with all my heart, I were with that noble Lady of yours, (Shrewsbury,) by her turf fire; and yet I protest I am not reconciled thoroughly, nor will not be, till we meet at Parliament, from whence whosoever is absent, I will protest they do it purposely, because they would say

NO *to the Union*. It is intended that the Parliament shall begin in March, if the *sickness* stay." In one word, James had been led to consider the treasure left by Elizabeth, and the further resources of the kingdom, as an inexhaustible mine, and, ignorant of the value of money, had become immeasurably profuse.[1]

We are now within only a few days of the time when the subject of a new translation or revision of the Sacred Volume was, unexpectedly, first suggested before this monarch ; but every reader will anticipate, that whether it related to suitable *men*, or the necessary *expense*, his Majesty must have been equally at a loss. Of the learning or talent to be found in England, where he had done little else than follow the hounds and the hares, James as yet could know next to nothing. Of Oxford and Cambridge he was equally ignorant. He had not called any circle of learned men around him, nor indeed ever did. Such also was the state of his finances, when necessity forced him to call a Parliament. "It was," says Sir James Mackintosh, "his last resource. He had exhausted his credit with the money-dealers, both in London and Holland, to supply his prodigalities, before he issued his proclamation for the meeting of Parliament on the 19th of March."

It was in the midst of his sport at Wilton, and his preparations for the arraignment of Sir Walter Raleigh, that James issued a proclamation, dated the 24th of October— "Touching a meeting for the hearing, and for the determining, things pretended to be amiss in the Church."[2] This meeting, known ever since as "*the Conference at Hampton Court*," was held in the drawing-room there, on Saturday, Monday, and Wednesday, the 14th, 16th, and 18th of January 1604. The conference, it will be understood, was not with *any official body* of men whatever ; and it should also be remembered, that however exalted were the ideas of James himself as to his prerogative, or of his right and title to the throne ; strictly speaking, or according to law, he was *not yet King of England*, nor could he be, till the assembling of Parliament. That was the point to which, as we have seen, Lord Cecil was looking forward. This was a conference, therefore, of the King by courtesy, for the time being, with only nine Bishops, eight Deans, an Archdeacon, two Professors of Divinity from Oxford, two from Cambridge, to which one native of Scotland, Mr. Patrick Galloway, formerly of Perth, was also admitted.[3] Nor were even all these parties present on any one day. On the first, the five individuals last-mentioned were not there ; and on the second, the Bishops of London and Winchester, or Bancroft and Bilson, seem to have been the only prelates present, but certainly the only two who spoke. It is with a part only of what passed on this day, Monday, the 16th of January,

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[1] See Lodge's Illust. of British History, for these letters. [2] Lodge.

[3] He was present merely as being one of the King's domestic chaplains (from 1589 to 1607) for there was no eye to Scotland, in the version to be proposed. His son was created Lord Dunkeld.

that we have here to do. This was the time appointed for hearing of things "pretendid to be amiss," as the proclamation had phrased it; and it was among them that the necessity for another revision or translation of the Bible was first mentioned. Although the subject occurred among others of no comparative moment, yet as it was the only result of the day, nay of the entire conference, of any lasting consequence to posterity, the man with whom the proposal originated deserves our grateful remembrance. Whatever might be the figure which others made at this anomalous conference, it was fit that such a proposal should come from an individual, of all others then present, best able to judge; and one, of whom the nation, ever since, has had no occasion to be ashamed. Dr. John Rainolds, a man of high and unblemished character, then in his 55th year, was at that time nearly, if not altogether, the most eminent individual for learning and erudition in the kingdom. His name has often been associated with that of Jewell and Hooker, as they were not only born in the same county, but flourished in the same College. And "as Jewell's fame grew from the rhetoric, and Hooker's from the logic, so that of Rainolds arose from the Greek lecture in Corpus Christi College, Oxford." He was now indeed the President of that College, and the chief speaker on this occasion. Having alluded to other subjects—After that, continues Dr. Barlow—

"He, Rainolds, moved his Majesty, that there might be a new translation of the Bible; because those which were allowed in the reign of King Henry the Eighth and Edward the Sixth, were corrupt, and not answerable to the truth of the original. For example; first, Gal. 4. 25, the Greek word is not well translated as now it is, *bordereth;* neither expressing the force of the word, nor the Apostle's sense, nor the situation of the place. Secondly, Ps. 105. 28, 'They were not obedient;' the original being, 'They were not disobedient.' Thirdly, Ps. 106. 30, 'Then stood up Phinehas and *prayed*;' the Hebrew hath it, *executed judgment.*

"To which motion there was at the present no gainsaying: the objections being trivial and old, and already in print, often answered: Only my Lord of London (Bancroft) well added—'That if every man's humour should be followed, there would be *no end* of translating.'

"Whereupon his Highness wished that some special pains should be taken in that behalf for one uniform translation (professing that he could never yet see a Bible well translated into English; but the worst of all, his Majesty thought the Geneva to be;) and this to be done by the best learned in both Universities; after them to be reviewed by the Bishops and the chief learned of the Church; from them to be presented to the Privy Council; and lastly to be ratified by his royal authority; and so this whole Church [of England] to be bound unto it, and none other. Withal he gave this caveat (upon a word cast out by my Lord of London) that *no marginal notes* should be added—having found in them which are annexed to the *Geneva* translation (which he saw in a Bible *given* him by an *English* lady) some notes very partial, untrue, seditious, and savouring too much of dangerous and traitorous conceits. As for example, the first chapter of Exodus and the 19th verse, where the marginal note alloweth disobedience unto kings. And 2 Chron. 15. 16, the note taxeth

Asa for deposing his mother only, and not killing her. And so he concluded this point, as all the rest, with a grave and judicious advice,—First, that errors in matters of faith might be rectified and amended; Second, that matters indifferent might rather be interpreted, and a gloss added."

It was at the close of this day's conference that Barlow, in the genuine spirit of sycophancy, repeats the expressions of certain parties, bordering on profanity, in praise of his Majesty; and he himself, not willing to be far behind, must conclude the whole, though not in very elegant terms, by saying, that "all who heard the King might justly think him to be 'a living library, and a walking study!'"

As this strange colloquy, or the substance of it, supposed by many to have been at the expense of the *Geneva* translation of the Bible, has been often retailed since, and even by the Oxford Clarendon Press up to the present day;[4] it may not be improper merely to glance at the very awkward light in which Barlow, perhaps unconsciously, had placed the King and the Bishop of London, as well as himself.

To be impartial, it is evident, that neither Bancroft nor Barlow had wished for *any* revision of the text, so that the King, by himself, had the undivided credit of *acceding* to the proposal of Rainolds and his friends; but as for the mistranslations quoted, not one of the three seem to have been at all aware of what the proposer had already done. Had his Majesty discovered only a little more patience, no doubt they might all have been led still farther astray; but as it was, Rainolds, (whether consciously or not,) had in fact pitted the Geneva translation against Cranmer's and the Bishops'. All the three passages as objected to, were to be found only in these. Even in Coverdale's and Matthew's version at first, one of them was correct, but all of them were so, in the Geneva Bible, all along. There, all was right; and though Barlow tells us, there was no *gainsaying*, it is curious enough that all the three mistranslations continued to be read in the Church of England up to the year 1662, or more than half a century after our present version of the Bible was published; nay, two of them in the Psalms, are *still* read, up to the present hour! So far then as the sacred text was concerned, the Geneva version was, in effect, commended.

But the *Notes* were obnoxious, or conveyed no music to the royal ear. James condescended upon two, in proof, as being "seditious or savouring of traitorous conceits." Why then, could Barlow sit down, and deliberately so expose his Royal Master, in connexion with *his Bible?*[5] Nay, and why did Bancroft or Whitgift not detect this in the manuscript, before it was printed, except, indeed, that both were acting as blind men? These notes, says Barlow, the King first "found in a (Geneva) Bible

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[4] See Cardwell's Documentary Annals, with Notes. Oxford, 1839.

[5] For the Geneva Bible had been *the* Bible of James. It had been dedicated to him as early as the year 1579, and six years after this, was to be so again, in 1610.

given him by an *English* lady!" Now the Geneva Bible was the very book with which his Majesty at least *ought* to have been familiar from his childhood, if with *any* Bible at all. It was that which had been used at every sermon to which he had ever listened in Scotland for thirty years; and surely it was but a sorry proof of his Majesty being "a walking study," if he had never observed these notes, till an *English* lady chanced to give him this Bible!

But above all, if his Majesty was chafed, and had also missed the mark, why did not the Bishop of London, as in duty bound, set him right? Or are we now given to understand that he was as ignorant of the *notes* in *his own* Bishops' Bible, as the King was represented to be of those in his? Why did Bancroft not explain—as he might or should have done, and to the following effect?—

"Please your Majesty, you appear not to be aware that *these*, and other notes of similar import, have passed current, by royal sanction, in this our kingdom of England for many years, and are by no means peculiar to the Geneva version. As for the passage in Exodus, if their note *allow* disobedience, in our Bishops' Bible we have gone farther, and said—'It was better to obey God than man'; and as for that note in Chronicles, we have copied it to the very letter. It was adopted, long ago, by Archbishop Parker, when your Majesty was not yet three years old; nay, what is more, it was *first* inserted in our *folio* Bible of 1585, under your Majesty's illustrious predecessor, Queen Elizabeth; and under our present Primate Whitgift, with whom your Highness conferred upon Saturday. There too it has remained ever since, and you will find it in our Bishops' Bible of 1602, which had only left the press just before your Majesty's arrival in this country![6] The exiles, it is true, *first* made the remark, but *we* have followed them these thirty-five years past!" Such, at all events, were the facts, and which, in all fairness, ought to have been adduced in reply.[7]

Barlow's account of the entire conference has justly been regarded not only as inaccurate, but chargeable with great omissions; but as his statement of what passed respecting the Bible is still referred to, we have allowed him to tell his own tale; and with what credit to those he laboured to gratify and extol, let the reader judge. On the other hand, the account given by Galloway, was corrected by the King's *own* hand. In this, the second of the articles, comprehended in the note of such things as shall be reformed, and as *presented* by Rainolds, was the following:—

"That a translation be made of the whole Bible, *as consonant as can be to the original Hebrew and Greek;* and this to be set out and printed, *without any marginal notes*, and only to be used in all Churches of *England*, in time of

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[6] The copy in the Bodleian has manuscript notes for the then intended version, and must have belonged to one of the Revisors.

[7] It is indeed not unworthy of remark that in the notes of the Geneva Version, loyalty is sometimes enforced more strongly than in those of the Bishops'. See Titus, iii. 1., at least in the Testament by Whittingham, 1557, and perhaps some subsequent editions of the Bible.

divine service." Now, by this version of the story, the exclusion of all marginal *notes* ORIGINATED with Rainolds, as well as the proposal of a *new translation.*[8]

The first Parliament held by the King assembled on the 19th of March 1604, and the Convocation on the following day. The Primate Whitgift having expired on the 29th of February, Bancroft, the Bishop of London, was appointed to preside. James had commenced these proceedings with a speech longer than many a sermon, but at last, not being in the best humour with his English Parliament, he dissolved it on the 7th of July, and the Convocation rose. Among all the business of either House, not one word was spoken there respecting the Scriptures; nor do we hear of any movement in consequence of what had passed in January at Hampton Court, till the end of June. Some time had been required for the selection of suitable scholars, and before the end of that month a list was presented to James for his acceptance. They had been selected *for* him, and he of course approved. To the intended translators, on the 30th of June, Bancroft notified his Majesty's acceptance of the names given him; and so to those at Cambridge he thus wrote—

"His Majesty being *made acquainted* with the *choice of all them* to be employed in the translating of the Bible, in such sort as Mr. Lively can inform you, doth greatly approve of the said choice. And for as much as his Highness is very desirous that the same so religious a work should admit no delay, he has commanded me to signify unto you in his name that his pleasure is, you should with all possible speed meet together in your University and begin the same." Concluding his letter in these terms—"I am persuaded his royal mind rejoiceth more in the good hope which he hath for the happy success of that work, *than of his peace concluded with Spain.* At Fulham the last of June 1604."[9]

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[8] We have already remarked that Galloway, once minister at Perth, and afterwards at Edinburgh, had not been present, as representing any party in Scotland, or England. But being one of the King's domestic chaplains, he had submitted his manuscript to the King's own correction, which is therefore far more worthy of credit than Barlow's statement.

[9] This reference to Spain was meant to be descriptive of JAMES, as it truly was; but unfortunately it is left for any other man, except Bancroft, to reconcile his joy in the *one* case, with his joy in the *other*. The first meeting of the Spanish and English deputies had been held on the 30th of May, and by this date, the peace, it appears, was certain; but, after holding sixteen conferences, the day appointed for its solemn ratification was not till *Sunday*, the 29th of August. It was upon *this* day that the joy of the King, if not also of Bancroft, had full vent. "A most imposing pageant," we are told, was exhibited by the procession in coaches and on horseback, all the parties clothed in the most gorgeous attire. In the royal Chapel various pieces of church music were performed, after which the peace was ratified by the King's oath, on a copy of Jerome's Latin Bible, before the Duke de Frias, Constable of Spain, the Ambassador, when the air was rent by the general acclamation. Then came the grand banquet and drinking, which lasted about three hours. Meanwhile dancing had commenced in the drawing-room, to which all repaired. The Prince of Wales opened the ball with a Spanish *gallarda*, and after various other dances, it closed with a *correnta* danced by the Queen and Lord Southampton. Upon this, from a window they had a view of an amphitheatre filled with people, where *bears*, the property of the King, were baited by greyhounds; a bull running about, tossing and goring mastiffs let loose upon him, followed next; the whole scene concluding with rope-dancing and feats of horsemanship." The Sunday thus spent, had been too much for the Spanish Ambassador, as on Monday morning he found himself ill with lumbago. In the course of the day, James himself came in person to see him, and afterwards, late in the evening, his Majesty set out on a hunting expedition. See the full account in Ellis' Orig. Letters, second series, vol.

As the primacy of Canterbury was now vacant, on the 22d of July the King addressed a letter to the Bishop of London, then acting for that See, and soon to be chosen to it, equally intended for all his brethren; and to the same purport, Cecil, on the same day, as Chancellor of Cambridge, addressed that University. By the 31st of that month, Bancroft was ready, and the following is a copy of the letter which must have been sent to *all* the Bishops, as in duty bound.—

"After my hearty commendations unto your Lordship, I have received letters from his most excellent Majesty, the tenor whereof followeth :—

"'Right trusty and well beloved, we greet you well. Whereas we have appointed certain learned men, to the number of four and fifty, for the translating of the Bible, and that in this number *divers* of them have either no ecclesiastical preferment at all, or else so very small, as the same is far unmeet for men of their deserts, *and yet, We of* OURSELF *in any convenient time cannot well remedy it: therefore* We do hereby require you, that presently you write, in our name, as well to the Archbishop of *York*, as to the rest of the bishops of the province of *Canterbury*, signifying unto them, that We do will, and straitly charge, every one of them, as also the other bishops of the province of *York*, as they tender our good favour towards them, that (all excuses set apart) when any prebend or parsonage, being rated in our book of taxations, the prebend to twenty pounds at least, and the parsonage to the like sum and upwards, shall next upon any occasion happen to be void, and to be either of *their* patronage, or of the patronage and gift *of any person whatever*, they do make stay thereof, and admit none unto it, until certifying Us, of the avoidance of it, and of the name of the Patron, if it be not of their own gift, that We may commend for the same, some such of the learned men, as we shall think fit to be preferred unto it; not doubting of the bishop's readiness to satisfy us herein, or that any of the laity, when we shall in time move them to so good and religious an act, will be unwilling to give us the like due contentment and satisfaction; We ourselves having taken the same order for such prebends and benefices as shall be void in our gift.

"'What we write to you of others, you must apply it to yourself; as also not forget to move the said Archbishop and *all* the Bishops, with their Deans and Chapters of both provinces, *as touching the other point*, to be imparted otherwise by you unto them.[10] Furthermore, We require you to move all our Bishops to inform themselves of all such learned men within their several dioceses, as, having especial skill in the Hebrew and Greek tongues, have taken pains, in their private studies of the Scriptures, for the clearing of any obscurities either in the Hebrew or in the Greek, or touching any difficulties or mistakings in the former English translation, which we have now commanded to be thoroughly viewed and amended, and thereupon to write to them; earnestly charging them and signifying our pleasure therein, that they send such their observations either to Mr. Lively, our Hebrew reader in Cambridge; or to Dr. Harding, our Hebrew reader in Oxford; or to Dr. Andrews, dean of Westminster, to be imparted to the rest of their several companies, &c. Given under our signet at our

iii. 207-215. At the conference in January, Bancroft had said that "his heart melted with joy over such a King," and perhaps it melted still; but it was in this manner, that he, and some others, upon all occasions flattered a prince naturally distinguished for vanity; doing him fearful injury, whether as a monarch or a man.

[10] The *other point*, which related to *money*, will come out presently.

palace of Westminster, the two and twentieth of July, in the second year of our reign of England, France, and Ireland, and of Scotland xxxvii.'

"Your Lordship may see how careful his Majesty is for the providing of livings for these learned men. I doubt not therefore, but your lordship will have a due regard of his Majesty's request herein, as it is fit and meet; and that you will take such order, both with your Chancellor, Register, and such of your Lordship's officers, who shall have intelligence of the premises, as also with the Dean and Chapter of your Cathedral Church, whom his Majesty likewise requireth to be put in mind of his pleasure herein; not forgetting the latter part of his Majesty's letter, touching the informing yourself of the fittest linguists, &c. I could wish your Lordship would, for my discharge, return me in some few lines the time of the receipt of these letters, that I may discharge that duty which his Majesty, by these his letters, hath laid upon me. And so I bid your Lordship right heartily farewell. From Fulham this xxxi. of July 1604—*R. London.*"

But, before proceeding with our narrative, it is necessary to give here the list of translators, with their respective tasks, to which a few particulars are subjoined, from the best authorities.

WESTMINSTER. *Genesis, to II. Kings inclusive.*

Dr. Lancelot Andrews, then Dean of Westminster, who is reported to have been such a linguist that he understood fifteen. Afterwards Bishop of Chichester, 1605; then of Ely in 1609; and finally of Winchester in 1619. Died 21 Sep. 1626, aged 71.

Dr. John Overall, then Dean of St. Paul's. Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, 1614. Of Norwich in 1618. Died 12 May 1619, aged 60.

Dr. Adrian a Saravia, then Canon of Westminster. Of Spanish extraction; the friend of Hooker, and tutor of Nicholas Fuller. Afterwards Prebend of Gloucester, and Canterbury, where he died 15 January 1613, aged 82.

Dr. Richard Clarke, then Fellow of Christ Coll. Cambridge; Vicar of Minster and Monkton in the isle of Thanet: died in 1634, and a folio volume of his sermons published in 1637.

Dr. John Laifield, then Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, afterwards Rector of St. Clements Danes. A Fellow of Chelsea College, which, however, was never founded. Died in 1617.

Dr. Robert Tighe, or Teigh, (*not* Leigh as often misnamed,) then Archdeacon of Middlesex, and Rector of All-Hallows, Barking. An excellent textuary and profound linguist. He died in 1616, leaving his son £1000 a-year.

Dr. Francis Burleigh, then Vicar of Bishop Stortford, if not of Thorley, Herts, and died in 1619?

Dr. Geoffry or Wilfrid King, then Fellow of King's College, Cambridge. As Regius Professor of Hebrew in that University, he succeeded Robert Spalding, about to be mentioned.

Richard Thompson, M.A. of Clare Hall, Cambridge; born in Holland of English parents; an admirable philologer, but better known in Italy, France, and Germany, than at home.

William Bedwell, the best Arabic scholar of his time. The tutor of Erpenius and Pocock; (but not W. Bedell of Kilmore as has been conjectured; he was then at Venice.) "The industrious and thrice-learned," said Lightfoot, "to whom I will rather be a scholar, than take on me to teach others."

CAMBRIDGE. 1 *Chronicles to Ecclesiastes inclusive.*

Edward Livlie, Regius Professor of Hebrew for thirty years in this University; an eminent linguist, in high esteem by Ussher and Pocock. His death, in May 1605, is supposed to have retarded the work in hand.

Dr. John Richardson, then Fellow of Emmanuel College. Afterwards Master of Peter House, then of Trinity College. He is not to be confounded with Ussher's friend of the same name. Died in 1625.

Dr. Laurence Chaderton, distinguished for Hebrew and Rabbinical learning, then *first* Master of Emmanuel College. "If you will not be Master," said Sir Walter Mildmay, "I will not be *Founder*." He was the tutor of Joseph Hall of Norwich and W. *Bedell* of Kilmore, who retained the highest veneration for him, and died the year after him. Chaderton, who never required the aid of spectacles, died, according to his epitaph, at the age of 103! Born in 1537, he lived to 13th November 1640. His life, in Latin, by W. Dillingham, was published in 1700.

Francis Dillingham, then Fellow of Christ's College, an eminent Grecian. He was Parson of Dean, and beneficed at Wilden, Beds. As an author, he, as well as Overall, *continued* to quote the *Geneva* version years after our present one had been published. He died a single and a wealthy man.

Thomas Harrison, Vice-Chancellor of Trinity College, was eminently skilled in the Latin, Greek, and Hebrew tongues, as his own University has borne witness. Dyer ascribes to him a Lexicon *Pente Glotton.*

Dr. Roger Andrews, brother of Lancelot, then Fellow of Pembroke Hall, and afterwards Master of Jesus College, and Prebendary of Chichester. Died in 1618.

Dr. Robert Spalding, then Fellow of St. John's College, and afterwards the *successor* of Livlie as Regius Professor of Hebrew, a sufficient proof of his skill in that language.

Dr. Andrew Byng, (*not* Burge, as in Burnet and Wilkins,) then Fellow of St. Peter's College. In 1606 subdean of York, and in 1618 Archdeacon of Norwich. As Regius Professor of Hebrew, he succeeded *King*, who had succeeded Spalding, already mentioned.

OXFORD. *Isaiah to Malachi inclusive.*

Dr. John Harding, then Regius Professor of Hebrew in the University, and afterwards President of Magdalen College, and also Rector of Halsey in Oxfordshire.

Dr. John Rainolds, President of Corpus Christi College; or the man who moved the King for this new translation. "The memory and reading of that man," said Bishop Hall, "were near to a miracle; and all Europe at the time could not have produced three men superior to Rainolds, Jewell, and Ussher, all of this same College." At the age of 58, he died 21st May 1607. Even during his *sickness*, his coadjutors met at his lodgings once a week, to compare and perfect their notes.

Dr. Thomas Holland, then Fellow of Balliol College, afterwards Rector of Exeter, and Regius Professor of Divinity in Oxford. "Another Apollos," says Wood, "and mighty in the Scriptures." Died 17th March 1613, aged 73.

Dr. Richard Kilby, the Rector of Lincoln College, highly esteemed by Isaac Walton. He was afterwards prebendary of Lincoln, and Professor of Hebrew in the University of Oxford. He left commentaries on Exodus, drawn from the Rabbins and Hebrew interpreters. Died November 1620.

Dr. Miles Smith, then Canon of Hereford. A Hebrew and Chaldee, Syriac and Arabic scholar. He is understood to have been the writer of the preface. He and Bilson we shall find to be the final examinators of the whole work. Bishop of Gloucester in 1612.

Dr. Richard Brett, then Fellow of Lincoln College. Eminent as a linguist in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, to which he added Chaldee, Arabic, and Ethiopic. Rector of Quainton, Bucks, where he died 15th April 1637.

Richard Fairclough of New College, Oxford? The Rector of Bucknell, Oxfordshire, who died there in 1638.

OXFORD. *Matthew to the Acts inclusive, and the Revelation.*

Dr. Thomas Ravis, then Dean of Christ-Church. Afterwards on the 14th March 1605, Bishop of Gloucester, and in 1607 of London, where he died 14th December 1609.

Dr. George Abbot, then Dean of Winchester and Vice-Chancellor of Oxford. Bishop of Litchfield and Coventry in 1609; of London in 1610, and Bancroft dying 2d November, Abbot became primate in 1611. Died 4th August 1633, aged 71.

Dr. John Aglionby, then Principal of St. Edmund's Hall and Rector of Islip, and afterwards chaplain in ordinary to the King. "Accomplished in learning and an exact linguist." Dr. Richard Eedes was indeed the first appointed, but he died 19th November 1604; Aglionby died 6th February 1610.

Dr. Giles Tomson, then Dean of Windsor, afterwards in March 1611 Bishop of Gloucester, but died 14th June next year. "He had taken a great deal of pains in translating."

Sir Henry Savile, Greek tutor to Elizabeth, and Provost of Eton. He was knighted by James this year, and losing his son about that period, he devoted his time and fortune to the encouragement of learning. He contributed several rare books and MSS. to the Bodleian, besides Greek type and matrices to the Oxford press. His fine edition of *Chrysostom's* Works, in Greek, with notes by John Bois after-mentioned, and of which 1000 copies, in 8 volumes folio were printed, is said to have cost him £8000. He died at Eton, 19th February 1622, aged 73.

Dr. John Peryn, Professor of Greek, and afterwards Canon of Christ-Church, died 9th May 1615.

Dr. Leonard Hutten, then Vicar of Flower, Northamptonshire; an excellent Greek scholar, and learned in other branches. He died at the age of 75, 17th May 1632. Dr. Ravens had been first appointed, but his place vacated.

Dr. John Harmar, had been Professor of Greek, Warden of Winchester College. A noted Latin and Greek scholar. He published Latin translations from Chrysostom, and his translation of Beza's sermons into English, bespeaks him an excellent writer of English. He died 11th October 1613.

WESTMINSTER. *Romans to Jude inclusive.*

Dr. William Barlow, made Dean of Chester in December 1604, Bishop of Rochester in 1605, of Lincoln, 1608. Died 7th September 1613.

Dr. Ralph Hutchenson, then President of St. John's College, Oxford. Wood's Athenæ, by Bliss, ii. p. 92.

Dr. John Spencer, Fellow of Corpus Christi College, and afterwards Chaplain to the King. On the death of Dr. Rainolds he succeeded him as President of Corpus Christi, and died 3d April 1614.

Dr. Roger Fenton, it has been supposed; if so, Fellow of Pembroke Hall, Cambridge; and Minister of St. Stephen's, Walbrook, London.

Michael Rabbett, B.D., was Rector of St. Vedast, Foster Lane, London.

Dr. Thomas Sanderson, of Balliol College, Oxford? Archdeacon of Rochester in 1606.

William Dakins, B.D., then Greek Lecturer, Cambridge, and afterwards junior Dean in 1606. He had been chosen for his skill in the original languages, but died February 1607.[11]

To these men the King is reported to have given the following Instructions or Rules:—1. The ordinary Bible read in the Church, commonly called the Bishops' Bible, to be followed, and as little altered as the original will permit. 2. The names of the Prophets and the holy writers, with the other names in the text, to be retained as near as may be, according as they are vulgarly used. 3. *The old ecclesiastical words to be kept: as the word* CHURCH *not to be translated* CONGREGATION, &c. 4. When any word hath divers significations, that to be kept which hath been most commonly used by the most ancient Fathers, being agreeable to the propriety of the place, and the analogy of faith. 5. The division of the chapters to be altered either not at all, or as little as may be, if necessity so require. 6. No marginal notes at all to be affixed, but only for the explanation of the Hebrew or Greek words, which cannot, without some circumlocution, so briefly and fitly be expressed in the text. 7. Such quotations of places to be marginally set down, as shall serve for the fit reference of one Scripture to another. 8. Every particular man of each company to take the same chapter, or chapters; and, having translated or amended them severally by himself where he thinketh good, all to meet together, confer what they have done, and agree for their part what shall stand. 9. As one company hath dispatched any one book in this manner, they shall send it to the rest, to be considered of seriously and judiciously: for his Majesty is careful in this point. 10. If any company, upon the review of the book so sent, shall doubt or differ upon any places, to send them word thereof, note the places, and therewithal send their reasons: to which, if they consent not, the difference to be compounded at the general meeting, which is to be of the chief persons of each company at the end of the work. 11. When any place of special obscurity is doubted of, letters to be directed by authority, to send to any learned man in the land, for his judgment in such a place. 12. Letters to be sent from every bishop to the rest of his clergy, admonishing them of this translation in hand; and to move and charge as many as, being skilful in the tongues, have taken pains in that kind, to send his particular observations to the company, either at Westminster, Cambridge, or Oxford. 13. The Directors in each company to be the Deans of Westminster and Chester for that place; and the King's Professors in the Hebrew and Greek in each University. 14. *These translations to be used, when they agree better with the text than the Bishops' Bible: viz.*, 1. *Tyndale's*; 2. *Matthew's*; 3. *Coverdale's*; 4. *Whitchurche's* (i. e. *Cranmer's*); 5. *The Geneva.*

The authority, however, or the accuracy of these Rules is considerably shaken by the account delivered in to the Synod of Dort on the 20th of

[11] Wood's Fasti and Athenæ—Newcourt's Repertorium—Le Neves Fasti—Todd's Vindication—Whittaker, and several other authorities compared. In addition to these forty men, engaged on the Sacred text, seven more, or the second class at Cambridge, were put to the *Apocrypha*; viz. John Duport, Dr. Branthwaite, Jeremiah Radcliffe, Dr. Samuel Ward, Andrew Downes, the Greek Professor, Mr. Ward, and John Boys, who, however, afterwards was engaged on the Sacred text. N.B. Although *fifty-four* were said to have been named, only *forty-seven* sat down to the work.

November 1618. They state that only seven rules were ultimately prescribed, and that after each individual had finished his task, *twelve* men (not six) assembling together revised the whole. Their first, second, and fourth rules coincide with the first, sixth, and seventh of the preceding list.

It is of more importance to remark, that it has been imagined there were other *words*, or a list, to the number of fourteen or sixteen attached to the *third* rule, and specified by the KING. But this, as well as that the instructions were drawn up by him personally, strongly appears to be a popular mistake. At least, after minute inquiry, we have found no such list. Meanwhile, the following statement most probably accounts for the rumour. The learned Henry Jessey being engaged for many years in critical inquiries, drew up an essay for the amendment of this last revision of the Bible, and in conjunction with Mr. John Row, Professor of Hebrew, the Principal of King's College, Aberdeen, he aimed after a new version. In his Essay, he says that one Dr. Hill declared in open assembly that Bancroft "would needs have the version speak the prelatical language; and to that end altered it in *fourteen* several places; and that Dr. Miles Smith, one of the translators, complained of the Bishop's alterations, but said "he is so potent that there is no contradicting him."

But whatever dubiety may rest on the Instructions, such were the Men appointed. Most of them were already in independent circumstances, though "sundry" of them were not so, and the posts to which any of them succeeded afterwards, are noted under each of their names. These appointments, however, it will be obvious, had occasioned no personal expense to his Majesty, as they were simply certain casualties, arising from death or otherwise, which required to be filled up, at all events. But in the King's letter there was *another point* urged by him, and which, it may have seemed strange, he left Bancroft to *explain* to all his brethren. The fact was, that some *money* did appear to be requisite, in the first instance, and his Majesty not choosing to signify in writing that he had *none* of his own, or that the Lords in the Privy Council would not agree to his drawing on them, or in other words, on the public purse, he left another man to explain the dilemma; and, through him, now turned to the Bishops and Deans, in the hope that *they* would furnish supplies. The sum, which will be specified by Bancroft, was not large. It was only a thousand marks, £660, 13s. 4d., or precisely the same amount which he alone had spent in repairing his palace, since he had been made Bishop of London. Less than the twentieth part of this sum, therefore, was all that could fall to his share, even should the Deans and Chapters decline to a man. The Bishop, however, being under orders, must, of course, immediately forward his circular as to this point, which it seems he did, and on the same day with his other letter, already quoted. The following was that which he sent to John Jegon, Bishop

of Norwich ; and as he was to warn *all* the Bishops, it must be presumed that they were all warned in the same terms.

" There are many, as your lordship perceiveth, who are to be employed in this translating of the Bible, and *sundry* of them must, of necessity, have their charges borne ; which his Majesty was very ready, of his most princely disposition, to have borne, *but some of my lords*, AS THINGS NOW GO, *did hold it inconvenient*. Whereupon it was left to me, to move all my brethren, the Bishops, and likewise every several dean and chapter, to contribute to this work. According therefore to my duty, I heartily pray your lordship, not only to think yourself, what is meet for you to give for this purpose, but likewise to acquaint your dean and chapter, not only with the said *clause* in his Majesty's letter, but likewise with the *meaning* of it, that they may agree upon such a sum as they mean to contribute. I do not think that a thousand marks will finish the work to be employed as aforesaid. Whereof your lordship, with your dean and chapter, having due consideration, I must require you, in his Majesty's name, according to his good pleasure in that behalf, that, as soon as possibly you can, you send me word *what* shall be expected from you, and your said dean and chapter. *For I am to acquaint his Majesty with every man's liberality towards this most godly work.* And thus not doubting of your especial care for the accomplishment of the premises, and desiring your lordship to note the *date* to me of your receipt of this letter, I commit your lordship to the tuition of Almighty God. From Fulham this 31st of July 1604."[12]

Thus all the Bishops were warned, and no orders could be more explicit or more peremptory. Jegon marked on his letter " Delibat apud Ludham 16th August 1604," or Ludham Hall, a seat of the Bishop of Norwich ; but when we turn to inquire for his reply, or indeed for that of any other man, whether Bishop, or Dean, or of any Chapter, we search in vain ! From the bench entire, we hear not one echo ; for if there was even one reply, it has never been produced, nor has such a thing ever been found among any of the manuscripts. The sequel will shew that there probably never was one, but certainly, at all events, no *money* contributed ; so that we are thus left free to pursue our narrative. The royal orders of Henry the Eighth on *this* subject, he acknowledged himself, late in life, had but a very transient effect ; but this of James the First, had *none at all*. One solitary letter he issued at the outset, for he never wrote a second, and having once let the Bishops and Deans alone, it was vain to expect any aid from *himself*. He was even now, and far more so ever after, plunged in debt ; but so far as money was

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12 The original has been printed only by Lewis. JEGON was formerly Master of Bennet College, afterwards Dean of Norwich and now Bishop, since January 1603. Bancroft, it will be remembered, was now only acting as *Primate*, but very soon to be elected ; and it is not unworthy of notice, that only *one* instance has occurred before, of letters craving *money* having passed between parties occupying precisely the same situations. The reader may recollect that this was when Archbishop Warham was addressing Nix, then Bishop of *Norwich*. But then, it was with a view to *burning* the Scriptures, when there was a ready and cordial response, with a contribution, and great zeal displayed on both sides. We have now, therefore, to witness what was the result of an application for an *opposite* purpose ; only it is curious enough that in the only recorded instance in *both* cases, it should be the Primate and the Bishop of Norwich. No other having yet been found in any of our manuscript collections, the *contrast* is, as it were, forced upon us.

concerned, when we come to the actual publication of the Scriptures in 1611, that will be the proper time to observe how his Majesty had gone on, from this year to that. Providentially, most of the translators were already in situations, and with regard to some others, we shall find Boys, one of the most able among them all, if not the most diligent, eating his "commons" first at one College table, and then at another, in Cambridge, during the entire period in which he was there engaged.

It has been questioned when these men sat down to their work; whether immediately, or not till 1607; but to suppose that they did not commence till then, is out of the question, and indeed Anthony Wood gives 1607, as the termination of their first revision. Livelie, a fine and ardent scholar answering to his *name*, would certainly not delay;[13] and above all, the *original proposer* of the work, Dr. Rainolds, was busy, as we have seen, to his dying day, in 1607. The different parties might not all commence at the same moment, but, on the whole, it may be presumed that, with the Hebrew of the Old Testament and the Greek of the New before them all along, the first revision of the Sacred text, by the forty-seven, occupied about *four* years; the second examination by twelve, or two selected out of each company, *nine months* more, and the sheets passing through the press, other two years, when the Bible of 1611 was finished and first issued.

In confirmation of this statement, we shall have occasion to refer to the only manuscript memoir, known to exist, of any of the translators, which affords information; though before doing so, it may be remarked, that we are now to be furnished with evidence in proof, that *no money had been paid* to the forty-seven, or the six companies when working separately, at Westminster, Cambridge, and Oxford. But upon the termination of their labours, when two out of each company, or twelve in all, were selected, and met in London, pecuniary supply, to a moderate extent, had become necessary. The entire Bible, as it came from the forty-seven, was now before these twelve men, who met at Stationers' Hall, and were thus daily occupied in their second revision for nine months; or thirty-nine weeks. They were paid weekly, though *certainly not by his Majesty*, nor by *any* of the prelates or parties, to whom he had so urgently applied. A sum, however, of more than "a thousand marks" had been at last required, and the only question will be, from whence it came.

The memoir to which we have alluded is that of John Bois or Boys already mentioned. Born at Elmset, near Hadleigh in Suffolk, he was taught the first rudiments of learning by his father, William Boys, rector of

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13 Livelie or Lively, the Hebrew professor, living contented with his stipend, after many troubles, and the loss of his wife, the mother of a numerous family, was appointed one of the translators; and taking a very deep interest in the work, he was well provided for by Barlow, not King James; but in May 1605 he died by a quinsey, after only four days' illness, leaving *eleven* orphans, "destitute of necessaries for their maintenance, but only such as God and good friends should provide." See his funeral sermon, 10th May 1605, by Thomas Playfere, Lady Margaret's professor in Cambridge. Printed by Thomas Legat; 1611.

West Stow in that county ; and even when yet a boy, his acquaintance with Hebrew was remarkable, being able to read the Old Testament with fluency in the original, as well as to write the language with elegance. At the age of fourteen he was admitted of St. John's College, Cambridge, where with Greek he became equally familiar ; and for ten years out of the twenty-two, in which he resided in that College, he was the chief Greek lecturer. Voluntarily he read a lecture in the same language, for some years, at *four in the morning*, attended by many fellows, among whom was the well-known Thomas Gataker. His life, at once curious and interesting, by Dr. Anthony Walker of St. John's, is among the Harleian manuscripts, proving that his interest in the translation of the Bible was conspicuous.[14]

" When it pleased God," says the writer, " to move K. James to that excellent work, the translating of the Bible ; when the translators were to be chosen for Cambridge, he (Boys) was sent for thither by them, therein employed and chosen one ; some University men thereat repining, (it may be not more able, yet more ambitious to have had a share in that service,) and disdaining that it should be thought that they needed any help from the *country;* forgetting that Tully was the same at Tusculum, he was at Rome."—" All the time he was about his own part, his diet was given him at St. John's, where he abode all the week till Saturday night, and then went home to discharge his cure, (at Boxworth, about seven miles distant,) returning thence on Monday morning."

Not yet satisfied,—" When he had finished his own part, at the earnest request of him to whom it was assigned, he undertook a *second*, and then was in ' commons ' at another college." This last must have been the sacred text itself, from 1 Chronicles to Ecclesiastes, a task more congenial with his mind as a Christian. The representation then given in the manuscript, though incorrect as to the number of revisors and their paymaster, we first give entire—

" *Four* years he spent in this service, at the end whereof, (the whole work being finished, and three copies of the whole Bible being sent to London, one from Cambridge, a second from Oxford, and a third from Westminster,) a new choice was to be made of six in all, two out of each company, to review the whole work, and extract one out of all three, to be committed to the press. For the dispatch of this business Mr. Downes and he, out of the Cambridge company, were sent for up to London, where meeting their four fellow-labourers, they went daily to Stationers' Hall, and in three quarters of a year fulfilled their task. All which time they received duly thirty shillings each of them, by the week, from the Company of Stationers ; *though* BEFORE *they had* NOTHING," but (adds the other manuscript) " the self-rewarding ingenious industry. Whilst they were employed in this last business, he, and he *only*, took notes of their proceedings, which he diligently kept to his dying day."[15]

The expression " a new choice was made of *six* in all, two out of *each* company," contradicts itself. There were six companies, and there must

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14 MS. Harl. 7053, in thirty-eight quarto pages. It has been once printed in Peck's Des. Curiosa, from a copy among the Baker MSS.

15 A very strange mistake of Lewis has been copied by many authors up to the present time. Speaking of the revisors, he says—" All which time they received thirty *pounds* each of them, by the week !" This would have been above £7000, had there been only six, but as there were twelve, £14,000 for nine months' work ! The manuscript is quite distinct, viz. 30*s*.

have been two out of each, to represent the part translated. The mistake is to be corrected, as already hinted, by the English divines sent to Dort in 1618. Among them was Dr. Samuel Ward, himself one of the translators, and in giving their account to the synod, they stated that *twelve* men met to review, and correct the whole work.

Twelve men paid at the rate of thirty shillings each, was equal to £18 weekly, and for the thirty-nine weeks, £702 must have been expended: but with regard to the *Paymasters* for this service, it is presumed that the reader is already fully prepared to doubt, if not deny the strange assertion, that this could have come from the *Company of Stationers*. Lewis has remarked that it "seems a confirmation of what was before observed, that the proposal of raising a thousand marks on the Bishops, &c., was *rejected* by them." And of this there can be no question; but after the game played with the Stationers' Company by Christopher Barker, and the state in which we left the parties, how could one farthing be expected from *that* Company? They had no interest whatever in the affair, from first to last. At the Hall, as a matter of courtesy, these twelve men might be accommodated, but so far from the *Company* having any concern in the publication, we have already seen the whole fraternity of printers and booksellers up in arms against the arrangement by a *monopoly*.

But why then might not his Majesty be supposed to defray this trifling amount? Because that when only such a sum was anticipated at the beginning, he himself informed us, it was "not convenient." And if it was not so then, it was much more inconvenient now. As a source of supply, James was more thoroughly out of the question than ever before; and, indeed, there is actually no evidence that he took any farther concern in the whole affair, after the solitary letter in 1604, and a slight allusion to the subject in 1606; except that when the Bible was finished at press, he must have given his sanction, and was then praised to the skies. But as for any *money* being ever paid by *him* since the time that he himself last spake, one glance at his progress will amply suffice.

Parliament having been opened on the 9th of November 1606, the chief business of the session was the voting of a subsidy. As reported to the House, and recorded on the journal of the Commons, the debts of the late Queen were £400,000, and £20,000 for her funeral. The entrance of James with his family into England, and his coronation, had cost £30,000; upon ambassadors and their entertainment, he had lavished £40,000; and the expenses of Ireland had been £350,000. Thus the sum to be reduced was £840,000: the debts of Elizabeth, at the close of her long reign, and those of James's first *three* years, being now precisely of *equal* amount, or £420,000 each! By this time his Majesty could neither pay his household, nor decently support his own table. In point of fact, the Earl of Dorset, at the age of seventy-nine, his Lord Treasurer, had been stopped on the street, by servants of the household, claiming their wages, and the purveyors had refused farther supplies. Within eighteen months after this,

on the 19th of April 1608, the accomplished Sackvile, Lord Treasurer Dorset, died suddenly, when actually sitting at the Council table ; and being succeeded by Cecil, now Earl of Salisbury, he not only found an exhausted exchequer, but that the King's debts had now risen to *three times* the amount already stated. Amidst all this, the high tone of James's pretensions remained undiminished, though the steps taken by him for supply, without application to Parliament, served to disclose still farther the baseness of his mind. He was supporting the heir-apparent, partly by a pension from the States-General ; for a certain amount, he had sold to the Dutch a license to fish off the coasts of England and Scotland ; and by his prerogative alone, he had levied duties on the import and export of goods ! Salisbury had laboured hard, in every way, to reduce his Royal Master's embarrassment ; but by the meeting of Parliament in 1610 how stood his affairs ? The Lord Treasurer stated to the House that the King's debts were still about half a million sterling, while his ordinary expenses were exceeding his income by £81,000 a-year : but after all that his great purveyor could say, Parliament voted no more than a subsidy, which amounted to not one-*sixth* part of the needy monarch's demands. " After the dissolution," says Hallam, " James attempted as usual to obtain loans ; but the merchants, grown bolder with the spirit of the times, refused him the accommodation. He then had recourse to another method of raising money, unprecedented, I believe, before his reign, though long practised in France, the sale of honours. He sold several peerages for considerable sums, and created a new order of hereditary knights, called *Baronets*, who paid £1000 each for their patents. Two hundred were intended, but only ninety-three were sold for six years to come." In this race of royal prodigality, therefore, we need to run no farther, for by this time the Bible of 1611 had been published. It has been affirmed of James that he never did a great or generous action throughout the course of his reign ; but certainly, with regard to the Scriptures, so far from his having personally contributed towards the undertaking, it will be well if he ultimately escape from having actually *received* money for allowing them to be printed !

Pecuniary aid, however, it is certain, had been required ; and so at last after receiving no such assistance from any other quarter, we must turn to the patentee and inquire how he had been proceeding all this time. And well might Barker pay whatever was required. If £700 had already been expended, the translation had still to be superintended through the press ; a process which seems to have involved much more expense, as well as attention, for nearly two years to come, under the eye of Dr. Miles Smith, already mentioned, and Thomas Bilson, Bishop of Winchester, to say nothing of other underlings. But whatever may have been the cost, we have no evidence of one-farthing contributed from any quarter, save one.

The death of Christopher Barker, the first patentee, at the age of 70, in November 1599, we have already noticed ; but fully ten years before, (8th August 1589,) as soon as he had received his second patent, or the first from Queen Elizabeth *direct*, for his own life and that of his son, he had retired from the fatigue of business, and ever after printed the Scriptures by *deputies*, or by George Bishop and Ralph Newbery, well-known printers of other things. The son, Robert, pursuing his father's advantage, by right of the running patent, first affixed his name to the Bible

of 1601 ; and by the time that James ascended the throne, he comes before us as Robert Barker, Esq. of Southley or Southlee in Bedfordshire. The King, however, had been little more than two months in England, when Barker had secured from him a special license, dated the 19th of July, for printing all the statutes during his life : and in two months more he was again in contact with his Majesty. On the 28th of September, in consideration of the sum of £300 paid to the King, and an annual rent of £20, he had granted him the manor of Upton for 22 years ; but raising the rent to £40 in two years after. Barker, by this time, being a married man, had a family growing up. His lady, the daughter of Day, Bishop of Winchester, the immediate predecessor of Bilson, now engaged with the Bible, had died in 1607, leaving him at least four children, Christopher, Robert, Charles, and Matthew. These, the grandsons of a prelate, were *all* to be provided for, and by an *improvement* on the method by which Christopher Barker had at first secured a patent to his only son. In the meanwhile, a considerable amount in money was demanded to defray the expenses connected with the superintendence at press of the new, that is, our *present* version of the Scriptures. The entire cost was defrayed, but certainly not by any Bishop, and much less by King James himself.

One writer, in the middle of the seventeenth century, here comes to our aid. Although Robert Barker had actually been fined for incorrect printing, in 1634, this writer strangely enough argues in favour of the monopoly ; " lest in a book of so high importance, not only dangerous errors, but even pernicious heresies be imprinted, and the book of life be undecently printed in letter and paper." " And forasmuch as propriety rightly considered is a legal relation of any one to a temporal good ; I conceive the sole printing of the Bible and Testament with power of restraint in others, to be of right the propriety of one Matthew Barker, citizen and stationer of London, in regard that *his father paid for the amended or corrected Translation of the Bible* £3500 : by reason whereof the translated copy did of right belong to him and his assignes." Herbert, accordingly, ascribes this sum to the expenses of " making the new translation."[16]

In perfect harmony with this payment, immediately after Barker had printed the Bible of 1611, we find him on the 10th of May following, 1612, obtaining from the King a patent for Christopher, his *eldest* son, to hold the same after the death of his father ; but with an additional proviso, that if the son should die first, *his* heirs were to enjoy the benefits, for four years after Robert the father's death.[17] Within five years

[16] See " A briefe Treatise concerning the regulating of Printing, Humbly submitted to the Parliament of England. By William Ball, Esq. London. Printed in the year 1651."

[17] This, by mistake, has sometimes been placed in 1602, when Elizabeth was on the throne, and in 1603, only three days after the arrival of James in London.

after this the son died, and so in the fourteenth year of his reign, or on the 11th of February 1616-17, the King granted the same patent to Robert the second son, for thirty years, to commence *after* the death of his father. Now at such a time, it might be fairly questioned, since James was haunted by poverty to the day of his death, whether these patents were granted for *nothing;* and if not, then the parallel between Henry VIII. and James I. is more complete. But be this as it might, the Barkers, resolving not to trouble themselves any longer with press-work, had on the 20th of July 1627, or the third of K. Charles, assigned their rights to Bonham Norton and John Bill, which the King confirmed. Robert Barker, the father, was however still alive; and *still* not satisfied, on the 26th of September 1635, he actually succeeded in obtaining the same patent in *reversion* to Charles and Matthew, his younger sons, after the expiration of the four years to Christopher's *heirs,* and the thirty to Robert their brother![18] Thus the interests and the emoluments of this *one* family are seen to extend from the nineteenth year of Elizabeth, through the successive reigns of James I., Charles I. and II., James II., of William and Mary, to the eighth year of Queen Anne, or to the long period of 132 years! From 1577 down to 1709, not a single copy of the Sacred Volume had issued from the press, in which this family, father, son, and grandsons, had not a personal pecuniary interest.

In all this, it may appear to some persons, that, in the beginning, Christopher Barker did nothing more than secure an inheritance to himself and his posterity, for the greater part of a century and a half; though at this distance of time, no one who considers the subject would stand up to justify the course, whether in its strange, not to say dishonourable commencement, or its as strange continuance. But in a historical point of view, a family of three generations, so aggrandized, presents a subject of grave consideration. They were the mechanical agents employed in issuing out to their country, thousands upon thousands of the Sacred Volume, *the book of the soul,* intended by its Divine Author to convey the knowledge of saving truth to every reader, or life that shall never end. In the days of health, and in the hurry of mercantile pursuit, the only considerations worth notice might seem to be gain and successful returns; but in a course such as this, there was a personal responsibility involved, of no ordinary character. Less might have been said, had the family appeared to have been benefited by the volume itself, which they issued so long; but there is actually nothing upon record to encourage any such hope. On the contrary, the father of these four sons had no sooner obtained the last patent for his youngest children in September 1635, than, from some cause or other, he became seriously involved in difficulties, not indeed specified, but he landed in

[18] For this reversionary patent, Mr. Ball informs us that Matthew Barker had paid £600.

prison. After he had been there more than six years, a committee on the subject of printing having been appointed ; on the 7th of March 1642, the Printers of London presented a petition before it " for the better regulating of the art of printing, and the calling in of four several patents, which they conceived to be monopolies." These four were that granted to the Barkers, a second for Law books, a third for books in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, and a fourth for printing all broadsides. The three last died away, but the first, as it is well known, survived untouched. When first incarcerated, Robert Barker had yet ten years to live, but there he lived, and there also he *died!* " These are to certify, whom it may concern, that Robert Barker, Esq. was committed a prisoner to the custody of the Marshal of the King's bench, the 27th of November 1635, and died in the prison of the King's bench the 10th of January 1645."[19] He was buried in *two* days after, or the 12th, where, we are not informed ; but such was the end of the man who printed the *first* edition of our present version, as well as many others after it. He must be ranked only among the mere " hewers of wood and drawers of water," before and after him.

To return then for a few moments, and finally, to the Bible of 1611 ; after neither his Majesty, nor the Bishops, nor the Stationers' Company, had afforded *any* pecuniary aid, we have found the money furnished, and very properly, by the only party who was to receive the profits. The honour of payment for the whole concern, so often ascribed to James the First, is by no means to be taken from him, if one shred of positive evidence can be produced ; but this, it is presumed, lies beyond the power of research. In this case, therefore, to speak correctly, we have come at last, *not* to an affair of government, *not* to a royal undertaking *at his Majesty's expense*, according to the popular and very erroneous historical fiction, but *simply to a transaction in the course of business.* If we inquire for any single royal grant, or look for any act of personal generosity, we search in vain.[20]

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[19] Certified by Thomas Wigg, clerk of the papers to the Marshal of the King's bench, 16 Jan. 1679. See *Ames*, p. 368. *Smith's Obituary by Peck.*

[20] We are not unacquainted with the language which has frequently been employed in our Courts of Law ; where it seems to have been taken for granted, merely as a matter of course, that even Henry VIII. and, above all, James I. had acted *as* kings in this matter ; but in the absence of proof, to say the least, the terms employed both at the Bar, and from the Bench, sound the more extraordinary. In the case of the Stationers' Company against Partridge, the Crown's *sole* right to publish was *founded on property.* Mr. Salkeld, in arguing for the defendant, after denying any prerogative in the Crown over the press, or any power to grant any exclusive privilege, said—" I take the rule in all these cases to be, that where the Crown HAS a property or right of copy, the king *may* grant it. The crown may grant the sole printing of Bibles in the English translation, *because* it was made at the *King's charge.*" " The King,"

There is, however, in conclusion, one other inquiry to be made; and this, to some minds, may be not the least important. It is this. By whose *influence or authority* was it, that our present version of the Sacred Volume came to be read, not in England alone, but in Scotland and Ireland? This too, is a question the more interesting to millions, as it is now the Bible of so many distant climes—read not only in the Americas and Canada, but in all the wide-spread and daily extending British colonies.

The reigning King had indeed signified his approbation of the undertaking, and when the Bible was published it bore on its title-page, that the version had been "newly translated out of the original tongues, and with the former translations diligently compared and revised, by his Majesty's special commandment." In a separate line below, and by itself, we have these words, "Appointed to be read in churches." Now as the Book never was submitted to Parliament, never to any Convocation, nor as far as it is known, ever to the Privy-Council; James, by this title-page, was simply following, or made to follow, in the train of certain previous editions. As for Elizabeth, his immediate predecessor, we have already seen, that under her long reign, there was another version, beside the Bishops', and that the former enjoyed the decided preponderance in public favour: so, in the present instance, that there might be no mistake or misapprehension, in regard to the influence or *authority* by which our present Bible came to be universally received, a result somewhat similar took place.

Thus, for seven or eight years after the present version was published,

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said Lord Chief Justice MANSFIELD, on another occasion, "has no property in the art of printing. The King has no authority to restrain the press. The King cannot, by law, grant an exclusive privilege to print any book, which does not *belong to himself.* The copy of the Hebrew Bible, the Greek Testament or the Septuagint, does not belong to the King; they are common. But the English translation he bought, therefore it has been concluded to be his property! His *whole* right rests upon the foundation of *property* in the copy by the common law!!" In a former part of this history we had occasion to quote the language of Solicitor-General York, in the case of Baskett *v.* the University of Cambridge, who absolutely went so far as to assert that "the translation of the great English Bible under Grafton *was performed at the King's expense,*" meaning Henry VIII., "*which gave him,* the reigning monarch, another kind of right!!" Both the Bench and the Bar, the reader must be aware, here proceed on the delicate principle, that the King never *dies;* he only *demises,* and so the right, according to the popular fancy, remained. It is certainly passing strange, that no pleader once thought of denying that either Monarch ever paid one farthing. Going into his proof, he might have followed it up by a second, that after all, *our* version of the Scriptures is not an *original* work. In point of fact, however, no historical assumptions seem to be greater than these. On the contrary, if we only look at certain *fines* imposed by Henry in connexion with the Scriptures, and to these *patents* granted by James, as far as evidence goes, it rather appears that *both* their Majesties have been brought in as DEBTORS TO THE BOOK, BUT NEVER THE BOOK TO THEM.

we find Barker, or Norton and Bill, still printing the Geneva Bible, at least in ten editions, besides four of the New Testament separately. The fact is, that the royal patentee went on to print both versions to the year 1617 or 1618.[21] After that the Geneva Bibles, so frequently printed in Holland, were imported and sold, without the shadow of inhibition during the entire reign of James the First, and longer still. As for Scotland, from whence the King had come, that Bible continued to be as much used there, as the present version, for more than twenty years after James was in his grave. The influence or authority of James, therefore, cannot once be mentioned, when accounting for the *final* result.

The Bible was indeed first published in 1611, and being still farther corrected in 1613 ; but did James, as a king, take one step to enforce its perusal ? Not one ; a fact so much the more notable, when the overweening conceit of that monarch, and the high terms in which he so frequently expressed himself as to his prerogative, are remembered. " We can assign," says one of the best living authorities in the kingdom, " we can assign no other *authority* for using the present version of the Bible, except that of the conference at Hampton Court."[22] But that conference has been already described, and, in the circumstances, it actually amounted to no authority at all in point of law ; James was not then King of England ; though had it been otherwise, that conference certainly had not the slightest influence in recommending the version to which it gave rise. However, immediately after his Majesty had been recognized by Parliament, he had spoken *once*, as we have heard ; and his solitary letter we have given at length. It was in part abortive, and after that, it seems, he must speak *no more ;* a circumstance more worthy of notice, as James was notoriously so fond of speaking officially, and especially by proclamations. In the first nine months of his reign, he had issued at least a round dozen, but here there was nothing of the kind. " After this translation was published," says one writer, " the others all dropt off by *degrees*," that is, in about *forty* years, " and this took place of all, though I don't find that there was any *canon, proclamation, or act of parliament*, to enforce the use of it."[23] " The present version," says Dr. Symonds, " appears to have *made its way*, without the interposition of *any authority whatsoever ;* for it is not easy to discover any traces of a proclamation, canon, or statute published to enforce the use of it."

As for the " appointment," noted on the title-page merely, it is to be borne in mind that this extended no farther than to *public* assemblies of the people, here indefinitely enough styled " Churches ;" and taking the translators themselves for our guide, they, in their dedication, looked no

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21 We suspect there may still be found a later date.
22 The Rev. Dr. Lee in 1824. Now Principal of the University of Edinburgh.
23 Bibliotheca Literaria, No. iv., p. 22. An. 1723.

farther than *England*. Now, even there, while there had been a proclamation and canons with regard to Matthew's and Cranmer's, and the Bishops' Bible, in 1538, 1571, and 1603, it becomes very observable that neither the one nor the other was ever issued as to our *present* version. It is true that in various "Articles of Inquiry" on episcopal visitation, in succeeding reigns, such a question as—"Have you a large Bible of the *last* translation?" had been put to church-wardens. Such occasional inquiries however, proceeded, in all cases, simply in virtue of the King's personal authority over that Church of which he was recognized as Head; and they amount to nothing, as soon as we inquire for the cause of universal usage, whether in Scotland, or even in England throughout.

As royal authority, therefore, had no influence in accounting for the change, *one* circumstance, far more tangible, must be observed, and it is well worthy of special notice. Our present version, on the whole, was no doubt superior to its predecessors, but then besides, it had one mighty additional advantage in its favour. It was *without note and comment*. On the other hand the Geneva of 1560, though an excellent version, and, for the sake of comparison, well worthy of another fresh edition even now, had been almost always accompanied with these appendages. Whatever may be said of the notes, no intelligent person can speak lightly of the *version* itself; but these *notes* proved the dead weight which at last sunk the translation into an oblivion which, but for them, the version might have longer survived. Thus once more, or from Tyndale's down to our present version, was Divine providence marking out to this country the true and only path to *universal* usage of the Sacred Volume, whether in this or in every other land. It was *the Bible, but it must be without note and comment.*

To these Geneva notes Archbishop Laud inherited far more hatred than James had ever felt. The King after his one sally at the conference, seems to have let the matter alone; not so the Prelate, and under his sway the history of the English Bible had assumed a very singular aspect. He comes before us *in proof of the impotence of royal authority, and even of the royal patent, whether for correct printing, or supplying the public demand.* This was about the year 1632, when Laud, and very properly, was fining his Majesty's printer, Barker, for incorrect printing of the Bible at home.[24] But, at the same time, and with the strangest

[24] Robert Barker and Martin Lucas, King's printers, having published a Bible this year, in which, among other errata, the word *not* was left out of the seventh commandment, the impression was called in, and the printers fined £300, not £3000 as sometimes stated. With this money a fount of fair Greek types was provided. Robert Barker, sen., did not die till 1645, and could not have sunk into prison under such a sum as this. Indeed, when Charles I. referred to the amount, thus he expressed himself,—"And our further will and pleasure is, that the said Robert Barker and Martin Lucas, our patentees for printing, or those which either now are, or shall hereafter succeed them, *being great gainers by their patent*, shall, at their own proper cost and charges of ink, paper, and workmanship, print, or cause to be printed, in Greek, or Greek and Latin, one such volume in a year, be it bigger or less, as the Right Rev. Father aforesaid, (Augustine Lindsell, bishop of Peterborough,) or our servant, Patrick Young, (King's Librarian,) or any other of our learned subjects, shall make ready for the press."

inconsistency, he was labouring with all his might, to prevent the importation of Bibles printed in Holland, chiefly on the acknowledged ground of their superior excellence in every point of view! When put on his trial, some years after, and called to account for many other things, it was one of the charges against him, that "one of the first books most strictly prohibited to be printed, imported, or sold by this Archbishop, was the English Geneva Bible, with marginal notes and prefaces, though printed here in England, not only without the least restraint, but *cum privilegio regiæ Majestatis* during all Queen Elizabeth and King *James*, their reigns, by the Queen's and King's printers; and since our printers have neglected to print them, for fear of hindering the sale of the last translation, *without notes*, they have been sold without any contradiction till this Archbishop began to domineer." The following was part of Laud's own curious reply, meant for defence.

"The restraint was not for the notes *only*; for by the numerous coming over of Bibles, both with and *without* notes, from Amsterdam, there was a great and just fear conceived, that, by little and little, printing would quite be carried out of the kingdom; for the books that came thence, were *better print, better bound, better paper*, and for all the charges of bringing, *sold better cheap!* And would any man buy a worse Bible dearer, that might have a better more cheap? And to preserve printing here at home, as well as *the notes*, was the cause of stricter looking to these Bibles!"

To this the Commons replied, "That the English Bible with the Geneva notes was not only tolerated, but printed and reprinted during Queen Elizabeth and K. James's reigns; and in the 15th of James, (nay the sixteenth?) there was an impression of them printed here by the King's own printer; since which time *the new translation, without notes, being most vendible*, the King's printers forbearing to print them for their private lucre, *not by virtue of any public restraint*, the Geneva were usually imported from beyond the seas, and publicly sold without any inhibition or punishment, till this Archbishop's time, who made it no less than a *high commission crime* to vend, bind, or import them."

Thus matters had gone on for a few years longer, till the last *official* interferences with our present version of the Bible took place. They become more worthy of regard, not only as being the last; but on account of several circumstances connected with both the attempts.

Under the gradual disclosure of attested facts, in regular succession from Henry the Eighth down to this period; while establishing the high independence of the English Bible as a distinct undertaking, and not to be confounded with other things; the present history may seem to have borne hard upon some men in high places; since it has bereaved the reigning prince, as well as some of his titled advisers, of an honour and influence which have too often been falsely ascribed to them. But in

never soliciting their patronage, and in no vital point admitting of their control, it becomes a very observable circumstance, that, at this crisis, when the question of our present version of the Bible came to be settled for two centuries to come, the history will effectually redeem itself from all imputations as to anything invidious towards the Crown, *as* the Crown. The course it held under *monarchical* government, will not change when this is *gone*. Let executive human power be held by whomsoever it might, if put forth here, in the shape of control, it cannot be allowed, and like former attempts, it must come to nothing. The proposal may be hinted, but it will die away.

It happened about eight years after the death of Laud, and four after that of Charles the First, that a Bill was introduced into the Long Parliament, on the 11th of January 1653, for "a new English translation of the Bible out of the original tongues." Such a bill, it must be remembered, had never before been laid before any *previous* Parliament in England. Once upon a time indeed, under Edward VI., we have seen that a bill was brought before the Senate referring simply to the *reading* of the Bible, which was never mentioned a second time, or heard of more; but respecting any version, or revision of the Scriptures, as the consent of Convocation had *never* been deemed necessary, so that of Parliament had *never* been consulted. At a period, therefore, when there was no King upon the throne, no Primate in existence, nor any House of Lords, such a proposed Bill excites special notice; while as an attempt on the part of official power to interfere, it becomes the more striking, as being of a new character. The Bill was once mentioned, and only once; but the Parliament of the *Lord-Brethren* must no more invade the peculiar character of this cause, than the parliament of royalty; nor must the sovereignty of the people be flattered, any more than the sovereignty of the Prince. This Parliament had already sat for more than twelve years, retaining the supreme authority in their hands, so that this Bill sunk into oblivion by the well-known dissolution of the House soon after. On the 20th of April, Cromwell, surrounded by some of his officers and several hundred men, repaired to the Parliament, and after hearing them for a quarter of an hour discuss the question as to the form of their own dissolution, he rose and peremptorily

settled it. In the way which has been so often described, he upbraided certain members, dissolved the House, ordering the members to disperse, the mace to be taken away, and carrying the keys of the House with him, in the afternoon of the same day, he also dissolved the Council of State.

But though Parliament under any regime must not interfere, there was nothing to prevent individuals as such, from prosecuting any enterprize with reference to the Sacred Scriptures. On the contrary, the incident just mentioned becomes far more observable from the *time* of its occurrence. Only a few weeks before, certain individuals moved by ardent desire for the promotion of sacred literature, with great zeal had already embarked in an undertaking of the noblest character, involving great expense. We refer to the London Polyglot Bible, by far the most important biblical work ever issued from the British press, which has rendered immense service to the interpretation of Scripture, as well as conferred imperishable honour on its projectors and its editor, Brian Walton.[25]

Three works of the same nature had been previously published on the Continent. The Complutensian Polyglot of 1517, at the charge of Cardinal Ximenes—The Antwerp in 1572, by Arias Montanus, at the charges of the King of Spain—The Parisian in 1645, by Michael le Jay, by authority of Cardinals Richelieu and Mazarin. All these were by disciples of the *old* learning, under the authority of Royal or Cardinal patronage ; but the London Polyglot, by disciples of the *new*, originated with the people themselves, and by them it was triumphantly carried through. In 1652, it was first started ; and on the 11th of July the Council of State had indeed signified their approbation, and allowance of the work ; but that Council, as we have seen, had been sent adrift by Cromwell, a circumstance, in reference to the Polyglot, of no moment whatever, as the event will prove.[26]

A prospectus and proposals being printed, they had said—"Whereas the former editions, though less perfect than that proposed, and not so fit for use, have been printed at the public charge of *Princes and great persons*, and the charge of this work will exceed the ability of an ordinary person, whereupon divers persons of worth have expressed their readiness to *join* in the charge of the impression ; and it is hoped, that others, who wish well to learning and religion, will assist—and whatso-

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[25] Nine languages are used in this Bible, *Hebrew, Chaldee, Samaritan, Greek, Syriac, Arabic, Ethiopic, Persic, and Latin ;* though by no means throughout. The Pentateuch is in *eight*, the Psalms in *seven*, other parts in *six*, the New Testament in *five*, and Esther in *two*. The Ethiopic is used in the Psalms and New Testament, but not in the Pentateuch.

[26] When the approbation was signified, some hope was entertained that they would vote £1000 to encourage the work ; but they certainly never did vote one farthing, nor was it wanted, as we shall see presently.

ever monies shall be raised, shall be paid into the hands of William Humble, Esq. treasurer, for this purpose." Here then was one of the finest tests for proving, to what extent zeal for such learning existed in the country, or deep interest in the Original Scriptures. There was no parade, nor one sounding title to usher in the day, but with *Humble* for a treasurer, let us see how the design proceeded. "The work," said they, "will not be begun, till there be enough to finish the first volume containing the Pentateuch, viz. about £1500; nor the other volumes till a proportional sum for each be brought in, viz. about £1200." As there were to be six volumes in all, it was then supposed that at the least £7500 would be required, and the whole to be thus published by subscription, if there was encouragement. Those that advanced ten pounds, were to have one copy, or six copies for £50, and so for any greater sum, to be paid by instalments—And what was the result? Why that just before the English Bible had been once hinted at in Parliament, where however it must not be touched; or by the end of that year (1552) in which the subject was broached, nearly four thousand pounds had been subscribed, and in only four months after, or by the 4th of May 1653, the subscriptions to the work had not only risen to *nine thousand* pounds, but according to Walton's own words, much more was likely to be added! This noble undertaking then commenced at press in the autumn of this year, and the first volume was delivering to the subscribers in September following. The second volume was finished in July 1655, the third in July 1656, and the three last volumes by the end of 1657. Two presses were engaged from the beginning, and afterwards more, but the whole work was completed in only *four* years; while the Parisian Polyglot had been *seventeen* years in the press.[27]

Thus the most complete collection of the Sacred Writings ever published, and far surpassing all former works of the kind, was prepared and published *by* the people *for* the people. The proposal was laid before them, and they answered in a style worthy of Araunah the Jebusite. Above fifty eminent individuals, though of different sentiments, have been mentioned by name, as, with one consent, deeply interested in the stupendous undertaking; and it is not a little remarkable, that, among the innumerable works since published by subscription in this kingdom, correctly speaking, this must ever stand at the *top* of the list. The London Polyglot Bible, for the use of the learned, superior to all its predecessors, and *thus* executed, is in perfect keeping with the entire history of the English Bible for the use of the people at large.

It was just at the time that the London press was occupied with the last volumes of Walton's Polyglot, that the final attempt to interfere with our present version occurred. Wal-

[27] Todd's Life of Walton.

ton and a few others appear as though they were about to reconsider it; that is, they were deputed to do so, but as they come before us under the orders of a *parliamentary* sub-committee, they were not allowed to proceed. The existing parliament had been summoned by Cromwell, as the Lord-Protector, to represent *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*. They had chosen what they were pleased to style "The grand committee for Religion," but whatever else they had done, or did after, they must not interfere in regard to the Scriptures. This Committtee assembled at the house of Lord Commissioner Whitlock, who has himself recorded their fruitless attempt in the following words:—

"Jan. 16, 1656," (that is 1657) "ordered that it be referred to a sub committee to send for and advise with Dr. Walton, Mr. Hughes, Mr. Castell, Mr. Clarke, Mr. Poulk, Dr. Cudworth, and such others, as they shall think fit; and to consider of the Translations and impressions of the Bible, and to offer their opinions thereon to this committee; and that it be specially commended to the Lord Commissioner Whitlock to take care of this business."

This Committee accordingly often met, from this date to November following, when they gave in a Report. They might say what they pleased, as to any existing impressions of the Bible, but, as an *official* body, they must not touch with the Translation itself. Accordingly they had occasion to reprobate the incorrectness of certain editions, but particularly one, printed by John Field for the Barkers, in 1653, or twenty years after their father had been fined under Charles, for the same crime. As for the Translation itself, they made several remarks upon some mistakes; while they agreed, that, as a whole, it was "*the best of any translation in the World.*" In this testimony Walton, Castell, Pocock, Seldon, and others concurred; but with an eye on all the past, the reader may anticipate, that official authority, *of course*, could not be admitted to proceed any farther.

Parliament was soon dissolved, and from about this period *the general acquiescence of the nation in that version of the Bible, which has been read and revered ever since, may be considered as having taken place.* The reader cannot fail to mark the *season* of this very important national occurrence; but of this, we must refrain from taking any farther notice, till the History of the Bible in SCOTLAND be brought down to the same period.

SCOTLAND.

INTRODUCTION.

BRIEF NOTICE OF SCOTLAND DURING THE FOURTEENTH AND FIFTEENTH CENTURIES—THE OPENING OF THE SIXTEENTH BEFORE THE SACRED SCRIPTURES IN PRINT WERE FIRST IMPORTED.

BEFORE the Sacred Volume in our vernacular tongue, and in a printed form, was brought into England itself, we had occasion to notice the two preceding centuries; and it would be doing injustice to the northern part of our island, were we not now to glance, however briefly, at the same period.

The early connexion of Scotland with France, is distinguished by the institution of the Scots College, or "*Séminaire des Ecossais,*" in Paris, founded in 1325, by the Bishop of Moray;[1] and in the revival of literature during the fourteenth century, such as it was, individual natives of Scotland must have taken an interest, if one of her sons may be admitted in evidence. In furnishing a poetical historian, contemporary with Wickliffe and Chaucer, of whom an Englishman, even Wharton, has told us, that he "adorned the English language by a strain of versification, expression, and poetical imagery, far superior to the age;" Caledonia had so far already proved herself to be no unmeet "nurse for a poetic child." We refer, of course, to John Barbour, Archdeacon of Aberdeen, the author of "The Bruce"—a *soothfast* history of the life and adventures of Robert the First; for, independently of its poetical merits, it is acknowledged to be a book of good authority. "Barbour," says Dr. Irving, "was evidently skilled in such branches of knowledge as were then cultivated; and his learning was so well regu-

[1] This was David Moray, whose exertions were sanctioned by Charles IV. of France; but dying soon after, his successor, John Pilmore of Dundee, took great care to finish what Moray had begun.—*Keith.*

lated, as to conduce to the improvement of his mind: the liberality of his views, and the humanity of his sentiments, appear occasionally to have been unconfined by the narrow boundaries of his own age." His apostrophe to Freedom, like the earliest lark of the morning, though hailing a day which he could not anticipate, has been quoted with admiration in his own country, at the distance of more than four hundred and fifty years.

> Ah! freedom is a noble thing!—
> Though he that aye has lived free
> May not know well the property.

This work, finished about the year 1375, was written while Wickliffe was yet busy with his translation of the Scriptures; and we notice them together, simply for the purpose of remarking, that as there was but little difference in the phraseology of the Scotish and English writers of this period, so the prose of Wickliffe must have been as intelligible in North Britain, as the poetry of Barbour in the south. "The obscure and capricious spelling," it has been said, may, perhaps, deter some readers from a perusal of "The Bruce," (a supposition equally applicable to Wickliffe;) "but it is very remarkable, that Barbour, who was contemporary with Gower and Chaucer, is more intelligible to a modern reader, than either of these English writers." Nor was the language unfelt by those who first read it. On the contrary, so highly was the work appreciated, that, by Robert II., the author had a pension assigned to him, which was punctually paid until the day of his death in 1395.

Seventeen years, however, before that event, this man, along with the rest of his countrymen, had taken part in that great controversy, which agitated all Europe, when Scotland and England became divided in opinion, and on a point of such vital importance as the Pontificate itself. To this subject, reference has already been made, in our introduction to the first volume; but to understand it now, so far as Scotland was concerned, we know not of a shorter method, than that of exhibiting the two countries in the position which they respectively occupied for nearly half a century.

ENGLISH PONTIFF.	CHOSEN.	DEPOSED.	RESIGNED.	DIED.	SCOTISH PONTIFF.	CHOSEN.	DIED.
Urban VI.	1378.	....	....	1389.	Clement VII.	1378.	1394.
Boniface IX.	1389.	....	....	1404.	Benedict XIII.	1394.	1424.
Innocent VII.	1404.	....	....	1406.			
Gregory XII.	1406.	1409.	1415.	1417.			
Alexander V.	1409.	....	....	1410.			
John XXII.	1410.	....	1415.	1419.			
The Chair now vacant, two years and five months.							
Martin V.	1417.	....	....	1431.	Clement VIII.	1424.	1429.

Thus strikingly had Providence shed confusion into the counsels of Rome; and throughout the whole period, there must have been a

degree of mental agitation, such as the entire island had not experienced for many a day, if, indeed, ever before. During all these years, England had been bowing to seven different Pontiffs in succession; but six of these Scotland would never acknowledge. On the contrary, she abode by Clement and Benedict, two different men; and yet it was at one of the most perplexing moments of this schism, or in 1411, that the first University in Scotland was founded at St. Andrews.[2] Then, there were three rivals before the world; Gregory, Benedict, and John; and the grand question of the day was, *which* was the true Pontiff. Two years before this, the Council of Pisa, by way of allaying all strife, had increased the confusion, by deposing Benedict, the Scotish, and Gregory, the English Pontiff; leaving both England and Scotland to make their choice of Alexander V., a poor feeble character. England acquiesced, but Scotland had taken her ground, and was never to be moved; though her Monarch, James I., was then a captive in England, unrighteously detained. The consequence was, that when the University of St. Andrews came to be founded, Henry Wardlaw, the Bishop, who must have not fewer than six bulls to confirm the appointment, obtained them from Benedict, dated at Paniscola in Arragon, 25th August 1412.[3] Thus the first school of learning in Scotland received its authority from Peter de Luna, then in his 80th year, but a *deposed* Pontiff; while two other men besides himself, Gregory and John, were fighting for the same chair.

Nor was this the only college established in Scotland under the fifteenth century. The breach as to Rome once more healed, the delusive idea, that the promotion of such literature would be able to secure the prolongation of spiritual and temporal power, had taken full possession of different Pontiffs, and especially of Nicholas V. By his authority, therefore, and while they were running riot at Rome, in keeping their noted Jubilee of 1450, the University of Glasgow was founded; a place then containing only about fifteen hundred inhabitants, or not the one hundred and seventieth part of its present population.[4] A second college at St. Andrews, St. Salvator's, followed in 1455, and King's College, Aberdeen, in 1494-5. Thus, in Scotland, as well as in England, before the learning or philosophy of Greece had reached either country, what was called scholastic erudition was first permitted to put forth its powers, and prove to posterity its utter impotence for doing good. The human

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2 From Clement VII. also, in 1385, Walter Trail, the predecessor of the reigning bishop, had received the See of St. Andrews, and by his authority alone, without election.

3 There was no Primate or Archbishop here till the year 1466, nor at Glasgow till 1488.

4 Parliamentary Report of 1832, pp. 213, 226. In Mary's reign, more than a hundred years after, Glasgow, at the taxation of the royal burghs of Scotland, rated only as the *eleventh*.

mind, however, in Scotland, as well as in other countries, was evidently waking up; though in all this it is not difficult to perceive only the first efforts of "the old learning," to prevent the slightest innovation, or the introduction of a better day. They were so many feeble attempts, akin to the grand exploit of Wolsey at Oxford, in the early part of the next century.[5] Henry Wardlaw had been to Avignon, and lived in friendship with Benedict. As it was from him he had received his appointment to the See of St. Andrews, from him he returned as his Legate for Scotland, with full powers. This was in 1404, or the same year in which James the First, then on his way to France, was seized by Henry IV. of England; so that for twenty years Wardlaw was left free to pursue his own plans. The University was concocted in union with Benedict, and when first set on foot, it was through the efforts of learned men, who gratuitously afforded their services as professors, rather than from any stipendiary patronage either of a public or private character. For above sixty years the professors had no fixed salaries, and the students paid no fees, so that we have before us rather a nursery in favour of existing opinions, than a school of learning, intended for the ultimate benefit of the people at large. Thus, on the release of James in 1424, so far from any improvement in morals, to check the licentiousness of the ecclesiastics, the king had to labour in establishing schools, such as should be available to all ranks, as well as not hold the sword in vain. In short, it turned out, that the Legate of Benedict, though proverbially a hospitable man, was a far greater enemy to what he deemed heresy, than to open immorality; and the first bloodshed in Scotland for opinions held, was shed not only under his sway, but in the city where he had founded his University. Two men are well known to have suffered by his authority; and as neither of these were natives of Scotland, it only shews what a dread was felt, lest one ray of light from abroad should disturb the surrounding gloom, or existing authority. John Resby, an Englishman, was condemned in 1408; and in 1432, Paul Craw or Crawar, a native of Germany or Bohemia, but certainly a disciple of Huss; both being burnt to ashes, as the punishment then affixed to the operations of the human mind. The death of this Bohemian, who is described, by one annalist, as having "first displayed the bright beams of the Gospel in St. Andrews," must have been regarded at the moment as a great achievement, since it

[5] The discomfiture of Wolsey's attempt, as we have already witnessed, was the first signal triumph of "the new learning" in England; and we shall see presently how it fared with the Metropolitan City of Scotland, on the one hand, and with its Archbishop on the other, as well as with Edinburgh, the seat of royalty.

stands even now in strange association with the venerable remains of Melrose Abbey. Very soon after, that Monastery was given in reward, to an abbot who had acted as the chief persecutor! "This year," 1433, says Sir James Balfour, "the king, at the earnest solicitation of the clergy, but especially Henry Wardlaw, Bishop of St. Andrews, bestowed the Abbey of Melrose upon a lubberly monk of the Cistercian order, named John Fogo, who had written a blasphemous pamphlet against Paul Craw's heresy."

The reign of superstition continued to maintain its supremacy; but though the progress of knowledge was slow, the efforts of genius in certain directions, during the latter part of the fifteenth century, and the opening of the next, were not to be repressed. The names of William Dunbar and Gavin Douglas, of Kennedy and Henryson, of John Mair, Sir David Lindsay, and others, were quite sufficient to allow of Scotland taking no inferior place in the rising dawn of literature. Dunbar has been frequently styled, the Scotish Chaucer; and Douglas was the first translator of a Roman classic into the English language; his own original poetry prefixed to the different books of the Æneid, having received the warmest praise of the present day.

Still, however, the highest, or the eternal interests of the people were neglected, nay, untouched, except it were by fragments of Wickliffe's translation in manuscript. In England, we have seen that certain small circles, or groups, were in possession of these, and were reading them with the keenest interest; but there is no reason to suppose, even as to Scotland, that Wickliffe had translated in vain, more especially as his language was equally intelligible with that of Barbour or Dunbar. Indeed, very soon after his death, Wickliffe's writings appear to have attracted the notice of Scotchmen.[6] Resby, already mentioned, was not the only, or even the first Englishman who had travelled down to the north. As early as 1402, Walter Skirlaw, then Bishop of Durham, was writing to the monks of Kelso, by the Archdeacon of Northumberland, for the apprehension of three ecclesiastics, presumed to be fled into the north, who had been accused of "unsoundness in the faith;"[7] and before the close of the century, or in 1494, it is well known, that from twenty to thirty individuals, of good family, chiefly resident in Ayrshire, were called before the Archbishop of Glasgow, for certain "new opinions," and were reprimanded. George Campbell of Cesnock,

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6 Robertus Hamiltonus, natione Scotus, frater ordinis Prædicatorum. Scripsit, *Summam totius Theologiæ. Lectionis scholasticas.* Contra *Wicklevistas.* Claruit, an. 1390. MS. Hatton, *Tanner.*

7 Cartularium de Kalchou, MS. in the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh.

Adam Reid of Barskimming, John Campbell of Newmilns, ancestor of the family of *Loudon*, Andrew Shaw of Polkemmet, with the Ladies of Stair and Pokellie, and other persons of distinction, were among the number.

Our information in regard to the vernacular Scriptures themselves, has hitherto, it is granted, been vague and indistinct. The families of Nisbet of Hardhill and of Gordon of Earlston have been said to have possessed copies of *the New Testament*, thus early, in manuscript. The first instance, however, and on good grounds, has been questioned, if the manuscript in the Auchinleck Library be the book referred to; and the second requires still farther proof. But that *the New Testament in the vernacular tongue*, in manuscript, was in existence, and in the best use, under the reign of James IV., we are now able to give one veritable proof, though never before presented to the English reader. It must be still more interesting, as coming from the pen of a native of Edinburgh, born in the year 1500, who long before this ought to have been better known, and of whom we shall hear more, after that the New Testament in print had been imported and read. Arguing in favour of the reading of the Scriptures, especially in families at *home*, and addressing James V. in the year 1534, he says—

"I will now add the decisions of princes, and that I may omit others, I will relate to you a domestic example. I remember the most excellent King, your Father, a very brave prince, by a remarkable testimony, approved of this domestic practice. There was in your kingdom a man, not only of rank, but also distinguished for his exalted piety, John Campbell, (*Dominus Sesnocensis*,) Laird of Cesnock. His house might have been an example of Christian instruction. For he had a priest at home, who read to him and his family, *the New Testament in their vernacular language*; and the morals, both of himself and of his family, corresponded with the glad tidings. He also assisted the poor in all kind offices, and although he had learned from the Gospel that superstition and hypocrisy are displeasing to God; that he might not seem partial to any rank, he was wont to receive also the monks into his hospitable abode. There, when he at times would familiarly converse with his guests upon Christian doctrine, certain hypocrites, as it happened, understood that he attacked some of their superstitions. At last, his mind having been often sounded, the monks violating the law of hospitality, and, as it is said, "passing by the eating-table and the salt," they carried his name to the Bishop, and accuse him of heresy.[8] In

[8] He quotes the proverb to the King in Greek.

that suit, when, after long disputation, it appeared, that both he and his wife were in danger of their lives, Campbell appealed to the King. Although the monks were grievously offended that the King should call the cause before himself, still he thought it belonged to his good faith and humanity, that, to good and noble men, he should not fail to do his duty. He therefore graciously heard the cause on both sides; and when the husband, from natural reserve, and not a little agitated by fear of the monks, answered with modesty, the King commanded the *wife* to plead the cause. She then, *quoting the Scriptures*, refuted the charges brought against them, so distinctly and wisely, that the King not only acquitted the defendants, Campbell, with his wife and the priest; but also rising up, he caressed the woman, and extolled her diligence in Christian doctrine. Having severely reproved the monks, he threatened, that if ever after they created trouble of this sort, to such honourable and innocent persons, he would punish them severely. To Campbell himself, indeed, he presented certain villages, that there might remain an honourable token of his decision, and of his good-will towards him; lest there should be supposed to lurk in his (the King's) mind any suspicion against Campbell, because of the accusation of the monks."[9]

This incident is not to be confounded with the occurrence in 1494, where *Reid* of Barskimming was the chief speaker. Besides, we know that John Campbell of Cesnock was the immediate successor of George, already mentioned. He appears to have been a son worthy of his father, and as the King here referred to, James IV., fell at Flodden in 1513, the occurrence must have taken place at least thirteen years before the New Testament of Tyndale could have arrived in Scotland, but most probably still earlier. At all events, it forms one of the most appropriate introductions to the following history; nor have we been able to adduce an incident of deeper interest before any part of the Sacred Volume, in print, was imported into England itself.[10]

9 "Alexandri Alesii Scotti Responsio ad Cochlei calvmnias." 1534.

10 This story is loosely referred to in a rare poem by John Davidson, Minister of Libberton, afterwards of Prestonpans, and the founder of its grammar-school in 1606, for teaching the youth Hebrew, Greek, and Latin. This poem, written in 1575, is entitled—"A memorial of the life and death of two worthye Christians, Robert Campbel of the Kinzeancleugh, and his wife Elizabeth Campbel. In English meter. Edinburgh, Printed by Robert Walde-grave, Printer to the King's Majestie 1595. Cum privilegio Regali." Davidson speaks of the death of Resby as occurring in 1405 instead of 1408; and in alluding to the house of Cesnock he appears to confound father and son; but as he refers for confirmation to "a cunning clerk called *Alesius;* in a wark written to James the fifth our King," the reader has before him the statement of Ales. The two Christians here celebrated were evidently of eminent kindred character, the lady, indeed, being a branch of the house of *Cesnock;* and to her daughter, the sole heiress of Kinzeancleugh, the poem is dedicated.

Such an anecdote is only in perfect harmony with the character of this monarch. Naturally gay and warm hearted, he was by no means disposed blindly to follow the priests or monks of the day. On the contrary, having so remarkably conciliated the affections of his nobility, had he not been cut off in the flower of his age, he might have gone far to have rescued the crown out of the dictatorial tyranny of the priesthood.

The king was also decidedly in favour of the progress of letters. Witness only "The Thistle and the Rose," by Dunbar—a poem full of picturesque beauty—presented to James, in 1503, on the occasion of his marriage to Margaret, the eldest daughter of Henry VII. By the king's sanction also, and under his own eye at Edinburgh, the art of printing itself was introduced into Scotland. The first patent was granted, in 1507, to Walter Chepman and Andro Myllar, his workman; and they set up their press accordingly in "the Southgate."[11] But though the press was set up, the idea of applying that art to its noblest end, or the printing of the Sacred Scriptures, and in Edinburgh, was not to be cherished for seventy years to come. We are left, therefore, to inquire at what time any part of the Sacred Volume, printed in our native tongue, had first reached the shores of North Britain.

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11 This is understood to have been not far from the head of what has since been called the Cowgate. Neither this, nor the Grassmarket, had yet been surrounded by the city wall.

THE HISTORY OF

THE ENGLISH BIBLE.

BOOK IV.—SCOTLAND.

From James the Fifth to the Commonwealth.

SECTION I.

REIGN OF JAMES V.

STATE OF SCOTLAND—THE FIRST INTRODUCTION OF THE SACRED VOLUME IN PRINT, THAT IS, OF THE NEW TESTAMENT IN THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE—EARLIEST ARRIVALS AT EDINBURGH AND ST. ANDREWS—SINGULAR CONDITION OF THE COUNTRY, AND ESPECIALLY OF ITS PRIMATE, AT THE MOMENT.

HE first introduction of the New Testament into England, by Tyndale, has been fully described, and it must have been felt how much the existing state of the country deepened our interest, in that ever memorable event: the state of Scotland immediately before, and at the same moment, will complete the picture as to the entire Island. For nearly eighty years longer, it is true, the inhabitants of both countries regarded each other with no amicable feeling. Monarch and people considered the interests of the two kingdoms to be perfectly distinct, and far from being disposed to union, they viewed each other with proverbial jea-

lousy, and fought accordingly. In the year 1526, therefore, more especially after England had gained such influence in the north, the idea that the monarch of the inferior state would ultimately become the sovereign of the whole Island, must have been treated with disdain; but that the change, when it did take place, whatever was the character of that King personally, would be overruled for introducing to all alike, that Sacred Volume, which has been read ever since, is a result which would then have been regarded with equal scorn by *both* parties. Yet thus early, and whatever might be the feelings entertained, or sentiments then held, on either side of the Tweed, it seems as if the Governor among the nations, regarding them as only one people, had begun to act accordingly. If it shall turn out that the highest gift which He has ever bestowed upon both countries, was conveyed to them both at the *same* period; if the only effectual cement or remedy, for all local and petty antipathies, was then first supplied to both, however imperceptibly, and hitherto unnoticed, certainly the fact well deserves to be traced out, and will, it is presumed, fully reward attention.

The condition of Scotland, however, should first be observed. In the opening of the sixteenth century, the country was rising, both in wealth and importance, under the energetic government of James the Fourth, till the 9th of September 1513; when, through his own impetuosity, by the fatal battle of Flodden-field, on that day, the nation was thrown into a state which baffled all description. About ten thousand men were left dead on the field, and among them, not only the king himself, but the strength of his nobility, gentry, and yeomanry, were gone, within the short compass of three hours! Thirteen earls, fifteen lords and chiefs of clans, the eldest sons of five peers, the primate of St. Andrews and other ecclesiastics, the French ambassador, and the secretary of the king, had fallen! As for the gentry, there were but few houses which did not mourn one relative; some entire families were swept away!

If ever a country demanded sympathy from its nearest neighbour, it was then; but this was a feeling, with which Wolsey might have truly said, "I and the king have never been either annoyed or depressed." On the contrary, following up their advantage, many long years of vexatious intrigue on their part, awaited the north; nay, within only three years after the Flowers of the Forest were "a' wede away," Sir Christopher, afterwards Lord Dacre, the Warden of the English borders, had in his pay not fewer than four hundred Scots, outlaws, whose main occu-

pation consisted in exciting such tumults and jealousies as might distract the government under the Duke of Albany.[1]

That period, however, which elapsed from the year 1523 to 1528, was peculiarly distracting. On looking over the criminal trials of the day, as well as for many future years, we see but one continued series of slaughter and theft, treason and deadly feud. The language of Sacred writ itself might be applied—"In those times there was no peace to him that went out, nor to him that came in, but great vexations were upon all the inhabitants of the land;" yet on account of what actually took place in the very midst of such a scene, some farther explanation is demanded. In 1524, while the power of the State was vested in Hamilton the Earl of Arran, and the Queen-Mother, sister of Henry VIII.; on the one hand, there was a party under the Duke of Albany, now in France, which was managed in his absence by James Beaton, the Archbishop of St. Andrews; and on the other, there was a powerful faction *in the pay of England*, the Douglases, under the Earl of Angus. Every one of these three were struggling hard for the mastery. Next year, or in May 1525, the King, James V., having reached his fourteenth year, according to Scotish law, must be recognized as major, be crowned at Edinburgh, and nominally assume the government. The authority of the Queen-Mother, as well as that of the Council, ought, therefore, then to have ceased. This was Angus's opportunity. By Act of Parliament he behoved to be one of the King's guardians, and so he gained the ascendancy; a thraldom from which the youthful monarch was soon most eager to escape. The hand of Wolsey in all this was very visible, and Henry VIII., not a little gratified, had so pettled his royal nephew with presents, that, in his youthful imagination, his uncle in England was one of the finest men upon earth. In 1526, however, the tyranny of Angus and his party had gained such strength, as almost to usurp the royal power; every post or place was filled by a "Douglas," and in the summer months a crisis had come. In July, the great seal was taken from Beaton, and Angus, no doubt, retained it in his possession, till he was chosen Chancellor himself. Meanwhile, or in August, one of Beaton's chaplains had set off with a letter from the young king to his uncle, Arran, complaining, that "contrary to his will and mind, he is kept in thraldom and captivity by Archibald Earl of Angus," so that the Archbishop, Beaton, was indulging hope of being Chancellor once more.[2] By the end of this month, the Queen's party, now under Beaton, was gathering strength, and among others, John Stuart, Earl of Lennox, had joined it. They were all together at Stirling Castle. On the other hand, the Hamiltons, under the Earl of Arran, and notwithstanding a feud which

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1 Cotton MS. Calig. B. i., p. 150, or Ellis' Letters, i. p. 132. August 1516.
2 Gov. State Papers, iv., p. 451, note. 452-454.

had existed ever since the death of Sir Patrick Hamilton in 1520, had united with the Douglas party under Angus, and they were then in Edinburgh, with King James in their possession.[3] There was now no alternative, except an appeal to the sword. On the 4th of September, the Earl of Lennox, eager to emancipate the youthful monarch, if not deliver his country from English interference, marched from Stirling towards Edinburgh, having resolved to succeed, or die in the attempt. On the morning of the same day, the trumpet had sounded at Edinburgh, summoning all to the field.[4] In the course of a few hours, Lennox and Angus met near Linlithgow, when the battle commenced. Lennox fell, mortally wounded, or rather, was murdered in cold blood by Sir James Hamilton of Finnart, a natural son of the Earl of Arran, who was a nephew of Lennox, and now mourned over his death for many days. The young King, more deeply affected, never forgot, if he ever forgave, the deed. Angus, the conqueror, immediately bent his way to Stirling, fully resolved to seize not only the Queen-Mother, but Beaton, who was understood to be the counsellor of the whole business. Both, however, had fled; the Queen herself had to remain in disguise somewhere, for more than two months; but the Archbishop especially was compelled to provide for his personal safety, if not his life. He then assumed the garb of a Shepherd, and remained on the hills for nearly a quarter of a year![5] In this battle, we are told that Beaton had lost "a brother and a nephew, the Abbots of Dunfermline and Melrose, with a great counsellor of his, Stirling of Keir, and many other of his kinsmen and servants;"[6] but disappointed in not finding himself, Angus proceeded to Fifeshire immediately, where he dismantled not only his Abbey of Dunfermline, but his Archiepiscopal Castle of St. Andrews. The bird had flown, and now the nest was rifled.

On this intelligence being conveyed to England, though a primate had fallen into disgrace, it was hailed with joy. On the 21st of September, Sir Thomas More, then with Henry at Stoney Stratford, informs Wolsey, that their royal master "very greatly rejoiced" at "the prosperous success of the Earls of Angus (then appropriately spelt, *Anguysh*) and Arran against their enemies, and the disturbers of the peace and quiet of Scotland;" and "since the said earls have now sufficient open proof that the Archbishop of St. Andrews putteth all his possible power

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[3] Gov. State Papers, vol. iv., p. 456.

[4] The young monarch, who was fond of Lennox, and knew that he had taken arms from affection to his person, advanced slowly, and with reluctance, On reaching Corstorphine, the distant sound of artillery announced that the battle had begun. Sir George Douglas, his conductor, urged speed, and at last broke into passionate and brutal menaces. "Think not," said he "that on any event you shall escape us—for even were our enemies to gain the day, rather than surrender your person, we should *tear it in pieces!*" No wonder that the language of this monster made such an impression on the royal youth, that it was never forgiven.

[5] He is said to have actually tended a flock, on the hill then known by the name of Bogrian Knowe, in Fife. *Lindsay's Chronicles.*

[6] Gov. State Papers, iv., pp. 457-8.

to procure their destruction, and to rear broilerie, war, and revolution in the realm, to the no little peril of the young King, their master; the King's Highness thinketh it were good that they were advised in this their victory, so substantially to provide for the safeguard of their king and themselves, by the effectual repressing of their adversaries, that the said Archbishop and his adherents, in any time to come, should not be able, either by crafty practices to deceive them, or open rebellion to distress them; but, without any trust or credence to be given to the blandishing of the said Archbishop, which this adverse chance shall peradventure drive him to use for the while, with purpose and intent of revenging when he may find occasion; they provide and see so substantial order taken, that none *evil weed* have power to spring up too high."[7]

Archbishop Beaton having exchanged his palace or castle for the hills, and his crosier for a shepherd's crook, it had been well for himself, as well as the interests of humanity, had he abode by his occupation to the day of his death. At present, however, he could do nothing, and must keep as quiet as possible; but it will not be out of place or uninstructive to observe, what was doing in England at the same moment.

Wolsey, as a politician, was evidently playing one of his double games with Scotland, as well as with the Continent; a proof of his consummate talents for worldly business all round him, in every direction; but he was now also enraged at the existence of Tyndale's Testaments, recently detected in Antwerp, and straining every nerve to get them burnt; while Tunstal, Bishop of London, was not only authenticating the book for this end, but he and Warham of Canterbury, in October and November, were thundering out their injunctions against the Sacred Volume as "pestiferous poison." Now, after all that we have witnessed in England; while they were thus up in arms, and while Beaton, the grand enemy in Scotland was laid aside—wrapped up in his shepherd's disguise, or tending his sheep on the hills—it would certainly be a curious and memorable coincidence, if the same sacred treasure was then arriving in Scotland at different ports, not excepting St. Andrews itself; if indeed the earliest copies had not secretly arrived in the course of the summer! But we shall see presently.

With regard to the first introduction into Scotland of the

7 Gov. State Papers, iv., p. 458, *note*.

Sacred Volume in a printed form, the historian has never yet been able to proceed farther than a shrewd conjecture. It has been supposed that the translation of Tyndale may or must have found its way there; but when, how early, or by what means, we have never been told. If it can now be proved that the book was conveyed to Scotland as well as England, not only by the same method, but nearly about the same time, and certainly within the compass of the same year, the reader cannot fail to return with fresh interest to the period. This would be sufficient to render the year 1526 equally memorable in Caledonia, as in Old England.

In their commercial intercourse with the Continent, Scotland and England were altogether independent of each other, and the trade of the former with the Low Countries was of equally ancient standing; but it is of importance to observe, that, by this period, and by the authority of Parliament, the Scotish merchants generally *went along with their goods*, and that none were allowed to do so, but persons "*able and of good fame.*" So much the better, or more in favour of what was now to take place.[8]

The reader can scarcely fail to remember what a battle was fought in Antwerp respecting the New Testaments of Tyndale, when first detected there, and how the Ambassador of England, John Hackett, got himself so embroiled in the business;

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[8] The commerce of Scotland with the Low Countries had existed from the reign of Robert Bruce. At the beginning of the fifteenth century, in 1408, an amicable understanding existed between her merchants and the city of Bruges, where they had a "Conservator" of their privileges, and where they paid for goods or merchandize "in the same way and manner as the merchants of Germany, or other foreigners residing in that city." In 1426, the ordinary merchants of Scotland being very desirous to come to Zealand, and particularly to Middleburg, Philip Duke of Burgundy welcomed and highly favoured them. Campvere as well as Middleburg, (both in the island of Walcheren) were ports to which the Scotch traders occasionally resorted; but by the year 1475 they had full freedom to trade without being so confined. About 1487 their trade fluctuated from one town to another in the Low Countries, though still Bruges had a considerable share, partly from the connexions and acquaintance many of the Scottish merchants had in that city, owing to their long run of business with its inhabitants. By the beginning of the sixteenth century, when the office of Conservator became fixed, legal and established, by the authority of Parliament; the merchants generally went along with their goods, their trade was wholly (or chiefly) in the *summer* time; and by the law none were allowed to accompany their merchandize, but persons able and of good fame. A voyage from Scotland to Walcheren differed very little as to distance from one to Bruges; but, according to the weather or other accidents, it was found that one might be made to the former, much sooner and with less hazard. This, added to the flourishing commerce of *Antwerp*, so near at hand, contributed not a little to diminish, and at last remove the staple trade with Flanders, and settle it at *Middleburg* and *Campvere*. As a proof that the trade by this period and long before had been much more considerable than it has been imagined, "many houses in the large city of Bruges, cellars and other places for merchandize, became not only empty, but useless, and a burden to the proprietors." The greatest part of the Scotish trade being thus transported to Zealand, Campvere especially gave it all the encouragement and favour in its power. See "An Account of the Scotch trade in the Netherlands, and of the staple port in Campvere, by James Yair, Minister of the Scotch church in Campvere." London, 1776.

Wolsey and Tunstal being not more fierce at home, than he was abroad. Hackett's object was to "see justice done" upon all such English books as were entitled "The New Testament." By "justice done," he meant burning them; and this he said was for "the preservation of the *Christian faith*." Now it was in the very midst of this, the first onset in that long war, that we have positive information as to Scotland; and while it must be new to the reader, it happens to be fully as distinct as any we have read in the history of England, if not more so. Hackett was in busy correspondence both with Cardinal Wolsey and Brian Tuke, the Secretary of State. It was to the former he addressed a letter, dated from Mechlin, on Wednesday the 20th of February 1526, that is, 1527; from which the following is an extract:—

"Please your Grace to understand that since my last writing to your Grace, I have received none of your's. I trust by this time that your Grace has ample information of such execution and justice as has been done in the towns of Antwerp and Barrow (now Bergen-op-Zoom) upon all *such* English books as we could find in these countries, similar to *three* such other books as your Grace sent unto me, with my Lord the Bishop of London's signature.[9]

"By my last writing to Mr. Brian Tuke (4 January 1527) I advertised him how that there *were* DIVERS *merchants of Scotland that bought many* of such like books, and took them into Scotland; a part to *Edinburgh*, and *most* part to the town of *St. Andrews*.

"For the which cause, when I was at Barrow, being advertised that the Scotish ships were in Zealand, for there the said books were laden, I went suddenly thitherward, thinking, if I had found such stuff there, that I would cause to make as good a *fire* of them, as there has been done of the remnant in Brabant; *but fortune would not that I should be in time;* for the foresaid ships were departed *a day afore my coming*. So I must take patience for all my labour, with leaving My Lady Margaret's letters, and good instructions with my Lord of Bever, and the.....Mr....off...concerning the foresaid business."[10]

Mons. de Bever, who was Lord of Campvere, and Admiral of Flanders, had been in London only in March 1525, as Ambassador from Lady Margaret, Regent of Flanders, and must have been fully aware of Wolsey's imperious temper, as he had then insulted himself; but it is not a little remarkable, that, at this very moment, confidence in the court of England was

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9 Upon referring to our previous history, 1526-7, it will be seen that Hackett could not proceed to destroy the New Testaments till he had procured an authenticated copy of the edition or *editions* aimed at. Here then were *three* distinct books, which, as formerly remarked, appear to point at Tyndale's first and second, and the first Antwerp edition by Christopher of Endhoven.

10 MS. Cotton, Galba, B. vi., fol. 4. The only defect in this manuscript, the State Papers enable us to supply. Hackett refers to "Mr. *John Moffit*, conservator of the nation of Scotland, in Flanders," at the moment. See Cotton MS. Calig. B. ii., fol. 77; or Gov. State Papers, vol. iv., p. 561.

failing, if not gone; the double dealing of the Cardinal on the Continent had been detected, and for some time to come, no attention will be paid to any request from *that* quarter. The Lord of Campvere was not so likely therefore to quarrel with the Scotish traders at their *own* staple port; nor is there the slightest evidence of Wolsey having conveyed the intelligence he had received to Scotland, a circumstance the more remarkable since he was so annoyed with the subject. He had, it is true, far higher game in prospect. The sack of Rome itself first, and then his own splendid embassy to France engrossed him; but, besides, when these last ships arrived, Beaton lay under his frown, and in concealment! Hackett, however, certainly refers to importations as already past; and as more business was done in *summer* than in autumn, the probability is, that even these were not the *first* Testaments. At all events, here the channel of conveyance was opened. Besides Leith and St. Andrews, there were the ports of Dundee, Montrose, and Aberdeen, who all traded with Zealand; and as in Scotland there were no official steps taken against the *New Testament* by *name*, for at least five years after this, the book must have arrived, again and again, at all these ports. This is easily understood, after the scene we have witnessed in England, in the face of far greater, and more vigilant opposition. But farther evidence awaits us.

Thus, although England and Scotland were washed by the same sea, the one country was to be, in no degree, dependent upon the other for the Word of Life; either at first, or for years to come. Into both, it was to be imported, and both were to stand alike on the same humble ground, as *recipients*. Nor when first conveyed, in either case, was it to be by some one man of great mental energy rising up, and rousing the attention of his countrymen to the truth of God. Quite the reverse. But having once made of the Scotish Primate a fugitive, in terror of his life; it was the God of providence himself finding his way into the very metropolis of superstition, as well as other sea-ports; pouring contempt upon the crafty, and saying, in effect to the people of *Scotland*, as well as *England*, at the same moment— "From henceforth let no man glory in men; let veneration for foreign names, or for that of any man, who shall afterwards rise in either country, never be carried to an undue, or idolatrous extent."

For a number of years the same providential course of sup-

ply was steadily pursued; so that afterwards should any boasting or vain-glory, in connexion with Christianity, ever be heard, whether in the south or the north, a most singular foundation had been laid, for replying as Paul once did to his Corinthians, "*What! came the Word of God* OUT *from you, or came it* UNTO YOU ONLY? *For who made thee to differ? And what hast thou which thou didst not receive?*"—among all the other nations of Europe, by way of eminence, *receive?* Petty or narrow-minded rivalry has too often been evinced between England and Scotland, as to priority in smaller matters; but there was to be no room left for boasting in regard to the *greatest of all.* That such coincidence should never have been observed before, may indeed seem strange; but once pointed out, it certainly was not intended to be simply noticed, and so forgotten. Let it rather be improved, even at this late hour, to the praise of Him, who thus, in spite of every species of hostility, so signally conveyed his own word to the very camps of the enemy—to the north as well as the south, about the same period—to Edinburgh as well as London—to the mouth of the Eden at St. Andrews, and no doubt other places, as well as to the mouth of the Thames, or to Oxford and Cambridge! In this point of view, the year 1526 becomes by far the most remarkable in the annals of our common country. The New Testament thus conveyed to both countries, was dreaded and deprecated by both alike, and as an evil of the greatest magnitude. More than ten years passed away in England, before their greatest national blessing was accepted or allowed by the sovereign; it was seventeen years before a similar allowance occurred in Scotland. Where then, ever since, has there been any ground for boasting? It is excluded; and that by the simple and authentic history of the Sacred Volume itself.

The Scriptures, however, once introduced, one is curious to inquire after the Archbishop. To an ambitious mind no punishment could be more severe than that of retirement and disguise, and Beaton was soon thoroughly sick of both; but he was very rich, and must now therefore try what money could effect. The Queen first ventured from her concealment, and approaching to Edinburgh on Tuesday the fourth of November, or two months after the fatal battle, was met on the road at Corstorphine[11] by her youthful son, the King, and other Lords,

[11] A spot which the young Prince could never possibly forget, as that where he had been so barbarously threatened by Douglas.

who conducted her to Holyrood. This so far paved the way for Beaton's release, but as Angus had all men in his power, "to fine and ransom at his pleasure," mere personal influence was not to avail, and least of all that of the Queen Mother. David Beaton, therefore, the primate's nephew, the future Cardinal, was now in Edinburgh, negociating for the fugitive; and through the noted Sir Archibald Douglas, Provost of the city, an uncle of the Earl of Angus, he at last succeeded. To the Earl of Arran the Archbishop had to present the Abbey of Kilwinning; to Angus himself, in money, two thousand marks Scots; to George and Archibald Douglas, one thousand each, and to Hamilton, the murderer of Lennox, one thousand. Five thousand marks and an abbey, was certainly no trifling ransom in those days. After all, though Beaton was released by the end of the year, and was keeping Christmas with the Queen in Edinburgh, he was but barely forgiven, and not to be trusted. Soon after, both the Queen and he had to withdraw from the seat of the Court, and to Stirling once more.[12] Restored, however, to his Episcopal functions, we shall see, only too soon, the base and ungrateful use which he made of his power. But so ended the year 1526.

SECTION II.

ANNO 1527-1528—CONSTERNATION OF THE AUTHORITIES IN SCOTLAND—THE NEW TESTAMENT SOON FOLLOWED BY ONE LIVING VOICE, THAT OF PATRICK HAMILTON—HIS MARTYRDOM—ALEXANDER SETON, THE NEXT WITNESS, PERSECUTED—HE ESCAPES TO ENGLAND—THE NEW TESTAMENT GOES ON TO BE IMPORTED.

ONCE more the analogy between England and Scotland is presented to our view. Under the English history we had occasion to observe, that as early as 1520, some alarm had been felt respecting what was called Lutheranism, the phrase of the day for any approach to Scriptural truth, even though the party molested might never have heard of Luther's name, or, at least, read a page of his writings. So Scot-

[12] Gov. State Papers, iv., pp. 461, 463, 468.

land was soon seized with similar alarm, and by the 17th of July 1525, an act of parliament had passed, enacting, that "no manner of persons, *strangers*, that happen to arrive with their ships, within any part of this realm, *bring with them* any books or works of the said Luther, his disciples or servants," on pain of imprisonment, besides the forfeiture of their ships and goods. Now, whether what was taking place last year as to books imported was known, we have no positive evidence; but at all events, by the autumn of this year there was fresh alarm, and that not owing to *strangers*. In the month of August 1527, the Earl of Angus having got himself appointed to be Chancellor, with Dunbar, the Bishop of Aberdeen and uncle of Dunbar the Archbishop of Glasgow, to assist him; Angus and the Lords of Council added the following clause to the act of 1525:—"And all other, *the king's lieges*, assistaries to such opinions, be punished in seemable wise, and the effect of the said act to strike upon *them*." Thus, between July 1525 and September 1527, as it was determined to extend those penalties to natives of Scotland, we have sufficient proof that importations by *them* had been going on; but while there were, very probably, some other publications, it is not a little extraordinary, that the *only* books which can now be traced, or distinctly specified, should be those of *the New Testament itself* of Tyndale's version.[1] Never, then, let it be overlooked, that if the provisions of this act were followed out, there existed a time in the history of our country, when, if a vessel arrived at Leith or St. Andrews, at Dundee, Montrose, or Aberdeen, with copies of the New Testament on

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[1] It was certainly a high compliment to the power of Luther's exertions, that his mere *name* served for years as a word of terror, both in England and Scotland. No writer, however, acquainted with the times, can now, for a moment, be misled by the foolish expedient. Luther had no connexion whatever with the English New Testament, nor did Lutheranism, as such, ever prevail in either country. The necessity of repentance towards God, and of faith towards our Lord Jesus Christ, or the doctrine of justification by faith, once broached, might be cunningly called by that name; but that such an idea as that *Martin Luther* was the *author* of the *New Testament* should have ever prevailed in Scotland as well as England, must to some modern readers appear passing strange. Yet prevail it did, and for years; no doubt chiefly through the wicked contrivance of the priests, and especially the monks. How early they had succeeded in thus beguiling the people of Scotland, it is impossible to say; but even so late as the year 1545, when Cardinal Beaton and the Earl of Arran were proceeding through the country for suppressing what they called heresy, they turned towards *Dundee*, as they themselves declared, in order to bring to punishment *all those who read the New Testament*; for in those days, *that* was numbered among the most heinous crimes. Nay, such was the general ignorance, that the greatest part, or many of the priests, offended at the term NEW, contended that *it was a book lately written by Martin Luther*, and they demanded the OLD TESTAMENT! Buchanan, lib. 15, xxix., Spottiswood, p. 75.

board, the ship and cargo were liable to confiscation, and the captain to imprisonment! A battle was now to be fought and won, in the north as well as in the south of Britain.

But again, as in England, serious and long continued persecution did not commence till after the Scriptures had arrived; so it was in Scotland. Copies had soon found their way, and not in vain, to the canons of Cardinal College, Oxford; but so they had to the canons of St. Andrews, as well as other parties. The explosion at Oxford occurred in February 1526, and by February 1528, at the very moment when Tunstal and his vicar-general were sitting in severe judgment on the book in London, the *New Testament* will now be very pointedly referred to, and condemned, within the walls of the Metropolitan Church in Scotland.

The occasion of this, the first storm, is well known. It followed the arrival from abroad, about the autumn of 1527, and the subsequent exertions of one of the loveliest and most interesting of all characters in early Scotish history—Patrick Hamilton. Of the noble army of Martyrs on British ground, during the sixteenth century, he was to be the youthful and heroic leader.

Sir Patrick Hamilton of Kincavil, Linlithgowshire, a son of Lord Hamilton's, brother of the Earl of Arran, and brother-in-law of James the Third, had married a daughter of John Duke of Albany, brother to the same monarch, by whom he had a family of two sons and a daughter, James, Patrick, and Katharine. By both parents, therefore, the children were related to the royal family of Scotland. Bereaved of their father[2] seven years ago, or the 2d of May 1520, on the High Street of Edinburgh, in a feud between the Earls of Angus and Arran, when about two hundred and fifty were slain, and Archbishop Beaton himself, *then* of the *Hamilton* party, very narrowly escaped with his life; these children were now destined to feel, by the loss of their father, not only the forgetful ingratitude of Beaton's heart, but the power of his wrath.

Patrick, the youngest son, born in the year 1504, and intended for an ecclesiastic, had the Abbacy of Fearn conferred upon him in his youth.[3] Educated under John Major and others at St. Andrews, as

[2] He is not to be confounded, as Keith and others have done, with an illegitimate son of Lord Hamilton's of the *same* name, a strange and too common practice of those times. Thus another Patrick, the Prior of St. Andrews, of whom we shall hear presently, had *three* sons, all of the same name with their father—Patrick Hepburn.

[3] An extensive Abbey, in a fertile spot of Ross-shire, founded by the first Earl of Ross, in the

soon as he had any knowledge of the pure word of God, he could not conceal his sentiments, and consequently was involved in trouble.[4] He then went abroad, where he is said to have remained two years. Three individuals went with him, one of whom, as a servant, abode by him to the moment of death, having accompanied him to the stake. As there is sufficient evidence that Hamilton returned direct from Marburg in Hesse, and the University at that place was not founded till 1526, this fixes his departure to the year 1525 at the latest, not 1526, as frequently stated. The parliamentary act of 1525, already mentioned, may have been in some degree connected with the first disclosure of his views; and, indeed, when his sentiments, as left by himself, in his latin treatise, are considered, two years may well be allowed for his attaining to such maturity of mind. Hamilton's name, like that of almost all who went to the Continent about that period, has been associated with those of Luther and Melancthon. He must have been eager to see these men, and there is no reason to doubt of his having known them both; but the evidence of his intimacy with Francis Lambert, John Fryth, and, of course, with Tyndale, rests on firmer ground.[5] From Marburg, where Tyndale and Fryth appear to have been, he last came, and embarked in Holland for Scotland, thus following the very tract by which the New Testament Scriptures had *preceded* him into his own country. His mind was full of ardour, and though Lambert had affectionately and strongly dissuaded him from rushing into such certain danger, if Fryth once told him what had just happened in England, one can easily conceive of this only adding oil to a flame already kindled.

But be this as it may, Fryth was the man who took up, with a warm and kindred spirit, the exposition of his views, which Hamilton had left behind him at Marburg; and from it one may judge what his preaching must have been, upon his return. His treatise consists of two books; the first entitled "*De lege et evangelio*"—of law and Gospel; the second, "*De fide et operibus*"—of faith and works; or parts of what were then styled "common places" in divinity. They formed a sort of farewell testimony to the course he intended to pursue in his native land. Thus the first Scotish or British Martyr of the day, was the first person who

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thirteenth century, under Alexander II., a preferment of considerable value. The Abbey afterwards answered as the parish church down to so recent a period as 1742, when the roof fell on a Sunday, during the service, and killed forty-four persons.

4 Hence in his final sentence, we have these words of Beaton—"And he being under the same infamy, (of heresy,) we decerning him to be summoned and accused upon the premises, he, of evil mind, as may be presumed, passed to other parts forth of the realm, suspected and noted of heresy. And being lately returned," &c.

5 It must be presumed that not only Lambert, but also *Buschius*, to whom we have alluded as such an admirer of Tyndale, could not fail to take a deep interest in young Hamilton. *Herman von Busche*, the pupil of Reuchlin, now the professor of poetry, history, and belles lettres, at Marburg, is said to have been the first nobleman in Germany, who, in spite of the contempt from his own order, laboured as a teacher in the middle and upper schools. See also our former references to MARBURG in vol. i., pp. 167, 397, *note*.

exhibited and maintained such positions in this infant seat of learning; which was the first University founded in Europe, without any reference whatever to the authority of the Pontiff. Fryth, delighted with the sentiments here expressed, says in the preface to his translation,—

"This treatise I have turned into the English tongue, to the profit of *my nation:* to whom I beseech God to give light, that they may espy the deceitful paths of perdition, and return to the right way which leadeth to life everlasting." He here also speaks of his friend, as "that excellent and well learned young man, Patrick Hamilton, born in Scotland of a noble progeny, who, to testify the truth, sought all means, and took upon him priesthood, that he might be admitted to preach the pure word of God." This language seems to imply, that he had fully qualified himself, and been admitted to the ministry *abroad,* or independently of that community in which he was born. Hence said Beaton in his sentence, "Being lately returned, he, not being admitted, but of his own head, without licence or privilege, hath presumed to preach wicked heresy." Not that this noble youth was not an official character, or had not already passed through certain preliminary orders in the Romish community, for he was about "to be deprived of all dignities, honours, orders, and benefices of that church."

Hamilton, on his arrival, had proceeded first to his brother's house in Linlithgowshire, Sir James having succeeded his father as Sheriff of that county; and here, as the sequel proved, he had preached, and conversed not in vain, as well as elsewhere. On the one hand, it has been said of him, that he did not fail to lay open the corruptions of the Church, and the errors by which the souls of men were ruined; but, on the other, that he had not attacked the hierarchy as an Establishment, nor its claims to infallibility. He certainly had not commenced with denunciation, but by preaching the truth itself, by enforcing *the reading of the Scriptures, with the necessity of repentance towards God, and faith in Christ in order to good works.* His discrimination as to the Law and the Gospel, as to Faith and its fruits, were evidently of the first order, very far above the age in which he suffered; and as to his mode of procedure, it seems to have exactly corresponded with the counsel which Tyndale gave to Fryth himself, five years after, as already explained.[6] The *Bellum Sacramentarium,* or the bitter strife about ordinances, had commenced on the Continent in 1524, or before Hamilton's reaching Germany, and it

[6] See vol. i., pp. 347, 348, 351.

was still raging there; but the zeal of our first martyr was not to be spent on the ceremonial or outward form of Christianity. His was a controversy with the heart, addressed to the soul and spirit of man within him; and for proof we only need to observe the points which he regarded to be "*undoubtedly true*," and from which all the terrors of the stake could not, for one moment, move him. They were simply these—

"1. That the corruption of sin remains in children after their baptism. 2. That no man by the power of his free will can do any good. 3. That no man is without sin so long as he liveth. 4. That every Christian may know himself to be in a state of grace. 5. That a man is not justified by works, but by faith only. 6. That good works make not a good man, but that a good man doeth good works; and that an ill man doeth ill works; yet the same ill works, truly repented of, make not an ill man. 7. That faith, hope, and love, are so linked together, that he who hath one of them, hath all; and he that lacketh one, lacketh all." All others he denominated "disputable points," though such as he could not condemn; but the above he regarded as *vital* truths.

The youth of Hamilton, and his rank, his fine talents and his views of divine truth, had all combined in producing an immediate impression; while the power of his family, of which the Earl of Arran was the chief, and who had so resented the death of Patrick's father, must have rendered any open hostility more difficult. The recent union also of Arran with the Earl of Angus, the present possessor of all power, to say nothing of Beaton himself, so lately in disgrace and Lord Chancellor no more, one should have imagined would have still farther increased the difficulty. These circumstances, however, clearly show the height to which alarm had been excited, or in other words, the powerful result of this young man's exertions. After the Scriptures had come, it was like a voice crying, "Arise from the dead, and Christ shall give thee light." The panic among the leaders of "the old learning" must have been both great and general, before decided steps were taken, and these, at last, were accordingly distinguished, not only by deep dissimulation, but Satanic haste.

Invited to St. Andrews by a special message from the Primate, who, with solemn promises of safety, said, he only wished to converse with him, Hamilton went without hesitation. Beaton received him with a hypocritical shew of kindness, assigned him a lodging in the city, and so left him to be fully ensnared by a Dominican friar, Alexander Campbell,

with whom he had come in contact before his departure for the Continent. Only a very short time was required to draw from the ardent and zealous youth, ample ground for accusation to the Archbishop; more especially as Campbell, who was the Prior of his order, had pretended to admit the force of all that Hamilton advanced. In fact, he had been only a few days in St. Andrews, when, under night, he was apprehended in bed and carried to the Castle; and the very next day he was before Beaton, with thirteen different articles laid to his charge, by the man who seems to have long thirsted for his blood. Though drawn into some general conversation at this moment, the youthful martyr, with the finest discrimination, separating the *truths* from the errors, had evidently resolved to die for the confession of the *former*, rather than the denial of the *latter*, and therefore he abode by the seven points already mentioned. So Fox informs us that "learned men who communed and reasoned with him, do testify, that these were the *very* articles for which he suffered." Meanwhile, with a hypocritical show of moderation, Beaton remitted the articles entire to the judgment of fourteen theologians, such as they were, not forgetting, however, to include among the number his base persecutor, Campbell. Within only a day or two more, these men returned their censure, condemning the whole articles as heretical, before a solemn meeting in the Cathedral. This happened on Saturday the 28th of February 1528; and now, on *the same day*, the prisoner, after all that had been promised by Beaton, was to be tried, condemned, and reduced to ashes, before the sun went down! They trod in the footsteps of the Pharisees of old, for the next day was the Sabbath![7]

That no small sensation had been created by the youthful and heroic martyr, we only need to glance at the mighty array brought together to condemn him, after a mock trial. Beaton

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7 It is strange that there should have been such disparity as to this too memorable day. We need scarcely mention Lindsay, who says it was in September 1525, or Beza, who as erroneously places the martyrdom in 1530, under *Cardinal* Beaton. All historians agree, that the condemnation and martyrdom were on the *same* day, and the sentence itself is dated "the last day of the month of February, anno 1527," which, by our present reckoning, was of course 1528. Yet Spottiswood says he was executed March 1. Petrie says March 2. Dr. M'Crie, observing that this was leap year, therefore says February 29; but after all, this was *Sunday*, and one cannot suppose, that upon *that* day such a scene could have occurred. Francis Lambert of Marburg, who so mourned over the event, has marked the day most accurately. He says it was *Pridie Kalendas Martii*, and this was the 28th of February, not the 29th. Notwithstanding the clerical error in the sentence, therefore, *Saturday* must have been the day.

durst not send to the King, and say, as Amaziah the priest did of Amos to the King of Israel, "*The land is not able to bear all his words;*" but it really seems as if he had sent round, and said something of similar import to his brethren; for here we have more than twenty judges, and all assembled to doom this young man to death. Here there were the two Archbishops and three Bishops, two Priors and four Abbots, five Rectors and three Deans, a Sub-dean and a Canon, including friars black and friars grey.[8]

The trial, such as it was, formed but a very summary proceeding; but we must not omit part of the brief dialogue between the Martyr, and Campbell his accuser, in presence of his judges; as it forms the first evidence on record that *the New Testament* in English, by way of eminence had become a subject of alarm; the mere reading of it, involving *all* that the hierarchy already feared and deprecated! It seems as if this Testament having arrived, Hamilton's enforcing the *reading* of it by all, had formed the head and front of his offending; for, the articles being read over by his determined prosecutor, with this he commenced;—

Campbell.—"Heretic, thou sayest it is lawful to any man to read the Word of God, and in special the New Testament?" *Hamilton.*—"I said not so (to you) to my knowledge; but I said, and say it now, it is lawful to all men that have a soul, to read the Word of God, that they may understand the same, and specially the latter will and Testament of Jesus Christ, whereby they may acknowledge their sins and repent of the same, whereby they may amend their lives by faith and repentance, and attain salvation by Christ Jesus." *Campbell.*—

[8] If it be worth while to notice the individuals, they were as follow:—*James Beaton*, the Primate himself. *Gavin Dunbar*, Archbishop of Glasgow, ere long to be chosen Lord Chancellor. *George Creighton*, Bishop of Dunkeld, the same man who eleven years after spoke stoutly to another noble martyr, Forret, the Dean of Dollar, and said, "*I thank God, that I never knew what the Old and New Testament was!*" from whence it became a common proverb, —"Ye are like the *Bishop of Dunkeld*, that knew neither the New Law nor the Old." *William Chisholm*, Bishop of Dunblane, a determined enemy, and the strongest contrast to the immortal Leighton. He was the second son of Edmund Chisholm of Cromlix, a place two miles distant, well known still as the seat of the mineral well. *John Hepburn*, Bishop of Brechin, a branch of the Bothwell family. *Patrick Hepburn*, the young Prior of St. Andrews, a most flagitious character, of whom we shall hear again. *John Rowll*, Prior of Pittenweem; see Pitcairn's Criminal Trials, vol. i., p. 156. *David Beaton*, Abbot of Arbroath, the notorious future Cardinal, the nephew of the Primate, and who is said to have been the moving cause of the present martyrdom. *George Dury*, Abbot of Dunfermline; the last Abbot, who was also Archdeacon of St. Andrews. *Alexander Miln*, Abbot of Cambuskenneth, and in 1532, the first President of the College of Justice, or Court of Session. *Henry*, Abbot of Lundores. *William Stewart*, Dean of Glasgow. ———, the Sub-dean. *Hugh Spens*, Dean of Divinity, and Provost of St. Salvator's College, St. Andrews. *Thomas Ramsay*, Dean of the Abbey of St. Andrews. *Allan Meldrum*, Canon of St. Andrews. *Alexander Campbell*, Prior of the Blackfriars; with the Rectors of Stobo, Erskine, Carstairs, Govan, and Glasgow; all of whom set their names to the sentence, and, by way of giving greater eclat to the deed, they got the Earl of Cassilis to follow their example, though then only a boy of thirteen years old!

"Now, heretic, I see that thou affirmest the words of thy accusation." *Hamilton.*—"I affirm nothing, but the words which I have spoken in presence of this auditory."

The auditory to whom he addressed these, and other like words, all condemned him to be guilty of death; and delivering him over to the secular power, on the afternoon of the same day, he was led forth to a stake placed, *in terrorem*, before the gate of St. Salvator's College. On the scaffold, turning affectionately to the faithful servant, who had long attended him, and slept in the same apartment, having divested himself of his gown, his coat and his bonnet—"These," said he, "will not profit in the fire; they will profit thee. After this thou canst receive no commodity from me except the example of my death, which, I pray thee, bear in mind. For, although it be bitter to the flesh, yet is it the entrance into eternal life, which none shall possess that deny Christ before this wicked generation." When bound to the stake, far from exhibiting any fear, he fixed his eyes towards heaven, commending his soul unto God. The executioner setting fire to the pile, it would not burn, but merely scorched the left side of their victim! In this excruciating state, obliged to send some distance to the Archbishop's Castle for gunpowder, as well as elsewhere for more combustible materials; an immense crowd having assembled, some of whom loudly denounced the persecutors, while others implored the martyr to recant and save his life, he thus addressed them:—

"As for my confession, I will not deny it for fear of your fire, for my confession and belief is in Jesus Christ; and therefore I will not deny it. I will rather that my body be burnt in this fire for confession of my faith in Christ, than that my soul should suffer in the unquenchable fire of hell, for denying of my faith. But as for the sentence and judgment pronounced against me *this* day, by the bishops and doctors, I here, in the presence of you all, appeal against the said sentences and judgment given against me, and betake myself to the mercy of God." Then turning to Campbell, who had acted in the threefold character of traitor, judge, and executioner, as he even now satanically assailed his victim, and reviled him as an heretic; Hamilton closed by adding, "Wicked man! thou knowest the contrary; to me thou hast confessed. I appeal thee before the tribunal seat of Jesus Christ."

Amidst the noise and fury of the flames now kindled, and the tumult of the multitude, his last words were distinctly heard—"How long, O Lord, shall darkness cover this realm! How long wilt thou suffer this tyranny of men! Lord Jesus, receive my spirit."

Thus gloriously fell, as far as we know, the first native of Scotland as an unspotted martyr for the truth, for the Word of God itself, as well as our right to read it.

The powerful consequences resulting from this martyrdom, can never now be fully traced; but if we follow them out as far as they may be, it will be evident, that, hitherto, the event has been greatly underrated. The New Testament Scriptures had arrived in Scotland, and they had been reading in secret for at least a year and a quarter. These were God's own providential gift, at a period when the country was full of strife and feud, ferocity and murder. This it was which is to be regarded as the *commencement* of decided blessing from God; and now came the bold and loud summons from the believer's lips, to rouse the dead in sin, and embolden them to read, believe, and live. A space equal to nearly three generations had passed away since anything so truly horrible had occurred in Caledonia, however stern and wild. Besides, in 1432, it was a foreigner who had suffered; but here was a native, of the most amiable character, and high birth. The report of the martyrdom speedily ran through the kingdom, promoting a spirit of inquiry into the cause, as well as the cause itself. For as truly as Antipas, the faithful martyr of old, so God's most faithful servant had now been "slain among them where Satan dwelt, even where his seat was;" and yet no place was so deeply affected as the spot where the deed was done.[9]

Of the extent of the sensation now produced, it is impossible to judge with accuracy, but of its depth there can be but one opinion, since it actually so far changed the character of this metropolitan city, the Rome of Scotland. From being the stronghold of the Prince of Darkness, it became the seat of deep inquiry and indomitable discussion, among not a few of the students in the different colleges, the canons of the Cathedral, and even the Friars. The sufferings endured will furnish the evidence of this.

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9 It has frequently been said, that advantage was taken of the King's absence on a *pilgrimage* to St. Duthas, to perpetrate this murder; but this must be a mistake, nor was there any occasion for fearing him. Far from being as yet "every inch a king," he was, in fact, little else than a prisoner in the hands of his jailor, the Earl of Angus; and as young Casillis, who signed the sentence, was under the guardianship of Angus, *he* must be regarded as having had no objections to the cruelty. Besides, the King's mother, Queen Margaret, was married to Henry Stuart about ten or twelve days after; and it was not till the 19th of March, that Angus, in writing to Dacre, says—"The king has gone forth on his *pastime*, which will keep him till Easter." See Caligula, B. vii., 27. Gov. State Papers, iv., p. 483.

Another human voice was now demanded; but where shall one be found? Campbell, the prior of the order of St. Dominic, or the Black Friars, had betrayed this heroic young man, and who so proper to speak next, as a brother of the *same* fraternity? The Friar who had been *appointed* to preach throughout Lent, in the Cathedral itself, it might seem far too much to expect, but in truth it was no other! He was the first to sound again the trumpet of truth, and that almost immediately after the Martyr had gone to receive his crown. Opening his lips, they found he was no other than what they denominated a heretic! Standing on the very spot where the murderers had sat in judgment, this, as the prophet once expressed it, was as if "the stone had cried out of the wall, and the beam out of the timber had answered it." Nor was the preacher himself, from his official character, less remarkable. The Archbishop, as well as all under his authority, were afraid to touch him, he being actually the Father Confessor of the King himself—that King whom Beaton had not consulted, and who had therefore not consented to the counsel or deed of these bloody men. This was Friar ALEXANDER SETON, brother of Ninian Seton, or Seytoun of Touch.

In discharging his duty, and following the example of his deeply lamented predecessor, Seton now saw that in the truth itself, there was enough to convict all its enemies, and produce dismay; and that no wise man will ever *commence* his labours by merely attacking superstition, or pulling at prejudices, as he would at a cart-rope; an egregious mistake, into which many have since fallen. Taking for his subject the law of God itself, Seton insisted much on the following points—

"That the Law of God is the only rule of righteousness; that if God's Law be not violated, no sin is committed; that it is not in man's power to satisfy for sin; that the forgiveness of sin is no otherwise obtained than by unfeigned repentance and true faith, apprehending the mercy of God in Christ Jesus. Of purgatory, pilgrimage, prayer to saints, of merits and miracles, the usual subjects of the friar's sermons, not a word he spake."[10]

It is remarkable that he should have been permitted to *repeat* his sentiments; but having been appointed to preach during Lent, this, together with his official character, may have been his safeguard, until he had given his auditory line

[10] Spottiswood, fourth edit., p. 64.

upon line, and proof after proof. About the end of that season, however, having occasion to go northward to Dundee, he was there informed that a friar of his own order had been set up to refute his doctrine. He then returned to St. Andrews, and the King's Confessor, not to be resisted, confirmed his former positions, adding, from Scripture, the qualifications required for a good and faithful bishop.

This last subject could not be passed over, and soon brought him before the Archbishop; but he, knowing Seton to be of a bold spirit, dissembled his anger. Upon another martyrdom he dared not venture so soon, a negative testimony to the power of Hamilton's death; nor could the Primate resolve upon trying any expedient, except that of first undermining Seton's character in the estimation of the young King. This was easily effected, and very soon after. Poor young prince! His natural powers were of no inferior order, but these men, whether nobility or clergy, had allowed him to grow up in a state of comparative ignorance, and of self-indulgence, even to licentiousness: the nobility, that they might rule him as a puppet, which his high spirit could not endure; the clergy, that he might one day fall into their hands, and move only in subservience to their designs. Now, at this very period a crisis had arrived, of the King's emancipation from the *one* party, and his falling under bondage to the *other*. His Highness had groaned from day to day under the iron yoke of the Earl of Angus, who, supported by the influence of England, was the absolute governor of the nation still, though James had been crowned in 1525. Next year the King had applied to some of his nobles to relieve him from bondage, and hence the battle of Linlithgow in 1526. On the watch ever after, at last, on the 22d or 23d of May 1528, he himself dexterously succeeded, by his escape from Falkland to the castle of Stirling; soon after which Angus and the Douglas party were overcome and banished.[11] In part indebted for his escape to Archbishop Beaton, at this moment the young monarch must have been ready to listen to whatever he said, and hence it was no difficult task to destroy all respect for Seton; while this was rendered still more easy, not only from his having been the Confessor of his Highness in the wearisome days of his thral-

[11] Gov. State Papers, vol. iv. Tytler. Pitcairn's Criminal Trials.

dom, but because Seton, much to his credit, had warned him respecting his licentiousness.

From what had happened in February, and observing the confidence or respect of the monarch to be on the decline, Seton well knew what must ultimately await him, and seeing no safety on the spot, he fled to Berwick. From thence, however, he wrote to his royal master, a faithful letter, warning him of the men under whose influence he had now fallen. He here explained that the authority of the Bishops, and by no means that of his Highness, was what he dreaded.

They behaved, he said, *as* kings, and would not allow any man of whatever state or degree, if once they pronounced him to be an heretic, to speak in his own defence. Nevertheless, if he might but have audience before the king, he now offered to return and justify his cause. Like a faithful adviser, he then informed James, that in duty he ought to see that every subject accused of his life, should be allowed to use his lawful defences; since the Prelates held that such matters did not fall under the cognizance of the Prince, and if only once heard, he would demonstrate the contrary by *their own* laws. He then besought his Highness not to be led any longer by their informations, but to use the authority committed to him by God, and not to suffer these tyrants to proceed against him, till brought to his answer. This he would not refuse to give, if once assured of the safety of his life.[12]

At Berwick he waited for some reply, but waited in vain. Before this time Angus had been banished, and his estates forfeited; Dunbar, Archbishop of Glasgow, had been appointed Chancellor in August, as his successor, and Beaton, though not yet in power, had been recalled to the Council by the end of November.[13] Seton, therefore, retired into England, where he became chaplain to Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk. As if to show how equally balanced the two countries, England and Scotland were, with regard to their progress in Divine truth; about thirteen years after, or in 1541, Seton was called before Stephen Gardiner, and examined, but denied not any point which he had formerly taught.[14] He even continued to preach the truths with which he had been charged, and died, it has been said, next year, or 1542.

In the meanwhile, or before the close of 1528, it is pleasing

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12 See the letter in Keith's History, Appendix, which has been expressly affirmed to be dated in 1528. Several historians may have led their readers astray by saying, that all this occurred in the Lent *following*. No doubt, the greater part of Lent *followed*, as Hamilton died on the *third* day after its commencement. Keith has accurately marked the time by saying—"Divers of the religious themselves did from *that time forward* declaim—and particularly in *that* Lent—one Seton, brother of Ninian Seton."

13 Gov. State Papers, iv., pp. 476, 540. 14 Foxe.

to find any information whatever, bearing on the Scriptures, and their continued importation. The friars now were more busy everywhere than they had ever been, since friars were in fashion. The reader may recollect of one, under our history as to England, Friar John West. Earnestly charged, by Wolsey, with dispatches to Counsellor Herman Rincke of Cologne; their united efforts were to be employed in the apprehension of Tyndale himself, and of William Roye, once his amanuensis; or, at all events, their books. With regard to the men they entirely failed, but a number of what Rincke calls "*their books*," he had found out and secured. These must have included copies of the New Testament, as well as Roye's celebrated Satyre on the Cardinal, a personal affair, which the latter so deeply resented. One short passage in Rincke's reply to Wolsey, dated the 4th of October 1528, and sent by West, deserves to be repeated here—

"But these books, unless I had found them out and interposed, must have been pressed together with parchment, and concealed; and enclosed in packages, artfully covered over with flax, they would in time, without any suspicion, have been transmitted by sea, into *Scotland and England, as to the same place;* and would have been sold as merely clean paper; but as yet, *few or none* of those, carried away and sold, have been found."

Here then we have distinct mention of a continued *traffic* going on, and of one of the asserted methods of transit, for there must have been various; nor is it less worthy of repetition, that the *Jews* are to be supposed as having had some concern in these importations, whether "to Scotland or England, as to the *same* place."[15]

SECTION III.

FROM 1529 TO 1534—ALL-IMPORTANT PERIOD, HITHERTO UNNOTICED—ALEXANDER ALES—CRUELLY PERSECUTED BY HEPBURN, THE PRIOR OF ST. ANDREWS—AT LAST ESCAPES BY SEA, FROM DUNDEE, FIRST TO FRANCE, AND THEN TO GERMANY—HIS EPISTLE ADDRESSED TO JAMES V.; OR THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE FIRST REGULAR CONTROVERSY IN

15 Cotton MS. Vitellius, B. xxi., fol. 43. Thus *Scotland* is once more mentioned to Wolsey; but the entire letter is well worthy of perusal, and specially on account of some connexion which the *Jews* had with these importations. See the letter, for this and other particulars, in our English history, *anno* 1528, vol. i., pp. 203-204.

BRITAIN RESPECTING THE SCRIPTURES PRINTED IN THE VULGAR TONGUE —THE ABUSIVE PUBLICATION OF COCHLÆUS PROFESSEDLY IN REPLY— THE REPRESENTATIONS OF ALES CONFIRMED BY THE STATE OF THE COUNTRY, AND THE SECOND MARTYRDOM—ANSWER OF ALES TO THE CALUMNIES OF COCHLÆUS—ALES PLEADS, MOST EARNESTLY, FOR THE NEW TESTAMENT TO BE READ—BUT ESPECIALLY IN FAMILIES—EXTOLS DIVINE REVELATION, AND AS TO BE FOUND IN THE ENGLISH VERSION NOW IMPORTING—COCHLÆUS, QUITE ENRAGED, ADDRESSES JAMES V.—AND IS REWARDED—HAD MENDACIOUSLY AVERRED THAT THE WRITINGS OF ALES PROCEEDED FROM MELANCTHON—THE PERSECUTIONS AND MARTYRDOMS OF 1534 AGAIN CONFIRM THE STATEMENTS OF ALES—WHO IS NOW STANDING BY HIMSELF ALONE IN DEFENCE OF THE TRUTH.

We are now arrived at a very memorable period in the history of Scotland. It involves a space of five years, from the year 1529 to 1534 inclusive, and yet it has been treated by all our historians as a sort of chasm, or calm in the annals of persecution. No author has informed us that there was, at such a time, one fragment of distinct information in existence, respecting the Sacred Volume; its importation into the country; its being bought, or sold, and read by the people; or that such reading was being so bitterly opposed. This is the more surprising, since, upon this subject, it forms one of the most interesting periods in the early history of the *entire* Island. Commencing seven years before Henry the Eighth had decidedly broken off from Rome, and while both the South and North were still under the dominant power of "the old learning;" yet was it the season of the *first* regular controversy in Britain, though carried on with Scotland, respecting the Sacred Volume in our native language; as well as the undoubted right of every one "both low and high, rich and poor together," to read the Scriptures for themselves.

This topic has formed the frequent or fruitful source of eulogy long since, and down to the present hour, as one of the highest arguments which can occupy the pen or tongue of man, for a greater has never engaged the attention of mankind; and yet, strange to say, the first individual who argued the point, and so ably led the van, has been as much overlooked, as Tyndale himself, the original translator, and even more so. How it has happened that, above all other men, he has been overshadowed, who first contended with his own mo-

narch in Scotland, for the immortal interests of his fellow-countrymen, the Scots, and afterwards even before the assembled prelates of England at Westminster, for the *all-sufficiency of the Scriptures*, and the binding authority of the Word of God, it is impossible exactly to account. Whether there has been any studied or systematic attempt, in both countries, to conceal from public view, our first, and therefore *highest* human benefactors, that other men who only entered into their labours might reap certain laurels, and obtain the praise of party, we leave others to decide; but one is certainly tempted to suppose, that there has been something of the kind.

The name of Ales, it is true, does occur in our histories, among some others, as that of a persecuted individual who fled from his native land, and died a professor at Leipsic; and in the preceding pages, even under the history as to England, he has already come before us; but nothing has ever been said, to distinguish him sufficiently from his contemporaries, and much less to mark the obligations under which he laid his country, to the lasting remembrance of his name. His having been born in a city, since so conspicuous for literature and research as Edinburgh, and his having been the first, who, from fond recollections in a foreign land, wrote a description of "his own romantic town," only renders this neglect the more extraordinary.[1] It becomes therefore a grateful task to rescue from oblivion, and render some account of this early native of the Scotish capital; but especially of his exertions in reference to the Scriptures in our vernacular tongue, and the necessity for their being read, under the domestic roof.

Alexander Ales, much better known on the Continent than at home, and there by the name of *Alesius*, was born in Edinburgh on the 23d of April 1500.[2] His father was an honest and substantial burgess of that city, and under his own roof, the education of his son was so far perfected, as to fit him for entering the University of St. Andrews. As for his boyhood, the only particular known is one related by himself,

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1 It is curious enough, that this description should be the only fragment written by Ales which has ever been reprinted. This it has been, within these few years, by the Bannatyne Club, and in elegant style, with explanatory notes.

2 Written in the Register of the University of Leipsic, by Ales himself.

in the preface to one of his future publications on the Continent, his Exposition of Timothy:—

"Diverting himself, with other children, on the top of a hill, where there was a high rock, as they were rolling themselves towards the precipice, he had advanced to the very brink, when he felt himself snatched up and carried to a place of safety, without knowing how, or by whom. Some ascribed this," says he, "to several portions of Scripture, especially from John, hung about my neck, which was then a common custom of parents with children." In certain parts of Ireland, it is a practice *still*, to operate as a charm. Ales had ascribed his deliverance to the faith or prayers of his parents; but many years after, the recollection still chilled his blood.[3]

Having gone to St. Andrews, finished his education, and taken priest's orders, he became one of the canons of the priory or cathedral church in that city, then the largest in Scotland, as containing from fifteen to twenty thousand inhabitants.[4] We hear nothing more of him, however, till he had reached the twenty-eighth year of his age. Then, as a proof that the alarm of the bishops and monks in 1525 and 1527, respecting the introduction of "the new learning" into Scotland, was not without grounds, it turned out that the canons and students were, through the medium of certain books, studying the grand controversy of the times. But whatever might be the object of other young men, that of Ales was, that he might be qualified to *oppose* all innovation. When Patrick Hamilton, therefore, four years younger than himself, was "drawn unto death" at St. Andrews, and now "ready to be slain," far from disposed to "deliver" him, and confident in his own scholastic powers, Ales actually undertook to reclaim the suspected heretic. For this purpose he held several conferences with his more enlightened junior, little dreaming that the attempt was about to change the current of his whole life. But staggered by the reasoning of that young gentleman; then hearing his noble testimony, in a full house, or within the very walls where Ales himself was accustomed to engage in services which the Martyr had so exposed; and finally, beholding the heroic constancy with which he maintained his integrity in the

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[3] Prefat. in alteram ad Timothium, apud Jacobum Thomasium, in Orat. de Alesio. Bayle's Dict., art. Alesius. The spot is not mentioned, whether the Castle, Calton Hill, or Arthur's Seat, for it may have been any of the three.

[4] In the year that Ales was born, or 1500, the population of *Edinburgh* was about 8000, dwelling in 700 houses or tenements. St. Andrews was the great city in those days.

flames, amidst the rage, and more than savage cruelty of his enemies, the scene, as well as the sentiments, were never to be forgotten. In short, the heart of Ales was pierced by convictions, which ended in his conversion to the faith he had laboured in vain to destroy. St. Andrew's was not now to sleep in quiet, after the smoke of Patrick's funeral pile had been blown upon the spectators, and scorched the Benedictine friar, his persecutor. Seton, as we have seen, was the first victim soon after, but severer trials awaited Ales, the very next year. The statements of the first, however, have already furnished an important preliminary corroboration of all that Ales will advance as to the state of the country; and especially of the position then occupied respectively by the bishops and monks, the priors and abbots, on the one hand, and young King James, on the other. Considering the virulence and sophistry with which Ales was about to be assailed by one man abroad; the united testimony of these two witnesses on the spot, will at once put down the calumny of a distant and sycophantish brawler, such as Cochlæus. Suffice it only to say here, that, after enduring great trials, Ales had escaped from the port of Dundee through the kindness of friends, both on shore and on board the vessel, then ready to sail, about the close of 1531. Having landed on the Continent, whither he first went it is impossible to say, but certainly not to Wittenberg. By the loose manner in which he has occasionally been referred to, he is of course sent immediately to Luther; but if Luther had indoctrinated or only conversed, with all those Englishmen and Scotsmen who have been consigned, by historians, to his personal acquaintance, he must have had nothing else to do, from morning to night. On the contrary, and as late as the year 1534, Ales himself informs us that he had not yet acquired the German language, and that he had *not*, even then, *known Luther at all.* He had traversed, however, the coast of France, and proceeded into some part of Germany; where, as he understood only Latin, he had assiduously applied to the Greek language. By the year referred to, he seems to have been fond of quoting it.

After the escape of Ales, an edict or order of the bishops had been promulgated, *prohibiting the New Testament in English from being read or* SOLD. To whatever extent this had gone, the alarm of the enemy is one decided proof of progress made. But the story entire, and so distinctly told, by this the first

advocate in Scotland, for our highest national blessing, as well as the sufferings previously endured by him, cannot be so well conveyed, as in his own language. This will prove the more interesting, as taken from publications which have never been laid before the English reader, and filling up a period hitherto passed over in silence.

From four different publications in Latin, and one in English, scarcely known, our space will only admit of certain extracts, though the whole be well worthy of republication in our native tongue. It is, however, necessary to premise, that as Ales had been deeply indebted to King James the Fifth for his very kind interposition in his favour; as well as to that of other canons of St. Andrews; so he writes under the impression that his Highness was the *same* man in 1533 and 1534, that he had been in 1529. He was not aware of the Royal youth sinking so rapidly under the baneful influence of the hierarchy, till at last they brought him to sanction, by his own *personal* presence, the burning of his subjects. In 1528, he would have said—"Is thy servant a dog, that he should do this thing?"

Relying, therefore, on the character of the King, no sooner had Ales heard of the doings of Beaton and his fellows, than he resolved to address his Highness. We copy from the only edition ever printed—"*An epistle of Alexander Ales, against a certain Decree of the Bishops in Scotland, which forbids to read the books of the New Testament in the vernacular tongue.*" "To the renowned King of Scots, James the Fifth, Duke of Albany, Prince of Ireland and the Orkneys, his most compassionate Lord, Alexander Ales, S. D."[5]

"Seeing that, among other virtues, there so exists and shines forth in you a certain distinguished and heroic goodness, that it is well known to all throughout your entire kingdom, and on that account all good men wonderfully love you; I, however, especially when in danger of my life, have thoroughly perceived this public praise of your goodness to be strictly true, and that you utterly abhor all cruelty. For when certain friends of mine explained to you that I was seized with violence, and cast into *a dreadful dungeon*, by your Bishops; although they contrived

5 "Alexandri Alesii Epistola contra decretum quoddam Episcoporum in Scotia, quod prohibit legere Novi Testamenti libros lingua vernacula." This letter is very neatly printed in 18mo, filling thirteen leaves, besides the title as above. There is no place or printer's name mentioned, but at the end it is dated, "Anno MDXXXIII."

horrible charges against me, yet you sent to me honourable men from your court, who signified to me that you were concerned for my safety. And not long after, with the greatest kindness, you gave orders that they should let me go, safe and free, out of prison, and that they should cease to rage against me; for which favour, I entertain towards you renowned Sovereign, as much gratitude as the mind is able to conceive.[6] I would, however, that it had been in your power to complete the benefit you had commenced; for afterwards, when, on the business of the State, you were absent in some other parts of your kingdom, since the bishops could not do anything worse, they thrust me out of the country, against law, and by violence.[7]

Trusting, therefore, to your lenity and kindness, which was shown to me in my distress, I have not hesitated to write to you; not concerning my own personal injury, of which, however, I shall treat at another time; but that according to the duty which I owe to your Highness and the country, I may warn you against a certain nefarious and impious edict, which, without your authority, the bishops have published in your kingdom, videlicet—'*That no one should read in his native language, the books of the New Testament.*'

"Although I saw in that affair how great was the fury of the priests against all, who occasionally signified that they wished the churches should be more purely instructed as to necessary matters; yet this is evidently a new and unheard of example, among those who style themselves Christians, to forbid, by an edict, the reading of the Sacred books.[8] And I know that this device was managed, without your counsel or authority, by the chief priests, or rather by the *Monks*, for *they* are, in truth, the contrivers of this business. I thought it therefore my duty to write to you, that you may interpose your authority, and consult both the glory of God, and also the reputation of your kingdom. For what kind of precedent is it, that men should be debarred from the oracles of Christ? What else could the Turks, or other nations hostile to the Christian name do, than to take care that the people touch not the

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6 "The very dungeon which is *still shewn* among the ruins of the Castle or Episcopal Palace." "A low browed passage leads down to a low part of the interior, from which there is a small doorway opening upon a dreadful dark cavern, cut out of the solid rock, and shaped like a common bottle. The neck of the orifice is seven feet wide, by about eight in depth, after which it widens till it be seventeen feet in diameter. The depth of the whole is twenty-two. This fearful tomb was once used as the dungeon of the castle, and recusant victims were put therein. Some years since it was cleared out to serve as a powder magazine, when a great quantity of *bones* were removed."—*Chambers' Gazeteer.* The reader, however, should be informed, that Beaton's Castle, by an act of the Privy Council in 1547, was nearly levelled to the ground, and that the present ruins are those of the pile afterwards erected by Archbishop Hamilton; but this could not affect a prison sunk in the solid rock, and we shall yet have farther evidence that this must have been the very dungeon to which Ales was consigned.

7 He means, as it will appear presently, that by their cruelty, they forced him to provide for his own safety by flight, as strongly advised by his friends.

8 He was not yet sufficiently acquainted with the Continent.

Sacred books—that they should not know the benefits of Christ, and his most holy precepts, lest any one should form a firm and distinct opinion with regard to divine things, from the very words of Christ, and the testimonies of his apostles? What other tendency has this attempt, but to ruin and extinguish true religion? True religion cannot exist, except the mind be well established respecting the will of God, by heavenly testimonies. On this account, Christ was sent by the Father to teach, that he might disclose the secret will of the Father, which was unknown to the world. This cannot, therefore, be known, except from the Sacred books themselves; certainly no firm opinion can be held, unless these be inspected; and so the Father hath commanded that we should know the doctrine of the Son, when he saith, 'This is my beloved Son, hear ye Him.'——

"But if the priests and monks there, so think that morals can be regulated without the sacred writings, and that religion is nothing else save that discipline by which the public morals are governed, what else thought Epicurus? Truly, it is all over with the Church, if they receive these Epicurean imaginations, which the bishops and monks propagate. John saith, 'No man hath seen God at any time, but the Son who is in the bosom of the Father hath declared Him to us.' John denies that the will of God had been known to men, but that it was unfolded and brought to men by the Son. The Father therefore commands this Teacher to be heard, not philosophizing on common morals only, but discoursing publicly of things mysterious and unknown to the world. *How* God desires to be worshipped—*How* He can promise the forgiveness of sins—*What* hope He can hold out in all trials and afflictions—*What* consolation He can promise to those who implore assistance from Himself—*How* He desires to be invoked—*How* minds are to be confirmed against doubt or mistrust, respecting the will of God. These are mysteries unknown to the world, on which Christ and his Apostles reason particularly. Nor, verily, does God wish these mysteries to be concealed, but to stand out above others, to be beheld, to be handled, that the knowledge of God may shine upon us. To bury, or to obscure the knowledge of matters so important as these, is more injurious than to remove the sun from the universe.

"Wherefore, I both warn and beseech you, for the glory of Christ, that you would by your authority repeal that impious decree; and not countenance the madness of these Pharisees. You see the command of God, which enjoins to hear Christ: you see also what punishment is threatened against those who refuse to hear him. 'In Deuteronomy it is written concerning Christ—'A Prophet will I raise up to them, from the midst of their brethren, such as thou art, and I will put my words in his mouth; whosoever will not hear his words which he shall speak, I will be the avenger.'——Wherefore it is not to be doubted, that

those who withdraw the people from the doctrine of Christ, shall suffer the most grievous punishment from God. I will not here complain of other evils which cleave to the Church, the fault of the bishops, the recollection of which is very painful; only, since they are themselves neither inclined nor able to teach, let the bishops grant us, that they do not abolish the sacred books. When *Antiochus* attempted to destroy religion in Judea, he commanded the books of the Prophets to be sought out every where, to be burned. And he suffered, indeed, the just punishment of his madness. *With his ruined army, he himself was consumed with grief of mind.* Nor was God satisfied with this punishment, but destroyed also his posterity, that he might set forth an example of the punishment described in the decalogue, (Pentateuch,) where God says, that punishment for iniquity should travel through all posterity.[9] What sort of end, then, the impiety of those shall have, who drive the people from the doctrine of Christ; who endeavour, as much as in them lies, to overwhelm and destroy all religion, who cruelly kill many who are guilty of no crime, and are lovers of piety, it is easy to foretell.

"But they deny that they drive the people away from the doctrine of Christ. They say it were safer for the people publicly to hear the learned in the churches, than to read at home, what they do not understand, what no one can there explain, and where many things, not being understood, produce errors. This one reason I think they have, by which they defend their decree, and how much mischief it may contain, it is easy to see. First, if it be so, that there are some among whom reading may produce some inconvenience, why do they pluck the sacred books from the hands of those whose minds cannot otherways be established than by assiduous or continual reading? Why should they not be allowed to instruct and train *their children at home,* in the true and proper knowledge of Christ; especially since God commanded concerning the law, that it should be written upon all the lintels, that it might be always before their eyes? How much more necessary is it to have the Gospel thus always in view? Why, then, is the goodness of God withheld from these, and that in opposition to the command of God, although some others may, perhaps, have abused this benefit? Why do they not, for the same reason, drag away men from wine, from food, from gold, because many abuse them? That was rather to be done which God commanded. The Word of God was to be presented to all; all were to be exhorted, that they should not only read with diligence, but also handle with reverence, and compare plain sentences with places obscure. Formerly, when not fewer heresies and sects rent the Church

[9] Mark this story, of Antiochus and his army, brought before the young Prince James V., so early as 1533, and observe the close of his own life, in nine years after, or December 1542.

than even now, yet the Apostles commanded the sacred books to be read; for thus they thought then, that minds were to be fortified against heresies. These men have now found out another way."

"But, since the fact must be told, they do not forbid this reading on account of the *obscurity* of the writings: something else agitates them. Of those things in the Sacred writings that are most *plain and clear*, they are afraid, which they see to be opposed to the impious and sacrilegious opinions that they themselves defend, through ambition, and the love of their bellies. *Hinc sunt hæ lachrymæ.* From hence proceed those tears. But of this matter I will not say more."

"There are also other reasons, still more weighty, why reading is necessary, more than their public discourses. Because verily, from passages highly necessary to piety, they, in their sermons, either say nothing, or deliver false opinions; it is surely necessary for good people elsewhere to seek for doctrine which may excite their minds to piety, free them from doubting, and may instruct them as to true invocation, faith, and hope. For what do they teach of these subjects in their sermons? These are spent, partly, in idle disputations, which they draw out of some corrupt philosophy; partly, in most foolish fables concerning the saints, which they invent; partly, in praises of their own ceremonies, which, as regraters, (mangones,) they are wont to adorn with surprising artifices, that they may be able to sell them at a higher price. Some few among them say somewhat of morals, just as if no other doctrine were necessary in the Church. As to *repentance and the favour of Christ—that by faith we obtain freely the forgiveness of sins—that we may please God freely, not on account of our own worthiness, but by the faith of Christ—that this faith ought to exist in invocation—that God is not pleased to be worshipped with uncertainty or doubting—on the distinction of a spiritual kingdom, and political affairs—of human traditions*, as they call them, and many other necessary things, they are either silent, or inculcate dogmas contrary to the Gospel. And while these Rabbies will have themselves held forth as teachers of good works, they do not inculcate this species, which is the chief and peculiar concern of the Church of Christ. Since as to such (*loci*) common topics their sermons are silent, what shall good minds do? From whence shall they seek sound doctrine, if they are *not allowed at home to read or to hear the books of the Gospel?* Finally, the entire design of preventing this species of reading has this tendency, that the people should, by degrees, adopt heathenish opinions, the true knowledge of Christ being extinguished: and the priests imagine, that this ignorance of the people would be for their advantage."

Ales then implores the King, as one to whom God had committed all departments of the state, to interpose—describes

the advantages which must accrue to the people, and especially the children and youth, from being trained up by such domestic reading and instruction—they would prove better subjects and better citizens, which otherwise they could not be. He quotes the Scriptures to shew that this is an imperative duty, as enjoined by God; and warns his Highness of the evils which must arise from the interdict. It would "take away the most sacred exercises of piety; remove from the well-disposed the necessary guards of conscience; scatter domestic discipline, &c. Having "traversed part of the coast of France and many other places," he informs the King that he had not heard of a similar decree having ever been issued by the Emperor or the King of France. They had published severe laws against dogmas, but not forbidden the *reading* of the Sacred Writings. Then, before turning to himself, he says:—

"Wherefore I conjure and entreat also, that you would restrain the counsels of the bishops, and turn them from cruelty and impiety to gentleness, and a desire to show forth the glory of Christ. With a pious intention, most gracious Sovereign, I have written these things to you, which I pray that, of your clemency, you would take in good part. That I might warn on a subject so exalted, I am constrained by the duty which I owe, both to you and to my country, and lastly to the Church of Christ among you. And I pray Christ that he may guide your counsels for extending the glory of God, for protecting the churches, and for mitigating the cruelty of the Bishops.

"As far as concerns myself, since, without your authority, while my cause was yet unheard, I was charged to withdraw from my country; I ask nothing else than that which was not only written upon those tables of the Athenians—"Hear both sides after the same manner," but even nature itself teaches all, that you should examine the affair, before you add your suffrage to the decisions of those who have condemned me, without hearing my defence in law.

"I had prepared a defence, but afterwards discovered that, since my departure, many articles were got up, which are falsely ascribed to me, and have even been sent to *Rome;* which, if the learned at Rome shall read, they will rather laugh at the folly of my enemies, than approve their diligence. For what else do these sycophants accomplish in all the provinces, except that by their folly, they stir up dissensions and public evils? With a kind of Jewish pertinacity and fretfulness, they rage without measure, and without judgment, while, if they would only for a little incline their minds to equity, these agitations would much more easily subside. They fight for their own dreams, as for their altars and

firesides ; they inflame the wrath of princes ; they put to death the best men, wherever there is an opportunity. In conclusion, they arrogate to themselves the title of *the Church,* and require themselves to be held as demigods.

" If any one study to shun the participation of this cruelty, he is to them a schismatic, he is καθαιρμα, and I know not what. For truly it did not so injure me, that I glanced at certain opinions of theirs ; for I did that modestly, but something else provoked them more. They were unwilling that we should *mourn for* PATRICK, *a pious man, and born in an honourable family ; whom when they had cruelly put to death, they required of us that we also should condemn him who was dead.* When they could *not* obtain this from us, then indeed they were enraged ; so that it might easily be understood, how, from consciousness of guilt, they had not an easy mind. *This* was *a principal cause,* why they seized also upon *me.*

" While many things of this sort are happening, everywhere, among the nations, notwithstanding, as they persuade kings and princes that they should render this kind of doctrine odious ; all the disturbances arise from the other side. But God has delivered me from them, and that chiefly, most gracious King, through your kindness. Wherefore I give thanks to you, and interpret this favour on your part, to have proceeded from God.——But I pray that, according to justice, you would add this, that you would not subscribe to their judgments against me, before that you yourself have examined my cause ; which I would, that under a public safeguard, I might be allowed to plead, in your presence. For I hope that I shall prove to your Highness, and to all good men, those things which I have taught. They say that Alcibiades, in I know not what contention, a certain old man having lifted his staff, forbade him to speak, answered—'*Strike, but hear me.*'[10] The same could I say to my enemies, that if on that condition they pleased, as they might strike, so they would also hear me. For hitherto they condemn me, and those like me they proscribe, and would slay us, while our cause is yet untried. Neither do they either fear or shun anything more than *a trial, which I earnestly desire ;* not because contention delights me, of which I have even a natural abhorrence ; but because it is not the part of a wise man, to pass by those charges which they heap upon us. Then the nature of the cause is such, that it would not be upright in us to decline the defence of it.

" There is no duty more indispensable than the confession of the Gospel, even as Christ saith —' *Whosoever shall confess me before men, I also will confess him before my Father in heaven : but every one who will deny*

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[10] More correctly, the reply of *Themistocles* to Eurybiades, when he lifted up his staff, ready to smite him, if he would not be silent.

me before men, I will deny him before my Father in heaven.' What folly would it be, to draw down upon ourselves the hatred of the powerful, and go through dangers of every description ; except by the Divine command, we were compelled to defend the doctrine of the Gospel ? I make no account of all human things, nor have I ever esteemed anything more than the good will of your Highness. Wherefore, I mean nothing less than to lose the approbation of a prince, who is to be admired, not only for his royal renown, but his distinguished virtues. So, therefore, you may be assured that we do not contend through any lust or petulance, but are constrained, by the command of God, not to abandon this manner of doctrine.

" If, by any means, the enemies have injured me, *in another affair*,[11] although it would be very grievous to me, that your countenance should be withdrawn from me, yet should I endeavour to bear it with a patient mind, and forgive the State ; to which certainly we owe this duty, sometimes to forget private injuries that the public condition may continue more peaceful. That old precept, full of humanity, is well known, ' Remember not injuries ;' nor has any one heard me lamenting my exile so much as this *cause* for which I labour. Nor do I ask anything else than what Christ has enjoined—that his doctrine may be acknowledged. Since this greatly concerns the Church, it was necessary for the restraining of the cruelty of some who, without law, without measure, and without end, now wander through the *houses* of all ; for unless it be checked, without doubt God will avenge this rage and contempt of laws and equity.

" The histories of all ages, of all nations, teach what end cruelty shall experience, especially that against the pious and the priests or ministers of a church. Wherefore, I shall not cease to beseech thee, most gracious Sovereign, that you would carefully examine these matters, and not grant this unbounded license to the chief priests and monks, which Christ will not long endure ; and surely it is opposed to your justice and clemency. This, therefore, I desire to obtain, if what I ask be equitable, just, worthy of yourself, and profitable to the Church and the State. May Christ preserve thee, and direct thy mind to the public welfare ! *Anno* 1533."

Thus it appears, at this early period, that Scotland was not behind England in point of progress made. The New Testament had been given to her in the same year.—She could already point to her proto-martyr—and an advocate rising out of his ashes, was now as earnest with *her* King, and against *her* bishops ; as John Fryth now was with similar parties in

[11] Relating to himself personally, and to be more fully explained by himself afterwards.

London. Had Ales only been forthcoming, he had expired in the flames this year, as certainly as Fryth did in England.

In reply to this letter, as far as is yet known, there was not one man in Scotland able to move his tongue; but there was one abroad, who, though abundantly ready in *reply*, could never *answer* any argument; and who, when engaged in furious wrangling, was never so much in his element. This, the reader may anticipate, was no other than *John Cochlæus*, the same who raised the alarm respecting the New Testament, at first, in 1525. Stung with disappointment, at his having no reward assigned to him by Wolsey, or Henry VIII.; he now did his utmost to procure notoriety and a pension, by addressing King James V. of Scotland. The epistle of Ales could scarcely have been read in his own country, before this indefatigable opponent must have been at the press, as his tirade is dated on the 8th of June 1533. There is nothing whatever, of sound argument in the book, though professing to answer Ales, paragraph by paragraph. It abounds in different parts with virulent abuse, and in others with blasphemy. There is no lack of positive falsehood as to Luther, the writer's perpetual eye-sore; and Ales, though unknown to Cochlæus personally, comes in for his full share, upon one hundred and sixty pages, in reply to twenty-six! The object in view was to mystify and alarm the young King; and the title is perfectly expressive of the great point in hand—"*Whether it be expedient for the Laity to read the books of the New Testament in the vernacular tongue.*"[12]

At the commencement, Cochlæus owns that he was shooting in the dark, not knowing whether this name of Alexander Alesius was a real, or only a fictitious one; but though ignorant of his man, and equally so of the state of Scotland, he artfully insinuates that the representation of the country, as drawn by Ales, was altogether incredible. That the Bishops of Scotland could act towards any subject whatever, in the manner described, without the consent of his Highness, he pretends to think impossible. The exile, he asserts, must either falsely praise the King to stir him up against his

[12] "An expediat Laicis, legere novi Testamenti libros lingua Vernacula? Ad serenissimum Scotiæ Regem Jacobum V. Disputatio inter Alexandrum Alesium Scotum et Johannem Cochlæum Germanum." *Dated* "Ex Dresda Misniæ ad Albim. vi. Idus Junii MDXXXIII.

Bishops, or else feign the King's wonderful clemency to himself, to render *him* suspected abroad, with regard to the *orthodox* faith. Ales, too, he insists, *must* be a Lutheran, of course, and *the epistle itself must* come from Wittenberg, the common asylum of fugitives and apostates; while "the whole is concocted with such skill, that readers may believe that *the gospel* of Luther is already propagated to the most remote Scots, as far as *Ultima Thulæ*." It is here that Cochlæus repeats, by way of warning, the groundless falsehood of Tyndale and his amanuensis having come to Wittenberg, acquired the German language, and then translated the New Testament *of Luther* into English; adding, what was true, that he found them at Cologne, and forewarned Henry VIII.;[13] though he takes care to conceal that he had received no thanks for his pains, and now entertained a very bad opinion of the English monarch.

Not aware of the English New Testament having been before introduced into Scotland, as early as 1526, and glorying in his exploit of 1525, he proceeds:—

"As I see similar snares now preparing for your kingdom, I earnestly warn your Highness, that you may carefully guard against this hostile attempt upon your people, and that as to Alesius who meditates this injury, you would not rashly believe him, in opposition to your Bishops." He then praises the Scots for their ancient piety, since to their zeal in coming to teach them, the Germans were indebted, many centuries ago. There were still, he adds, Monasteries of Scotsmen in the cities of Germany—at Erfurth in Thuringia, at Ratisbon in Bavaria, at Vienna in Austria, &c. Therefore he felt nothing save the purest gratitude and love in now writing. He neither desired nor expected "any favour or reward from his Highness, nor from the bishops of his kingdom!" It was "affection alone" which impelled him, as he had "the most earnest desire for the welfare of all!" But in justice to this enemy, we must let him be heard. When he comes to the interdict, or decree against reading the Sacred Volume, not a little hampered, he thus artfully proceeds:—

"It appears at first sight odious indeed, and quite opposite to Christian piety, to prohibit the people from reading the books of the New Testament in their own language: in which is the bread of life, the food of the soul, the discipline of morals, the true knowledge of virtue, and the exact correction of vices; and in fine, the knowledge of the most exalted love, grace, and beneficence towards the human race, of Christ himself, and our God and Father. To prevent, by an edict, so many people, and so great a multitude of the whole kingdom, from the enjoyment of such great, and so many blessings, may *seem* to be an employment both of envy and cruelty towards those who are subjected to it, and of gigantic impiety towards God. But assuredly, on the other hand, if any one consider what an *accumulation of evils* has sprung up among us Germans,

[13] See before, vol. i., p. 54, &c.

within a few years, *from such reading*, disseminated by Luther, he will, O King, presently conclude, *that your Bishops are pious, right-hearted, prudent and faithful pastors*, who are desirous, by a decree, to drive away their sheep from pasture *so noxious and so deadly!!* But Alesius says—Are the gospels, the words of Christ and his Apostles, noxious and deadly pasture? However, let him hearken a little. According to himself, indeed, they are most salutary and refreshing pasture, if they be well received; but if they are badly received, they become not the pasture of life, but deadly poison to those who receive them."

"I say nothing here of the loss of property which we have suffered from this gospel, while for these most mischievous books, our people have squandered, spent and lost an incalculable sum of money, for so many hundred thousands of copies printed and sold! From these they have got no good, but a great deal of harm; learned artizans neglecting their shop and their work, from whence they ought to procure a subsistence for their wives and children. Nor will I mention those evils, which many have endured in their body through this, while, in opposition to the edicts of the magistrates, they read the prohibited books; and for this offence were shut up in prisons, confined in towers, fined, banished from their country, and suffered other bodily inconvenience!"

In this manner the New Testament itself, being mixed up with all that ever issued from the pen of Luther; Cochlæus must now fortify the royal youth, originally disinclined to deeds of blood, not only against all the cruelties which might ensue in Scotland, and the counter advice of any of his councillors, but against all the odium which was sure to follow.

"But then they, the Bishops, will rightly take care, that they not only prohibit books of that kind, by the bare words of a decree, but also follow up the matter with efficacious diligence. For thus it will be, when they *act* against a few transgressors with *just severity*, that they will preserve the souls of many! Even as the Bishop of Treves did among us, who, when he had taken care that first one, and then another bookseller, who brought in Lutheran books, *should be cast into the Rhine, with their noxious books;* this punishment of the few terrified others from bringing in more. By this he so preserved his people in *the faith and unity of the Church*, and also in peace and civil subjection, that his peasants remain quiet, while all those of the other Princes and Bishops rose in tumults.[14] And if your councillors, (for there are *few* courts of Christian Princes entirely clear of this carnal leaven) shall suggest to your Highness the invidious words of the apostates, in which they complain (as Alesius *of Wittenberg* in his Epistle) that it is impious by a decree to forbid the reading of the Sacred books, and that reproach will attach to your kingdom, if men are driven from the oracles of Christ, lest the people should know the benefits of Christ—your Highness will be able to make answer with the greatest *justice* and *truth*, that the New Testament *of Luther* is not the Sacred books, but execrable and cursed, which will surely bring infamy on your kingdom and every evil—The New Testament of Luther is not the gospel of Christ, but of Satan! I doubt

[14] See what Ales will reply to this presently.

not that there are in your kingdom also, not a few Lutherans in disguise, who will suggest to your Highness that the Word of God ought not to be forbidden to the Laity; by which they would be understood to mean *the New Testament of Luther!* than which nothing is more effectual for spreading abroad this most abominable heresy, under the specious title of the Gospel, and the sweet sounding pretext of the Word of God. If you have permitted this, you have introduced ship-loads of the most pernicious merchandize. If you have prohibited them, you will be accused privately of tyranny by the Lutherans, who are desirous of change. They will call you a Herod—a persecutor of Christ—a slave of the Roman Pontiff—a dependent of the Bishops—a patron of the luxury of the clergy, and what not?

"If therefore, O King, you desire to preserve among your people concord in the faith, and the unity of the Church, peace, unruffled tranquillity, agreement in piety and divine worship, fixedness of faith, and all the benefits of ecclesiastical discipline; *desist from this business of translation, especially at this time:* because much more mischief and destruction will proceed from that source, than good or edification!"

This poor infuriated zealot then at last informs the King that *any* translation of the New Testament, "the best and most undoubted," if it be "*in the vulgar tongue*," must produce all imaginable evil. He is even suspicious of Ales himself being so engaged, and that he will transmit copies secretly, through merchants, by the Elbe to Hamburgh, which looks over to Scotland!

"If therefore you desire to preserve your subjects from so many evils, which will thence arise, use all care and attention to keep out these *paper merchandize*, so destructive and poisonous, lest, while you know not, they steal into your ports. It will be necessary that all merchandize brought from Germany be diligently searched and examined, lest this schemer among the Saxons should so be concealed that he may slay the unspotted; according to that of the Psalmist!! 'Under his tongue are labour and sorrow. He sitteth in hiding places with the rich'—*that is, with the merchants!*—'in secret places that he may slay the innocent. His eyes look upon the poor'—*that is, the simple people, who know nothing more than their mother tongue!* 'He layeth wait in his lurking place like a lion in his den; he layeth wait, that he may seize upon the poor, to lay hold on the poor, when he hath enticed him.' This, O King, is the forewarning of the Holy Spirit by the mouth of King David, to which, unless you carefully attend, your Kingdom will be laid open to the same kind of snares!

The reader must now be more than satisfied, that this man was "a blasphemer, a persecutor and injurious;" and yet such is only a specimen of the verbiage with which he was eager to occupy the ear of the young and thoughtless Scotish monarch. With Cochlæus abroad, and such men in power at home, both bishops and monks, a Prince once averse to all cruelty, and still

15 But this they had been doing with Tyndale's translation for about seven years.

given to deeds of kindness in regard to the bodies of his subjects,[16] was driving on to ruin; by yielding to the sophistry of the hierarchy, with respect to opinions, which could neither be gainsayed nor resisted. At the same time, let the chief blame rest where it actually did. Had the King, unmolested, been allowed to pursue his pastime, humanly speaking, there had been no such cruelty as still ensued. But the ecclesiastics led on at present by *Patrick Hepburn*, the young Prior of St. Andrews, as they were afterwards by David Beaton, Abbot of Arbroath, were perpetually insisting that heretical opinions, as they styled them, did not belong to the King's jurisdiction; while, in justice to the Prince himself, there is reason to believe, that he by no means yielded without a struggle, and did actually interfere again and again, *as* Ales has represented. Even after he had fled, there is more than one passage left in "the accounts of the Lord High Treasurer" worthy of remark.[17] Ales, therefore, might well write as he had done, and with considerable hopes of success. The King and the ecclesiastics had formed two parties quite distinguishable in the estimation of many more than the writer of this epistle: but soon after that Ales had done his best in addressing his former benefactor, not only did Cochlæus follow, but it so happened, that an ambassador or legate from the Pontiff, had been perambulating the country in company with the King and the Queen Mother. They terminated their journey by visiting St. Andrews, where they were all entertained in style by Beaton and Prior Hepburn. In short, the year 1533 seems to have been about the turning point in James's course and character. He was even now only twenty-one years of age, but in early life, "a stranger to pride, easy of access, and fond of mingling familiarly with all classes of his subjects; with a generosity and warmth of temper, which prompted him, on all occasions, to espouse with enthusiasm the cause of the oppressed;"[18] what wonder that Ales should have so addressed him? The change was most melancholy not only for himself, but his kingdom. The year before this, or 1532, he had been sinking deep into

16 See in proof, Pitcairn's Criminal Trials, i. p. 276. Tytler's History of Scotland.

17 "May 17. 1532.— *Item*, to David Reche, pursuivant, to pass with letters to the Bishop of Saint Andrews to advertise him of the *changing of the Diet* of the accusation of the Lutherons," x *s*. "Sept. 27—*Item*. For carriage of the King's bed to the hunting in Glenorchy, and for the carriage of the same out of Edinburgh to Saint Andrews, *to the pardon*, xx *s*." Lord Treasurer's Accounts.

18 Tytler.

the licentious course which he afterwards pursued, for to this the hierarchy had *no* objection ; and now he is giving himself up to the counsel of these unprincipled, and far more licentious, ecclesiastical men.

Before the end of the year 1533, and just as if to confirm every word that Ales had so faithfully written, the second martyrdom took place at St. Andrews, and this also was but a young man. Hamilton's death was sufficient to have roused both priests and canons, which it certainly had done, but the monks had also responded to the call. Seton was the first, Ales was the second, but here was a third, who seems to have been moved by Patrick's earliest exertions on his return from abroad, as well as his subsequent death. *Henry Forrest* of Linlithgow, a Benedictine monk, had contracted such an admiration of Patrick Hamilton as he could not suppress. He thought that he had been wrongfully put to death, that the articles for which he suffered were not heretical, and might be defended. This much, however, they could not fully establish against him, till they resorted to the same base method which they had pursued with the first martyr ; and one Friar Walter Laing was ready to act over again the same part which Campbell had done. Another specific charge however was, that he had in his possession a copy of *the New Testament in English ;* now, of course, deemed to be a crime far more heinous after the edict or decree. There must have been considerable hesitation about proceeding to extremity, as Forrest had been for some time kept a close prisoner " in the tower" or castle of St. Andrews ; and at last the spot on which he died at the stake, was at once expressive of the truth having extended far beyond the bounds of St. Andrews, and of the fear entertained as to its further progress. " He suffered death," says the manuscript, " at the north church style of the Abbey church of St. Andrew, to the intent that *all the people of Forfar or Angus might see the fire*, and so might be the more feared from falling into the like doctrine which they call heresy."[20] On

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19 The best evidence of the King's course is to be found in many of the *items* of the Lord Treasurer's Accounts.

20 Foxe, ex scripto testimonio Scotorum, and other histories. We know not the origin, but it is a curious fact, that looking in the direction from whence this fire was placed to be visible, the name of Luther has been stamped on the soil. Hence, on the borders of Angus, in the parish of Marykirk, we have not only the village of Luthermoor, but the tributary stream of Luther, running into the North Esk ; as well as Luther Bridge and Luther-mill, named after the stream.

such a mode they had at last ventured, though far from being according to the counsel previously given by one John Lindsay, a man of wit, familiar with the Archbishop. "If you burn any more of them," said he, "take my advice and burn them in cellars; for I assure you that the smoke of Patrick Hamilton has infected all upon whom it blew." The first molestation of Henry Forrest appears to have commenced about the year 1530, but his death cannot be stated earlier than 1533; a circumstance which may account for his martyrdom being ascribed to both years.

Only a very short time, however, now elapsed, before there arrived from abroad, an all-sufficient exposure of Cochlæus, and of other men at home besides the calumniator. The slander and falsehood which had been emitted, had, it is probable, not been seen by Ales for some months, but early in 1534 he was ready with his Response. It is entitled—"*The answer of Alexander Ales, Scotsman, to the calumnies of Cochlæus.*"[21] It is addressed to the King as before, and as it has been equally unknown to the English reader, with his first letter, no apology is necessary for giving some account of this very rare book. Among other information, it contains the full account of his own personal treatment, besides some valuable particulars with regard to the Scriptures of the New Testament, still read by stealth, and hid with anxious care. Cochlæus had questioned the veracity of Ales—had insisted that he was a Lutheran—had approved highly of the interdict as to reading of the New Testament—had tried to terrify the King by a bold endeavour to identify the translation of the New Testament into German by Luther, with the independent English version—had strongly deprecated the New Testament being presented to any man in the *vernacular* tongue, *however correct*, and represented this as the only source of all evil, national and domestic; warning his Highness to succumb, or by all means yield to the advice of his ecclesiastics, those determined enemies of divine truth. Every one of these points were now to be met by this first and able advocate of the people. It is only necessary to explain that as Ales, even still, could not be aware of any alteration in the King's

21 "Alexandri Alesii Scotti, Responsio ad Cochlei calumnias." This occupies thirty-one leaves 18mo, in a smaller type than the former publication, and without any colophon.

character and conduct, he writes under the impression of these being yet unchanged. Addressing the King once more, as his most gracious Sovereign, he thus begins:—

"It is indeed true what the royal youth says of Euripides—'In exile itself there is more evil than can be expressed in words.' For in addition to other calamities, this evil has befallen me, that I have now met with a slanderer, who is much more cruel towards me, though unknown to him, than were any enemies in my own country. *Cochlæus*, whom I know not, (personally,) has published a little book, in which, by the most false accusation and surprising calumnies, he endeavours both to inflame your mind against me, and to alienate from me the good of those nations, whose hospitality I have hitherto experienced. He is not in the least affected by the distress of a stranger, entirely unknown to him, and who submits his cause to your examination. Nor is it difficult to judge with what conscience Cochlæus acts towards me, when, in the very outset of his writing, a certain just and necessary duty on my part is cruelly reproached. Because, in my former letter, I truly, and from my heart, praised your goodness, this sycophant so perverts it, as if by this commendation I wished to throw some little stain upon you. But for how much I am indebted to you, most excellent king, I have yourself as an ample witness. Wherefore, I doubt not, but that the virulence of Cochlæus will seriously displease you, when you see that even gratitude is charged against me as a crime. When, at his entrance, he slanderously perverts that which was my duty, you may suspect the rest to be spoken from the same artifice, and with equal candour. Wherefore, most merciful Sovereign, I again fly to your goodness, and beseech you, with an unbiassed mind, to hear my defence.

"But that I may omit other matters, the very cause itself warns a wise prince how great is the malignity of Cochlæus. I have not written of some dogma; I have handled no strange or obscure controversy. I have only rehearsed an old sentiment, commended in all ages—'*That the people are not to be driven from the reading of the Sacred Volume.*' What can any good man find fault with in this? What is there in this opinion which can give offence to any one? And yet, for this saying, I am called to risk my life; while many holy and learned men ever in the Church have so often written the same; while all people cherish it, and even in Germany itself a great many who are most opposed to the Lutheran name. Is it not wonderful, that in a cause so evident and much approved, any man should be able to find any thing at which to cavil? But so it is indeed. *Mala mens, malus animus.*

"Cochlæus is now for a long time practised in sycophancy, and, indeed, makes a trade of it. Therefore he every where seeks out quarrels for himself; with incredible petulance he harasses not only men of our

order, but even the most famous princes: and seeing there is in him the greatest folly and ignorance, he undertakes no controversy to be explained—he only wishes to be a busy meddler in calumniating the writings of others. Just so he makes an attack upon me also, as I believe that he may render himself famous among the Scots, and, indeed, he exhausts upon me the whole art of slander. If, therefore, you will consider the strife opposed to me, to move in a cause so evident, you can easily judge of his intention; and when you shall do this, I doubt not but that you will hear me with a most unbiassed mind. For it becomes princes both greatly to hate sycophancy, and to protect the innocent against calumny.

"That I may therefore come to the cause, Cochlæus says very little on the matter itself; but as he has other topics, in which he is wont to vociferate, and to play the tragedian, and to show off, he employs a great part of his book in railing at the *Lutherans*. Besides, he lays *exile* to my charge, as a reproach. Of these two points, therefore, I must first speak; and once removing the suspicion of heresy and other crimes, then of the controversy.

"As to the *exile*, your decision, most gracious Sovereign, frees me from all suspicions, who not only ordered me to be released from prison, but also to be restored safe to my former condition. Next, I appeal to the testimony of our venerable College of St. Andrews in Scotland; for to all that assembly my history is not only well known, but my cause so approved, that by their fidelity and constancy, my life was defended and preserved; whose piety and humanity I record with all my heart. Then, truly, banishment to me is most grievous, as being torn away from such brethren, who always shewed me the highest kindness, whose fidelity towards me, in the greatest extremity, was known and remarked."

From these, as well as other expressions afterwards, it becomes evident that the progress of "the new learning" in St. Andrews itself, had been much greater than has ever been explained, or ever now can be; and certainly, if in that city, so also in other parts, which will be glanced at presently: but in justice to the narrative of Ales, it is necessary here to premise a few words, confirmatory of his interesting and graphic statement—a statement of cruelties, no doubt practised upon others, probably many others, but which have never before been brought before the public eye. Almost all the inhumanity of these times has been heaped upon David Beaton, the nephew of the Archbishop and future Cardinal, but in this early stage at least, the lasting odium was largely shared by another man, of whom we are about to hear. As one of the monsters of the

day, he should have stood out upon the canvass before now. Ales, we have seen, had been a Canon in the Priory of St. Andrews, of which the Superior was *Patrick Hepburn*. Named after his father, the first Earl of Bothwell, and then frequently styled "*the young Prior of St. Andrews*," he had succeeded his uncle, John, in 1522. He soon became one of the most wicked men of his time, as far as licentiousness and unbridled passion could go. A veteran in crime, long before the prime of life, the public registers bear testimony to his enormous profligacy. Witness the legitimation of at least eleven children, seven sons and four daughters. The man had gloried in destroying the peace of many a family, and Ales informs us, that he could have mentioned names, but for the sake of the families he would not. It is but an imperfect idea which can now be formed of the immorality in which these official men rioted life away; but it is proper to understand that the representation of Ales is in perfect keeping with historical fact. No wonder that Hepburn should browbeat the Canons under his authority, when he could war even with the Archbishop, if he crossed his path; but we are now prepared for what Ales has to say, in reference to his own particular case:—

"But I also relate what cause inflamed the hatred of my Superior against me. In the year 1529, I delivered an oration in the Synod of Bishops and Priests, and that by the command of his reverence the Bishop of St. Andrews, Primate of the whole kingdom of the Scots. As it was to be pronounced in Latin, not for the common people, in such an assembly it appeared to me that I should be acting out of my duty, unless I exhorted in the Church, that is in an apostolic place, those who preside over the churches (and who do not suffer themselves to be admonished by private persons) to piety, to the study of Christian doctrine, to good morals, and that they should teach and govern the churches piously. I also distinctly pointed out debauched priests. As I said nothing seditious, or more severe than I ought, nor did I mention any one by name, that discourse did not at all offend good men. But my Superior, a man otherwise both vehement and soon angry, suspected that he was specially aimed at; and as he knew his crimes to be marked by all, so he interpreted my design, as if I wished industriously to traduce him in that place, and to hold him forth, as in a comedy, to be derided by others. These were the seeds of the hatred conceived against me; this the introduction of my story. Nor was it a new thing for him to contend for the basest of characters; seeing that he formerly made war even against the Archbishop, by whom he was admonished, that he

should put away his unlawful companion ; and collecting their forces, they would have fought, had not the Earl of Rothes and the Abbot of Arbroath (David Beaton) placed themselves between either party, before they came to action, and so far settled the matter. . . . Nor have I any pleasure in these satiric narratives, which I would have entirely omitted, unless Cochlæus had compelled me to declare the *cause* of my exile.

"Besides, it so happened, that the whole College, for many and weighty reasons, resolved to complain to the King of the cruelty of the Superior ; which, as soon as he (the superior) discovered, he came with armed guards into the very consecrated hall of the chapter. There I warned the furious man, lest, in anger, he should aim at something which did not become him. Having found this opportunity, as he was most enraged with me before, on account of the sermon, he ordered me to be seized by the armed men, drew his sword at me, and would himself have run me through, had not two canons pulling him back by force, turned aside the weapon from my body ! Afterwards, when I had thrown myself at his knees, and, earnestly entreating him, begged my life might be spared, he set his foot upon my breast, so that, having fainted, I for some time lay senseless ! After that, when I lay miserable in prison, again, at the very doors, he drew his sword, but the guards drew him back, as they saw that, from anger and rage, he had not sufficient command of himself. Afterwards, he seized *all* the other canons. The noblemen, who were our friends, then related the matter to the King, who *forthwith commanded us all to be set at liberty*. And we remember your compassionate voice, most excellent King, with which you asserted, that except the place were infected with the plague, you would *yourself* come to take the priests out of prison. Such wickedness did there appear to you in such cruelty. The *rest* were set at liberty, but I was shut up in a certain sink (the dungeon before-mentioned) until the King expostulated with the Superior respecting me by name. This man swore sacredly that I had been set at large ! And when my friends already began to despair of my life, and, as I struggled with bad health, a report arose that I had died in prison—then, at last, after the twentieth day, he dragged me up, emaciated, out of the sink into the daylight ;[22] ordered me to be washed, and cleanly clothed, and charged me not to tell any one how he had handled me. Then he sent for the magistrates of the town, and bringing me forth, showed me to them, that he might refute the report concerning my death, which had now, out of prison, become very prevalent.

"But as I knew that he would never be appeased towards me, to these magistrates, commanding me by royal authority, I related in full assem-

[22] See note 6, p. 431.

bly, how I had been treated. As soon as possible, the Superior pacified the magistrates, assuring them that I should henceforth be at liberty: but no sooner were they gone, than he challenged me, why I did not conceal my ill-treatment, as he had commanded me. For that reason he ordered me again to be taken into custody. So was I held a captive almost a whole year! I complained also to the Bishop, of my bad usage, but the Superior returned for answer, that there was no protection for me from the Bishop; because, having heard my sermon, he understood that I favoured the Lutherans, and he thought that I ought to be confined and punished. In the meantime, when the Superior was absent, the Canons got me out of prison; and when at last the Superior returned, by chance, sooner than we expected, he saw me standing at the altar, and executing my office. Wherefore, as he judged that his authority was despised, both by me and the College, in a rage he ordered me to be torn from the altar, and again dragged to prison. The Canons deprecated the violation of public worship, and obtained a truce for me, until the public service was finished. After I had completed the worship, I was straightway carried off in custody, to be thrown the *next* day into that *dungeon*, once more. But as some of the Canons, who had heard that *John Hay*, the mass priest, was now appointed keeper of the prison, despaired of my life;"[23] when the first shades of night had already come, they drew near and informed me, that horrible tortures and certain destruction awaited me, except I consulted my safety by flight. When I wished to betake myself to friends, they advised that I should rather escape alone, as the Superior would instantly send horsemen, who would either seize me by the way, or by force drag me from my friends.

"Although affected with the deepest grief, when I thought that I must depart from my native land, than which nothing is more dear to well constituted minds, yet I was induced to yield, both to necessity, and to the advice of so many good men. They therefore took me privately out of the house, and furnished me with provision for the journey. So when, with tears, we had taken farewell of each other, and by the kindest mention of *illustrious men and saints, who, from tyranny, had, in like manner, left the country*, they had somewhat alleviated my grief; at midnight, in the thickest darkness, I now entered upon my journey, all alone!

In what deep distress I was, may be easily imagined. It was most grievous to leave both my country and kindred, while, at the same time, I knew that there was no safety for me, till I reached the ships. Besides the thoughts of exile, I anticipated never so many evils, as I knew no certain shelter or retreat, in other lands. I had no friend or ac-

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23 Some man noted for cruelty, whom we have not been able to trace. Perhaps some relative of James Hay, Bishop of Ross from 1525 to 1539.

quaintance among foreigners. Neither did I know other languages, except my native tongue and *Latin*. Besides this, I thought that at this time particularly, travellers were suspected; because *many*, on account of their fanatical and seditious opinions, wandered about as aliens. In the midst of these cares and griefs, I supported myself in courage, by *the faith of Christ*, and having that night finished a difficult journey, I came to the ships; on board of one of which, a certain kinsman of mine, very affectionately received me, associated me with himself, and afterwards, when I was sick, took care of me with the greatest kindness."

Thus the most valuable life has often appeared to hang upon a very slender thread, but though weeping had endured for a night, joy had come in the morning. Ales was about to leave his much-loved native shores, *never* to return, and could any one have now whispered in his ear, that he was on the road to a far more enlarged sphere of usefulness; that he should not only live for more than thirty years, but be the first to plead for the reading of the Scriptures in his native land—should live to plead for the all-sufficiency and supreme authority of the Sacred Volume, even in England, and before her Bishops assembled; when not one of them should dare to touch him, as "the King's scholar," although James of Scotland had cast him off; and that, at last, he should die, greatly respected, in Germany, or in the very country of his bitter opponent; how incredible must all this have seemed? Meanwhile, he had left the spot where his eyes were first opened to the truth, with a heavy heart; and perhaps the road leading from St. Andrews to Dundee has never since been traced during the night, and the Tay crossed, by a mind at once so anxious in itself, and of such value in future life. It was at midnight he set off, and in thick darkness, but that is certainly no reason why he should have been left by his country, in the shades, ever since.

"The next day, when we had already left the harbour, there came to the shore, horsemen sent by my Superior, who sought for me. When they found me not there, the Superior called to him a certain citizen of Dundee, who, he suspected, had provided a vessel for me. With him came also to the Superior, the Provost of the town, a knight. When the citizen denied that he had assisted me, the Provost said to the Superior—'But if I had known that Alexander was preparing to depart, with the greatest good-will I should have provided for him both a vessel and provisions, that he might be delivered from *your* cruelty: for if he had been

my brother, I should long ago have rescued him from these dangers and distresses, in which he was involved by you.'"[24]

It will be observed, that hitherto Ales has been alternately addressing his opponent and the King. He therefore thus concludes the introductory part of his narrative :—

"Thus you have, Cochlæus, the whole history of my departure from my native land, in which, that I have falsified nothing, many of the best men in the College of St. Andrews can bear witness. Now, if I wished to enlarge in your manner, How much wickedness was there in that Superior of mine? How unbecoming was this cruelty in an ecclesiastical prelate? How great was that fury, when he drew his sword upon me? In what extreme dangers was I a whole year? How much guilt was there, in raging against an innocent man and a priest, who had done nothing save what the measure of his duty required? What should be, I do not say the oration, but rather the tragedy? What a valiant representation of an ecclesiastic priest? But I delight not in the reproaching of others; neither should I have brought forth this history before the public, except you had forced it from me; though, in my opinion, you would better consult the interest of those whom you defend, if you would moderate your petulance, and not rashly provoke any one. I now leave the decision to all good men, whether I have done anything worthy of punishment; and then, if I am free from blame, exile ought not to be objected to me as reproachful.——I hope that I have so spoken of the cause of my banishment, that I have not only cleared away the suspicion of guilt, but have even conciliated towards me the affections of good men, that they may be touched with greater compassion for my misfortune.

"I come, then, to another point in which Cochlæus performs wonderful tragedies, and, indeed, he scatters this argument through his whole discourse. All this tumult of words aims at producing this one effect—that the readers may suspect *that I am a Lutheran*, and that I wish to introduce the doctrine of the *Lutherans* into my native country. Tokens of this he craftily collects from all quarters. He then adds amplifications, which, from his long experience, cannot be wanting to such an old disputant; and declaims, in general terms, against the Lutherans,

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[24] The Provost here referred to was Sir James Scrymgeour of Dudhope, Heritable Royal Banner-bearer to the King. The Superior or *Prior of St. Andrews*, who, on all high days, wore the pontifical robes or ornaments, had the precedence in parliament of all other Priors or Abbots in the kingdom. But Hepburn, who lived to an advanced age, was promoted to the bench the very next year, or in 1535, as Bishop of Moray, still pursuing the same licentious career. "He had found the see in good condition," says Keith, "but he feued out (feed) all the lands belonging to it," though he held also the Abbey of Scone to the day of his death. He died, as he had lived, at Spynie Castle, on the 20th of June 1573, having survived Ales eight years. He lies buried in the quire of the Cathedral Church at Elgin.

as to how much wickedness and madness there is in that faction. When I read these things, a certain hypochondriac mentioned by Galen comes to my memory; who, in the aberration of his mind, came to be seriously alarmed, lest Atlas, (whom the Poets feign to bear up the heavens,) being tired, should shake off his load, and so being tumbled down, we should all perish together. Cochlæus, indeed, with a weak and foolish mind, so rages against the Lutherans, that I cannot persuade myself he is sane. He seems evidently to labour under the same kind of insanity as he in Galen, and to fear lest the Sophists and the Monks, who pretend that they support the heavens, should fall with their foolish and superstitious opinions; for if they should be destroyed, he fears lest he should be compelled to cease from the sycophancy in which alone he delights. Among good men, these writings of Cochlæus do more harm to himself than to the Lutherans, whom, if he would recover to the right way, he must treat with sound reasoning, not with calumnies and reproaches. He seems, under some distemper of mind, to rage against them, for what instruction does he, at any time, afford? And although he is indeed (πολυγραφος) a voluminous writer, yet no where, as I understand, does he unfold his sentiments upon Christian doctrine. Justly, therefore, are these senseless and scurrilous writings derided by the learned.

"But that you may know, most excellent king, that I have a covenant only with the Church of Christ, not with any other factions, I do not refuse, either before you, or in the presence of other good men, simply and clearly to give a reason of my faith, as I have formerly written to you. I believe the writings of the Prophets and Apostles, and embrace the consent of the holy Fathers, of whom the Church approves. I also reverence the authority of the Church, and its judgment in doubtful cases, as that which chiefly I both do and will freely follow. Does Cochlæus require anything more than this?"

It is here worthy of remark, that the only place where we can fix the residence of Ales about this period, is *Cologne* on the Rhine, the very spot which Cochlæus, in 1525, had occasioned Tyndale to leave, and a place sufficiently distant from Wittenberg on the Elbe. Here our Scotish exile appears to have been in familiar communication with *Herman*, Count de Wied, the well known Archbishop of Cologne; and influenced by the shocking cruelties then abounding, we must admit of a digression, before the positive denial that he himself was then a Lutheran, in the proper sense of the term.

"As I do not undertake the defence of Luther, so neither do I approve of all the dreams of the monks, which have been received, not only in opposition to the sense of Scripture, but even against the autho-

rity of the ancient Church. Besides, I cannot approve of the cruelty which is every where practised against those who, following the judgment of Scripture and of the Fathers, reject or disapprove of any manifest abuse or error. Such am I, Cochlæus, if you please to make use of me. If the very unjust punishments of the pious are a pleasure to you, the more miserable are you. I neither can, nor will knowingly, ever load or defile my conscience with these aggravated murders.

"I saw in my own country the punishment of PATRICK (Hamilton,) a man born in an honourable station. I have seen at Cologne two very good men burnt, pious and correct in their sentiments; neither can I express in words what grief I endured at that tragic spectacle. Nor did I grieve only for their sakes who suffered, in whom a glory shone through these very sufferings. Their exalted virtue and constancy afforded some alleviation of my sorrow; but much more was I grieved for the Church, which such cruelty disorders in many ways. And I for myself earnestly desire the moderating of some things towards the Lutherans, to which they could be recalled if the matter were properly examined.

"While lately conversing familiarly at Cologne with a certain man, both of the highest learning and authority, as I understood him to be much grieved on account of the confusion of the Church, I began to exhort him that he should interpose his opinion on some matters, as I hoped that the greater part of the things in dispute would become more moderate among all; if such advisers, pre-eminent both in learning and authority, would use their influence on both princes and people. When I had brought forward many arguments in favour of this opinion, sighing, he gave me no answer, only he desired me to hear an apologue.

"Once on a time, said he, the Lion, oppressed with old age, could not overtake the wild beasts in hunting. By a new contrivance he invited them to himself, and commanded that they should come into his den, for the purpose of saluting their king. There came together the Bear, the Wolf, and the Fox. But first of all entered the *Bear*, whom the Lion received courteously, then led him into his cave, and asked him politely—Whether the pleasantness of the den were sufficiently agreeable to him? The Bear, as he was very unpolished, and unskilled in courtly arts, simply said—'Truly, he could not reside in such an ugly chamber, and among heaps of carcases, the smell of which would injure his health.' Upon this the Lion, enraged, quarrelling with the Bear, because he despised his royal residence, tore him in pieces, and threw him among the other carcases. The *Wolf*, as a spectator, stood at the door, now understanding what danger he was in, yet warned by the example, thought he must, by art, manage and appease the proud mind of the Lion. He approaches, is received, and is interrogated, whether the smell offended him, or these carcases, in a heap? Thereupon the Wolf answered in a choice speech—that he had never seen any thing more pleasant, because both the grove afforded him a shade, and the winds breathed a grateful odour from the wood, so that the carcases could not at all have any unpleasant savour. The artifice did not at all profit the Wolf, for the Lion treated him not more kindly

than he had done the Bear, and tore him in pieces also, because he had employed the most impudent flattery. The *Fox* saw the destruction of both of them. As the one fell before his simplicity, and the other by his adulation, he was in great fear what answer he should make. He proceeded, however, and saluted the king. He was led round, and interrogated after the same manner as his companions—Whether the smell of the cave was unpleasant? The Fox answers modestly, that 'he could not judge, *because he laboured under a cold!*'

When he had finished, and I waited for the moral, he desired me to leave off this disputing. But, however, he seemed to intimate, that the prudent should keep silence, because truth is greatly disliked, and impudent flattery injures both the State, and the flatterers themselves."

The individual belonging to the church here referred to, is represented as a man of the *highest* authority *there*, and therefore could have been no other than Herman himself, the Archbishop; more especially as he was the *only* official person here known to be anxious on such subjects; for the canons of Cologne were leagued against him. Ales, therefore, then expresses his amazement as to what will be the future state of the Church, "if *Bishops* will not do their endeavour that good and learned men may sometimes converse freely on such important matters. For if any one, being secure, persuades himself that there is no fault, no abuses in the Church, he is as sick, as Hippocrates says—"They are sick in *mind*, who are not sensible of their disease." [25]

"Nor do these bug-bears of Cochlæus affect me, when he cries out, that if the MONKS do not teach correctly, our forefathers never have

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[25] This man of highest authority at Cologne was *Herman*, COUNT DE WIED, the Archbishop, Duke of Westphalia, and a Prince Elector of Germany since 1515. The Senate of Cologne had authority to imprison supposed offenders, but with the Archbishop resided the power of life and death. Herman, while Bishop of Paderborn, had denounced Lutheranism to death, but lived to be a very different man. This early interview, and earnest conversation of our Scotish exile, at the age of 33, with such a man, now past 60, becomes the more interesting, when it is observed to have happened years before he ventured to hold his provincial council, or to send for *Bucer* and *Melancthon*, as advisers; and it becomes doubly so, if it be remembered, that HERMAN had the honour of being the *first* sovereign prince in Germany, who lost his dignities and dominions for the sake of conscience, when Charles V. gave the *first* specimen of the use he intended to make of the unlimited power at which he aspired. The constitutional failing of the Archbishop, like that of Cranmer in England, was *timidity*, as the *apologue* now spoken had plainly discovered. But it is curious enough, that ALES should have now advised, or stimulated to action, the one man in Germany; since he was so to stimulate the other in England, two years after this. See vol. i. p. 504. HERMAN, however, in maturer life, rose above all fear, and all earthly considerations; made the most costly sacrifices, and braving at once the doctors of Louvain, the archbishops of Germany, the thunder of the Pontiff, and the power of the Emperor, he declared, that as he had been born, so he would die, simply *Count of Wied*—his family would receive and support him, but he would continue to avow and defend pure doctrine; his anxious desire having been, that these provinces might receive "the right knowledge of Jesus Christ." Excommunicated by the Pontiff on the 16th of April 1546, and deposed by the Emperor in 1547, his character shone still brighter in adversity; and holding fast his integrity to the end, he died in peace with God, at the age of fourscore, on the 13th of August 1552. His "Consultation, &c., founded on God's Word," translated into English, and printed by Daye in 1547, and again by Daye and Seres in 1548, contains several fine passages on the Righteousness of Christ, &c.

been Christians. For although there was always some Church, yet the *Word of God* has stood out, or been apparent, some times more clearly, at other times more obscurely ; and the Scripture foretells, that a very great multitude in the Church should perish by the fault of bad teachers. In the meantime, even to the good and holy, some errors adhere, which are forgiven to them if they hold the Head ; that is, if they acknowledge that they are sinners, and entreat forgiveness freely for Christ's sake. The Church flourishes sometimes more, sometimes less. The doctrine is at one time more pure, at another time more impure. Examples of this are set before us in the history of the Israelites ; among whom, although there was a certain number of pious persons, yet the multitude, for the most part, betook themselves to impious observances. So that Isaias says, 'Except God had left us some seed remaining, we should have become as Sodom.' Even the wicked among them flattered themselves under the pretext of this honourable title—that because they were the people of God, they could not fall into pernicious errors. Wherefore men mistake, if, on this account, they think there is no fault in Church doctrine and worship, because it was *once* a Church. How many prophecies are there, both by Paul and Daniel, which foretel, that *the Word of God* should be (*obscuretur*) obscured, concealed, little known ? that good and pious teachers should be slain by impious high priests ? By these prophecies the Holy Spirit fortifies us before hand against those who set the title of THE CHURCH in opposition to THE WORD OF GOD ; who vociferate after the manner of Cochlæus—'there had been no Church for so many ages, if there had been any errors in the doctrine of the Monks !' For there was some kind of Church, although the Word of God was very obscure, and there were some few teaching and thinking more correctly, than did the bulk of the Monks. For there exist some writings of almost all ages, which smell sweetly of the pure doctrine of the Apostles. I have seen in my own country some monuments of this kind ; I have found them also in Germany. From thence, when Cochlæus adduces the authority of the Church, why should not we enquire what the *ancient* Church thought ?"

Ales then gives some farther explanation of his own sentiments, showing that he was not only intimately acquainted with the Scriptures, but with what the Fathers had said in confirmation of his views. He quotes Augustine, Hilary, Ambrose, Irenæus, Epiphanius. These men, he maintains, "never teach that Christian perfection is placed in *human* traditions ; never do they sell works of supererogation," adding, "I could recount many other things, but '*the fox labouring under a cold*' occurs to my mind." He is, however, far from being done, and still bearing very hard upon the monkish order.

"The Church, to every pious mind, is more truly his country, than that place which received him at his birth, and which, by its civil regulations, protects his life. Therefore both are alike criminal; those who stir up seditions against the Church, scattering impious dogmas, and under this pretext disturbing that agreeable harmony of ecclesiastical concord, overturn the power of the Church; and those, on the other hand, who, under the pretext of their ecclesiastical power, exercise tyranny, propose impious adorations, and urge weak minds to the observance of them; as the Jews were, by arms, compelled to worship the statue of the Emperor in the Temple. If any gainsay, they put them to death. In the meanwhile, those who, through weakness, do not withstand, yet endure in their minds, tortures more excruciating than any punishments; and of these at last, many perish through despair.

"Although, therefore, as I said before, I do not undertake the defence of Luther, *since in truth I have not known Luther at all;* for I do not know the *German*, in which language he has written much; yet I think we ought to be grateful to good men, whoever they be, who *recall us to Scripture*, and the true doctrine of the Church."

The subjects of repentance and faith; of reliance on mercy alone, and the forgiveness of sin; of supererogation; the invocation of saints, "beclouding the glory of Christ;" the Mass, "got up among the nations for filthy lucre's sake;" public idolatry and vows; are then touched in succession; after which Ales ably defends the civil governments of the German States, with regard to "the new learning" having been the cause of seditions, as Cochlæus had, with his usual effrontery, asserted; and then shrewdly concludes—"If the causes of that tumult were to be collected, we should somewhere discover, that the minds of men were provoked by *the unrighteous cruelty of certain persons.* Then after discord once commenced on account of religion, it is very probable that many evils followed, which accompany civil commotions. Covetous men, on either side, take advantage of the public disturbance for their own purposes."

The sentiments of this writer, at this early period, and so well expressed, must occasion surprise to all those readers who have never before heard of such a man; but the chief importance of this Response, as well as of the previous Epistle, consists in that grand point, which, at this early day, and by himself alone, he urged with such zeal and ability, for the benefit of his native land. Both England and Scotland owe everything to the Bible, and if proof be still sought, we need not look far to find it, so long as we see Ireland lying, as it were, in the lap or bosom of Great Britain. The first *translator*, therefore, and the first *advocate*, though alike standing at a

distance in a foreign land, and under the frown of their respective countries, occupy such high ground, that they never can be overshadowed by any other men who followed in their wake. But if the countrymen of Ales be bound to cherish his memory with becoming gratitude, as their first able intercessor for unlimited access to the Sacred Volume in their own tongue; he enjoys a second claim, which sets him before us as a man possessing wisdom or sagacity, very remarkable for his own time, and but too uncommon still. He had evidently felt assured, that in the melancholy condition of Scotland, *personal* religion could not possibly be promoted, if the Scriptures were withheld, and for this he *first* pled, as lying at the foundation of all that he desired. What then, with him, was the next argument? What the next measure, which lay with such weight on his mind? Was it an immediate refutation of all existing errors? Was it a direct attack upon the existing hierarchy, as to the ceremonial of their false and hideous system? No; *neither the one nor the other*. Had he any *plan*, as men now speak? Any *scheme* or *platform* to propose, or lay before the King, which was to bring order out of confusion? No; *nothing of the sort*. With a shrewdness and Christian simplicity far superior to many since his time, he earnestly urged a more excellent way. For although public exercises of religion, when properly conducted, possess a happy tendency to prepare the mind for those of a more private nature, there were then *no* public exercises, save such as were pernicious in the extreme. Through them, as a regular system covering the land, Ales saw that its baneful roots had struck into the bosom of every *family* there. The ecclesiastical rulers, so called, were the very curse of society, and especially of that "only bliss of paradise, that has survived the fall," domestic happiness and peace. Every other social bond in which men were united, being but loose and incidental, when compared to this, the heart of this man now panted after the immortal interests of every *circle round the household fire*. Nor did he, like some in modern times, fix his eye upon children only, but upon *parents*. That venerable character in the eye of domestics, with which the *reading of the Scriptures* is sure to invest them, he regarded as sufficient to discomfit even the Prince of Darkness! If every chimney that smoked in his native land was liable to *Peter's pence*; by this time he must have felt assured, that the simple exer-

cise of *domestic reading* would deliver from the imposition, and soon cause the smoke to ascend freely to the skies. Only grant him access to the *families* of his country, and he saw that out of these would rise the morning of a better day. And although he now pleads for that which neither the King, nor, above all, his hierarchy will allow; this was the path which an overruling providence had *already opened, and afterwards pursued*, and to a far greater extent than can now be told. Evidence, indeed, presently, will not be wanting; but at all events here was the *secret hinge* on which the future well-being of the entire Island was then turning. At many a fireside, therefore, Ales ought to have been not only better known, but highly respected, long before this late day. What would the Scotland, which he left with such reluctance, have been, but for the practice for which he *first* pled? After this, it is presumed no apology is necessary for hearing him again, and following out his history.

"It remains that we say somewhat of the decree by which *the reading of the New Testament in the native language is prohibited.* But I think there is no need of a long oration in a cause which is so plain. What is this new paradox in the Church, that Christians are to be prevented from reading the Sacred Books? God commanded the law to be written on the lentils of the houses, and on the borders of their garments, to be always in view. Cochlæus orders the Sacred Books to be snatched out of their hands; though by frequent reading the mind be stirred up to the fear of God, to advance faith, to invocation, and to other exercises of that kind, which, without some meditation on the divine word, cannot exist in the mind.

"In a matter so evident, the unhappy condition of the Church is to be lamented, rather than any long disputation to be kept up. For even if the preachers in the churches taught purely and piously, still the *domestic* exercise of pious minds ought not to be interrupted. In Acts, xvii. chapter, the diligence of those is commended, who, when they heard the Gospel, yet daily searched the Scriptures, that by *their* testimony, they might both confirm their faith and excite other spiritual affections. This exercise Cochlæus derides and prohibits, because he does not understand what power it possesses; or what need there is to brace up weak minds, and, from time to time, to stir them up, by the Word of God.

"But then *domestic reading* is necessary for the instruction of *youth*, because that period of life cannot be sufficiently instructed in public sermons, however good and plain they may be; and yet we see few who accommodate their discourse in sermons to the capacity of a tender age. Domestic study is, therefore, by no means to be abolished, if we would,

as we ought, train up children to piety from their tender years. The Sacred history is to be committed to memory—the sayings and the example of Christ are to be inculcated, that they may be in constant view, and that they may be exhorted to faith and good morals. Certain Psalms also are to be proposed, which, through all their life after, they may use in prayer. The Scripture requires this diligence in the *fathers* of families, as when in Deuteronomy, it so often charges *them* to inculcate the law upon their sons. What do you answer, Cochlæus, to this argument?—

"The German translation has had this good effect, not only in those countries which openly profess their attachment to the purer doctrine, but even in the rest of Germany, *boys and girls, in almost all the more respectable families read the New Testament, learn Psalms,* and read other useful books upon good morals, and by that discipline are happily trained both to piety and good morals. I have seen these great examples, with pleasure, in many places, which have no business with *Luther.*—— And there is greater necessity in Scotland for books written in the vernacular tongue than in Germany; for so great is the darkness among the Scots, that the people reckon it an atonement to repeat the Lord's Prayer in their native tongue, from whence it may be judged how great is the necessity there for books written in the native language.

"Hitherto I have stated of how much importance it is to permit domestic reading, although preachers teach well. And that employment does not at all offend good teachers, so that they greatly encourage the churches to this practice, and so suit their discourses to the capacity of the hearers, that they aid and illustrate this same reading. But what if preachers teach in such a manner, that their hearers are *not* sufficiently instructed in certain things necessary to salvation, except they themselves read the Sacred Books? This is the *very cause* why the Monks struggle so earnestly, that *domestic* reading may not be permitted to the people! *Thieves,* as it is said, hate *noise.* For you cannot suppose, most excellent King, that there is any *other* cause why the monks are unwilling that the Sacred Books should be brought out, than that *they fear their errors and abuses should be detected,* if once compared with the Gospel. Craftily concealing this cause, Cochlæus scares men from the Sacred Books by this reproach—he pretends that all who relish reading of this kind, favour the Lutherans, and I know not what other factions. You see most excellent Sovereign, how bitter a calumny this is: for it is beyond a doubt, that both in your kingdom, and many other nations, there are many who, loving the peace of the Church, yet consider this domestic reading necessary, that they may know the power of religion, by examining the fountains of it for themselves; since, upon many important matters, unskilful teachers have not given them proper satisfaction.

"Moreover, how miserable is the state of the Church, when it neither has proper teachers, nor is permitted the use of the Sacred Books! I wish the authors of this decree would consider how much they offend God. They themselves do not teach, nor do they take care that the people are rightly taught, and this negligence occasions abuses not to be endured. To this carelessness, with which God is already greatly displeased, they now add the decree by which they forbid the reading of the Gospel. The patience of God is indeed too much tried: but I wish not longer to deplore these things, though I can scarcely restrain my grief. For although my *former* letter made very few complaints, yet Cochlæus reproaches me because I wrote these things, as incensed with hatred of the Bishops; but I neither hate them, nor any order in the Church. At the same time, I cannot help being grieved, when I consider with what horrible darkness Christian doctrine lies buried; what torture distresses pious minds, who by force are compelled to attend impious observances. This just grief of mine, which *I know to be common to me, with many devout men*, Cochlæus slanderously interprets to be hatred.—

"But I return to the cause, in which, when Cochlæus is destitute of argument, he begins to declaim about LUTHER'S *version*. He pretends that I am about to translate that version into the Scotish language; although I do not know the *German*, and speak of *that version which now, for some time past, exists in the country, and against which that decree was made.* Then the other reproaches which he tacks together, are not so much against Luther, as against the Sacred Books, seeing he alleges this version to be the cause of the seditions. But though he chiefly wishes to accuse either the sermons, or the more vehement writings of the Lutherans, surely the books of *the New Testament* are not to be called in question. Neither is it likely that they are perverted by any Lutheran scheme, when this very version is read, with such great approbation of the learned, over all Germany. What folly would it be to corrupt the reading, when, presently, all the learned would have detected the fraud? But they all commend it, even those who are inimical to Luther. Why did *Emser*, while at the first as a critic, he had published a censure upon the version of Luther, afterwards become a *plagiarist?* For, with the change of a *very few* words, he published Luther's translation for his *own;* nor did he mark any place in which a candid reader could judge that Luther wished to deceive the unlearned.[26] Wherefore, I think no good man could with composure read this horrible blasphemy of Cochlæus, when he says that the translation of the New Testament published by Luther is the gospel of *Satan*, not of Christ; for this reproach is di-

[26] This reference must have been felt as a home-thrust, since Cochlæus had been sent for by Duke George of Saxony, to assist Emser, in defence of their common system.

rected not against Luther, but against the Word of God. But I have no occasion to dispute respecting Luther's version. I speak of the Scotish, or whatever way it may have been translated by any learned bishop or monk.

"You see, therefore, most excellent King, that this entire topic has been added by Cochlæus, not that he thinks it is to the point, but that he may humour his own hatred, and overpower *me* with the odium of the Lutheran name. So great is his desire to injure me, that he pleads not only what is foreign to the cause, but even absurd; for I have nothing to do with Luther's version. And then there is no one so impious as to conclude that the German commotions have not arisen from very different causes, rather than from the reading of the New Testament.——Rather, most excellent Sovereign, be persuaded of this, that from whatever cause these commotions may have arisen, the reading of the Gospel has greatly contributed to the *mitigation* of them. For good men, admonished by the Gospel, as to their duty towards civil government, have defended the authority of the magistrates against violence and seditious persons; and I think nothing at this time so contributes to the tranquillity of Germany, because, by the authority of the Gospel, men are restrained.

"But Cochlæus sometimes departs from Luther, and slanders other interpreters, that he may weaken the authority of the Gospel itself. He denies that there is any *certain* interpretation, because, on some passages, interpreters differ from each other. By this argument he endeavours not only to snatch the Gospel from the Scots, but also to abolish entirely all Divine writings, among all nations; for all the nations at this time use translations. Neither to the Hebrews, nor to the Greeks is the ancient language vernacular. Moreover, if, on this account, translations are to be rejected, not the writings of the New Testament only, but also the decrees of synods, and all the constitutions of the Church, will be uncertain: nor, indeed, can the authority of religion be weakened more, than if all things should be esteemed doubtful. Still it is easy for grammarians to loose this knot. The ancient languages have not been so utterly lost, but that upon ancient writings and monuments, there is an agreement among the learned, though in a few places there do exist grammatical controversies. In the Scotish version, certainly no Bishop, no Monk, ever attacked the fidelity of the translation, or charged any passage as being likely to be dangerous to religion. *I have heard even the chief among our preachers declare, that this same version gave them much more light than the commentaries of many.* If we follow the judgment of Cochlæus, among other devices, all translations ought to be rejected; and some misanthropes would easily endure that all learning, all honourable arts, all languages, nay, the very Gospel itself, should utterly perish, rather than that any opinion of theirs, however absurd, should be confuted. For this cause, many are very much opposed to languages and learning, because they regard them as guides for purify-

ing the doctrines of religion ; but respecting languages, and the fidelity of translations, other men, of the greatest erudition, have written copiously.

" At length Cochlæus himself sometimes gives way and softens the *Decree* as to Books, flying to dialectics, from whence he borrows an interpretation. They debar men, he says, from reading the Gospel not simply, *non simpliciter, sed secundum quid.* I applaud his discernment, and accept what he gives, that I may amuse myself with a dialectic man. I will readily allow that men shall be prohibited, *secundum quid*, that is, pictured men ; for so, in the schools, are such men interpreted. But without jesting, Cochlæus gives an interpretation to the Decree of such a kind, that if he will maintain it publicly, will deliver many good men from danger. He denies that *noble men* and *honourable citizens* are prohibited ; but only some certain inquisitive people, who read, not that they may be made better, but that they may bring into question received opinions. Although it be not easy to discover with what intention every one reads the gospel, yet if the law is published only against trifling and curious dispositions, I myself would regard it as good. But the deed itself declares who they are, who are chiefly aimed at in this decree ; for severity is exercised not so much against vain persons as against the *best* men of *all* ranks. Then the most atrocious injunctions are set abroad, which *prohibit the books of the New Testament from being* IMPORTED INTO THE ISLAND.[27] Besides being sought out in *book shops*, they are *burnt*. If it be lawful for reputable men to purchase them in book shops, why is it *not* lawful to sell them there ? Why does the law threaten *all* without exception, and even *the books* themselves ?[28] You do an injury to the Church, Cochlæus, if you judge all men to be light and over curious, who desire to study the fountains of Christian doctrine. Nay, men of trifling dispositions, if also without books, are wont to be busy-meddlers.

" Cochlæus orders the sermons to be heard, nor do I disapprove of this, and I wish the Church had many *proper* teachers. But in these last times, I think, hath happened, much more than ever, that which Matthew writes—that Christ saw ' the multitudes faint, and scattered abroad, as sheep which have no shepherd.' And said, ' The harvest indeed is abundant, but the labourers are few.' For truly now the lambs of Christ, fainting, wander without shepherds ; as the chief priests are not affected with care, for correcting the doctrine ; and the instruc-

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27 These, of course, could be no other than *Tyndale's* editions ; and the reference is to importations which had been going on since the year 1526, and which went on after this for many years notwithstanding. The merciful visitations of Scotland and England were simultaneous.

28 Anno 1532, August 8, *Robert Lekprevick*, banished, by warrant of the king, furth of the kingdom of Scotland. He was sworn in judgment to remove within forty days, under pain of death.—*MS. Advocates' Library.* " Probably the Scotish printer. It is likely that his crime was printing, and selling heretical books."—Pitcairn's Criminal Trials, i., p. 161. And certainly it is probable, that among others, he may have been selling, what Sir Thomas More was *then* denouncing as the *fountain* of all heresy—Tyndale's New Testament.

tion of the Monks, what *fodder* is it? Labyrinths they are of inexplicable opinions, and human traditions, such as the libraries themselves testify. For see, how great is the mass of commentaries upon opinions, and then the summaries, which enumerate and provoke human traditions. To these add the fabulous histories of saints, and many other things of this sort. In such confusion of doctrines, it is not to be wondered at that pious minds demand something more substantial and plain. Therefore all are not overcurious in judging, who long after the reading of the New Testament; but they are sluggish rather, if in such great confusion of opinions they demand nothing certain."—

Having now deprecated the excess of authority, whether in prelates or the Pontiff himself; praised the all-sufficiency of the Divine Word, and its infinite superiority above all collects and manuals and breviaries; he asserts that Cochlæus had brought forward all his calumnies with a design "to frighten not the common people only, but you also, most excellent King, from the sacred books. There is no need to refute them all. To them all we oppose one sentence of Paul—'*All Scripture, divinely inspired, is profitable for teaching, &c., that a man may be perfect and furnished to every good work.*'"—

"Since Paul confessed himself to be a debtor both to Greeks and Barbarians, to the wise and to the unwise, without doubt he adapted himself to the capacity of either description. But this I will grant to Cochlæus, that no where in Scripture are praised, the hypocrisy of the MONKS, *their cowls, their wooden shoes, the masses for the dead, and other such things of recent invention.* On this account, they fear the Scriptures should be read, lest people begin to despise those splendid works, which delight so many idle and unlearned Mass Priests and Monks.

"Scripture proposes to us great and honourable works for all ranks of life, useful for assisting and protecting the society of human kind. It teaches nothing respecting those trifles, which the monks *sell* under the most specious pretences. For this cause they do not wish the Gospel to shine forth, as they are afraid both for their *character* and their KITCHEN. Therefore, we must explode those calumnies, unbecoming for Christian ears, by which the authority of Scripture is weakened, and good people are scared from reading it. *If any one bring a dutiful mind, let him understand, that not only in the greatness, and the sweetness of the subjects which the Scriptures teach, but also in perspicuity, they far excel the rhapsodies of modern divines.*

"*Such is the force and power of their sentences, that they inflame the readers more than frigid disputations, and leave in their minds stings more poignant, than even of itself could the thunder and lightning eloquence of Pericles. As for myself, this experience frequently accrues, so that when*

I read over again passages, however well known, I return to the reading as if they were quite new. For either the signification is made more plain, and some consideration which I had not before regarded, or I carry away some pious emotion. For the Holy Spirit commands our minds to be stirred up by the handling of the Word of God, as Paul saith, 'Be filled with the Spirit, speaking to one another in psalms and hymns and spiritual songs.'"

"I have now spoken to the cause, concerning the decree, and have refuted the principal cavils of Cochlæus; for it were tedious to refute them all, nor is there any necessity for it. Nothing, therefore, remains, except, perhaps, that testimonies are expected from me: but I have already related some opinions which commend to us the study of the Word of God, and particularly the *domestic use*.—Paul commands us, as standing in battle array, always to be fortified and armed by the Gospel, to ward off the fiery darts of the devil. Peter commands us to behave ourselves, so that we may be able to render a *reason* for our faith. That we may acquire a substantial knowledge of the Gospel, some domestic exercise is necessary both for ourselves, but especially for the young people; but what of this can there be at home, if books be wanting? David, describing the happy man, says—'*His delight is in the law of the Lord, and in his law doth he meditate day and night.*' But what meditation can there be, if books are taken away by force from the people?"

By way of peroration, Ales had reserved what he regarded to be a powerful "argumentum ad hominem," in a reference to the father of the King, upon one memorable occasion, and which we have already quoted.[29] But that example, though as yet unknown to Ales, had lost all its influence, through the vicious counsel and conduct of those to whom, unhappily, the young Prince now bent his ear, except only when his personal feelings and interest were concerned. He then concludes—

"You have thus, most excellent king, a very grave decision of your father, which it will be highly honourable for you to follow, especially since it agrees with the divine epistles, and the testimonies and opinions of the holy Fathers. I again beseech you, for Christ's sake, that you would not sanction that Decree about forbidding books; that you would not, by your authority, strengthen and assist the sycophants and hypocrites, who, on account of their own lusts, cannot bear the light of the Gospel; and carry on every where a horrible warfare against those who are pious, and who desire to shew forth the glory of Christ. They are

[29] See the Introduction to Scotland, pp. 400, 401.

not all turbulent and seditious who love the purer doctrine. I have treated more briefly of these matters than their importance demands, and therefore oblige myself to render a reason of my faith more fully, whenever you command me. I cannot now longer debate with Cochlæus, though I should have been ashamed in a better cause, not to have spoken better than him. But I commend myself to your clemency, and wish that God may guide your mind to the glory of Christ, to your own salvation, and to that of the Church."

Naturally impetuous, and delighting in war, Cochlæus was now in a perfect rage, and though evidently confounded by the talent displayed against him, as he could, at any moment, make lies his refuge, he lost no time in replying to Ales, by again addressing the King.[30]

He commences with one of his bold shifts or assumptions, which he reiterates as a fact, throughout his quarto pamphlet. It was no less than this, that Ales was not the author, either of the Epistle or the Response! He now ascribes the whole to no other than PHILIP MELANCTHON; a very plain proof of the ability displayed, and an unwitting eulogy upon our Scotish exile, then and even still, so little known.

"I shall not here speak, O king, of those calumnies which *Philip*, under the name of Alesius, published through Germany, in his well known letter to your majesty last year, which I formerly answered!——What especially grieves me in this Scotsman, Alexander, is, that he gives up and changes his name to this vilest of heretics, by whom he vents his abuse so wickedly and maliciously, to the injury of the entire kingdom and nation: for which one act of wickedness, Alesius deserves, as the traitor of his country, never to be recalled from his exile again."[31]

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[30] This is entitled—"Pro Scotiæ Regno Apologia Johannis Cochlei, Adversus personatum Alexandrum Alesium Scotum. Ad Sereniss. Scotorum regem. 1534." In this strange piece, the author treats, after his own fashion—Of the decree of the Scotish Bishops; the exile of Ales; the offences of P. Melancthon against the Scots; of Lutheranism in general; and that of Ales in particular, as he insists. At the end we have this colophon—Ex Dresda Misnie, Idibus Auguste MDXXXIIII. Excusum Lipsiæ apud Michaelem Blum. *Leipsic* was the very city in which Ales was afterwards established as a Professor, for many years.

[31] This falsehood was about two months in growing to maturity. Thus, on the 2d of June, Cochlæus had been as busy in writing to *Poland*, and in the very same strain as to Scotland in August. *Then* he writes to the Polish Archbishop—"Melancthon having got Alesius the Scotsman, *he* published, as I have *heard* from many, and the very *style* makes it evident, a most hateful letter to the King of the Scots." This similarity of *style*, however, had never once occurred to him in his former lucubrations. Again, on the 8th of August, to Poland once more he repeats the falsehood, "as I have known by many evidences and arguments." But now, without hesitation, he roundly asserts the calumny as a fact of his own knowledge. See the "*Velitatio*," or Skirmishing of Cochlæus against Melancthon, 2d June, and his "*Philipicæ*," 8th August, compared with his "*Pro Scotiæ*," 13th of August 1534. This *Skirmishing*, or bickering in words, was not an unappropriate title for the commencement of a series of lies printed by Cochlæus at this period. "I have resolved," says he, in his Phillipic, "to denounce them by small publications, which can be *exported by booksellers* into your kingdom," that is, Poland; for as to Scotland, he will not confide, at least one parcel, to a *bookseller*. Poor miser-

In writing his Response, however, this year, it so happened that Ales had informed his readers that he was not as yet acquainted with Luther personally; and it corroborates his statement, that as for Melancthon, there is not one shadow of evidence that he had become acquainted with him, till *after* his answer to Cochlæus had been sent to Scotland. It is not at all improbable, that the calumny now raised might bring them into contact; which appears to have happened about the close of 1534, perhaps the spring of 1535. But be this as it may; formerly, Cochlæus had no idea whether Alexander Ales was a real or supposititious character: now, that this will no longer serve him, both compositions must, it seems, be the production of Melancthon, to whom, as well as to Luther, Cochlæus bore such invincible hatred! The traducer, of course, could not foresee, that in two years hence, Ales would display equal talent upon *English* ground, and before all the bishops assembled; when he was far removed from the ear of Philip Melancthon. Nor could he foresee, that seven years hence he would meet with Ales, and at the same time, apparently, be afraid even to address him.

But our German canon was equally dexterous, whether in making facts, or in feigning ignorance of what he must have known. Thus, after even the Doctors of Louvain, in a body, had made such boast, and sent such congratulations to Scotland in 1528, over her proto-martyr Hamilton, he pretends to be profoundly ignorant of the event, nay, and still of the state of Scotland, as well as of the facts now stated by Ales with regard to himself. He must therefore set himself to spy out some discrepancy between the *Epistle* of Ales to the King, and his *Response* to the calumnies already published. In this, however, he signally fails, and it would be an easy task to expose at once his ignorance and his folly. There are, indeed, not more than two or three sentences worth quoting, and merely on account of what is involved in them.

"What may be true of all this, illustrious King, I cannot divine, for I was not in Scotland that I should know. But this I know, that a few months ago, say three or four, one of your subjects, by no means of the common rank, nor

able man! They *were* exported into Poland, when he soon had reason to complain "of great loss and evil fortune," as no man would (wetesave) *vouchsafe to read them*. The truth is, that Cochlæus was writing to Scotland and Poland, having the same objects at heart, viz., *notoriety and money*, and we shall see presently how far he succeeded.

of small authority and trust with your majesty, appointed to England ; when he began to read through that Epistle, said, that more than half of it was pure falsehood, nay, what I have never heard asserted before of any book, that it was but one continued lie. If your majesty does not believe me, you may ask himself, for you can easily remember whom you sent into England. Being ignorant of Scotish affairs, and at a great distance from your kingdom, I am unable to dispute on the facts ; but on the words, how they agree with those which he afterwards writes in his book against *me, lately published*, I shall be able to determine without injustice."[32]

Again—" These are the crimes, illustrious king, which I chiefly detest in Alesius ; otherwise I bear *no* malice or hatred to his *person*, with which, indeed, I have *nothing* to do. But for those acts of deceit or impiety by which he has delivered up his country to be laughed at by heretics, and to be traduced among foreigners, *if I were able to send him back to his Country, with his hands tied behind his back, to be whipped with rods by your children*, I should think, that in this I bore a more striking resemblance to the noble Camilla, rather than to the barbarous Cyclops."[33]

No sooner than he had finished at press, Cochlæus afforded a striking proof, not only of his fury, but his thirst after some remuneration for all this gross scurrility. His book was finished on the 13th of August, and by the following month, his confidential servant was safely arrived with copies in Edinburgh itself. The man " of no small authority and trust," of whom he had spoken, had gone as Ambassador into France ;[34] but there were those under him, who were not slow to welcome the servant with his master's production. Of this we have full evidence in the Register Office of this, the native city of Ales, or in the accounts of the Lord High Treasurer himself. Thus, the indefatigable opponent of the Scriptures in our native tongue, has, at least, discovered to us, the grave importance which was then attached to the single-handed efforts of Alexander Ales.[35]

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[32] This piece of information turns out to be not only curious, but of some value ; the man of "great authority and trust with his majesty" being so distinctly pointed out. It was the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland. On the 27th of February 1534, we have the letter of James V. accrediting *Bishop Wm. Stewart* of Aberdeen, and Abbot Robert Reid of Kinloss, to Henry VIII., with full powers to conclude a peace between England and Scotland. The treaty was signed on May 12, and ratified at Holyrood with great joy, June 30.—*Gov. State Papers*, iv., pp. 665, 673. *Stewart* was the man, for he was not only Bishop, but Lord High Treasurer. As Dean of Glasgow, he had sat in judgment on Patrick Hamilton in 1528 ; and no wonder if he had spoken as represented. At all events, Cochlæus had well understood what he was about, when making these references to the Lord *Treasurer*.

[33] In so slandering the character of one *entirely unknown* to him, Ales had charged his adversary with more than *Cyclopean* barbarity.

[34] Accompanied by Lords Murray and Erskine, he had proceeded into France on the 5th of August.—*Gov. State Papers*, vol. v., p. 6.

[35] From the Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland, *September* 1534—" Item, *to ane Servand of . . . . Cocleus, quhilk brocht fra his Maister an buyk, intitulat . . . . . To his reward*——l. li." The blank may now be filled up with " Pro Scotiæ," &c. But such was the reward, £50 Scots, not a trifling sum in those days ; yet paid, no doubt, with great good

All this verbiage of Cochlæus, however, goes for nothing, when compared with the melancholy facts, which were attesting at the moment, the *truth and importance* of all that Ales had written; and this the servant, if he was not as blind as his master, must have seen, immediately on reaching the end of his journey to Scotland. It was while this man was actually on the road to Edinburgh, that the flames of persecution had been kindled for the third time. The martyrdom of last year confirmed the *Epistle* of Ales; those of this year his *Response*. The flames had hitherto blazed at St. Andrews; now, for the *first* time, they had done so at Edinburgh. Those of the year 1533, in effect, told us that the truth was extending beyond the boundaries of the metropolitan city; and we shall now have proof, by the flames of 1534, that it had reached far beyond those of the capital. The former were kindled, to be seen at a distance, as a terror to the people of *Angus;* those of this year, so as to be seen by the inhabitants of *Fife*. One martyr at a time had served hitherto, but now two men were consumed at the same stake, on the afternoon of Thursday the 27th of August 1534. There were two, also, out of a nameless number, who had been summoned, from various quarters; and, as if the death of the *proto-martyr*, so lamented by Ales and many others, was now to be followed up, and the family exterminated, his brother and sister had been ordered to appear. In short, here was a band of selected witnesses; and unquestionably we are to regard them as the representatives of many other individuals, not only in Angus and Fife, Clackmannan, and Linlithgow-shires, but in Edinburgh and Leith.

On Tuesday the 7th of July, Parliament had met at Edinburgh, and by Wednesday the 26th of August, an ecclesiastical court, of unwonted solemnity, assembled in the Abbey of Holyrood.[36] The infatuated young King, in the face of repeated warning and entreaty, from an Exile, whom he had once

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will, as well as afterwards sanctioned, by my Lord High Treasurer Stewart, and merely to the servant! Why another entry shews us that the wages of a seaman, even when waiting on his majesty for a whole month, were only £2 Scots; so that this Servant had received as much as the wages of such a man for above two years, or of twenty-five such seamen for a whole month! This *item* has been noticed by Dr. M'Crie; but the sum is stated at £10 only. The above is copied from the manuscript itself, and it is given correctly in Pitcairn's Criminal Trials, i., p. 284. Such being the reward to the Servant only, what shall be done for the Master? The next time that Ales speaks, he will inform us. See page 477.

36 A magnificent building, of which the ruins of the Chapel Royal only remain, and not to be confounded with the palace.

rescued out of the paws of the persecutor, was now about to take his first ominous step. To lend greater importance to this occasion, he had agreed to preside, and clothed in scarlet; the judicial Scotish dress, in matters of life and death, down to the present day. A number of persons had been summoned, and among them there appears to have been more than the following—

Belonging to *Edinburgh*—Mr. William Johnstone, Advocate, Mr. Henry Henderson, Master of the Grammar School; but the "Diurnal" adds, "with sundry others, baith men and women *in* Edinburgh." From *Leith*—Henry Cairns, Skipper, Adam Dayes or Deir, Shipwright, John Stewart, indweller, and a married woman. From *St. Andrews*, Gavin Logie,[37] John Fife, John M'Alpine, —— M'Dougal. From *Angus-shire*, Mr. David Stratoun. From *Linlithgow-shire*—Sir James Hamilton, the hereditary Sheriff, and Katharine Hamilton, his sister, besides Norman Gourlay and William Kirk, two priests, whose residence is not mentioned by any historian. With the exception of Hamilton and his sister, all these were disposed of before the Court rose. Several had already fled, and others abjured; but *Mr. David Stratoun* or *Straiton* and *Norman Gourlay* were reserved for execution.

The martyrdom itself took place next day. Of Gourlay we know nothing more than that he was a man of "reasonable erudition," having been abroad. He said there was no such state as purgatory, denied the authority of the Pontiff in Scotland, but he had also married a wife, and this was an unpardonable crime. Mr. Straiton's was a far more interesting case. He was a gentleman of landed property at the confluence of the North Esk with the sea, in the parish of Ecclesgreig, (Ecclesia Gregorii,) now called St. Cyrus, in the shire of Angus. His property included the seat of a productive fishery; and whether one refers to the present proprietor of the soil, to the present fishermen of Milton, or to the limestone quarrymen there, in the history of their predecessors above three hundred years ago, they have not a more interesting subject for remembrance than the present. Laurieston Castle, built in the tenth century, where Straiton was born, and part of which still remains, had, before and after his day, continued in the same family for four hundred years. The martyr appears to have been brother to the last laird or baron of Laurieston, and uncle to the present, then a young man. The Straitons, for several generations, were equally distinguished for stature and strength,

[37] His name is not indeed mentioned among those who were summoned, but that he had fled out of the country, in 1533, is stated by Calderwood; MS. i., 82.

and the martyr's temper had once been both rough and imperious. In former days, he had resolutely resisted one *tythe* claimed by the vicar, Robert Lawson of Ecclesgreig; who exacted the *tenth fish* from those which his servants had taken out at *sea*. Straiton had said, "if he would have them, he must go and take them where the stock was taken;" and this had given great offence.[38] "Before," says Calderwood, "he had been very stubborn, and despised all reading, specially of good purposes; now he delighted in nothing *but* reading, although he could *not* read himself, and exhorted every man to peace and concord, and contempt of the world. He frequented much the company of *John Erskine*, Laird of Dun," (the Provost of Montrose, who had recently returned from the Continent) "a man marvelously enlightened in respect of these times." One day "when the Laird of Laurieston, being then a young man, was reading to our martyr *the New Testament*, (so much hated by many,) he chanced to read this sentence of our Master — '*he that denieth me before men, I will deny him in the presence of my Father and before his angels.*' At these words, as one revived, he suddenly cast himself upon his knees, extending his hands, and looking constantly with his visage to the heavens a reasonable time, he burst forth at length in these words— 'O Lord, I have been wicked, and justly mayest thou abstract thy grace from me; but, Lord, for thy mercies' sake, let me never deny Thee, nor thy truth, for fear of death, or bodily pain!'"

It becomes evident, that Straiton was fully prepared for such a time as the present. When brought before the King, on the 26th, great pains were taken to move him, and procure his recantation; but all efforts failing, he was adjudged to the fire. He then applied to his Highness, but the Bishops answered, proudly, that "the King's hands were bound, and that *he* had no grace to give to such as were by law condemned." It was after dinner next day that Mr. Straiton and his companion Gourlay were led forth to death. The spot was evidently chosen for *effect* whether near or afar off, on the northern brow

[38] In almost all our common histories, Hepburn, the Prior of St. Andrews, and *as* Bishop of Moray is stated to have been the man who quarreled with Straiton about tythes. But he was not Bishop of Moray till 1535, and though he had been now, he had nothing to do with tythe on the shores of *Angus*. Old John Foxe is correct as to Lawson being the man, and he copied from the Scotish MS.

of the Calton hill, above the rood or cross at Greenside.[39] The stake was planted so far up the hill as that not only the surrounding crowd from the city, whether below or above, might see; but "to the intent," says Calderwood, "that the inhabitants of *Fife*, seeing the fire, might be stricken with terror and fear, not to fall into the like."

Not satisfied with these flames, the ecclesiastics, with the King at their head, assembled at Holyrood once more, on the 28th or next day, and by way of conclusion to this headstrong burst of cruelty, brought forward the persons of highest rank; Sir James Hamilton and his sister, both of whom were related to the King. By advice of his Highness, however, the former had fled, so that the scene closed with the appearance of the lady, his sister. The Bishops gathering courage by their progress, neither her rank or sex could shield her. Mr. John Spens of Condy, the lawyer, and future King's Advocate, or one of the men who had sat in judgment on her brother Patrick in 1528, held a long discourse respecting *works*, telling her there were divers sorts; "works of *congruity* and works of *condignity*." Katharine, disturbed with the length and nicety of the argument, at last out of all patience, cried out before them all, the King also sitting by—"Work here, work there, what kind of working is all this? I know perfectly that no works can save me, but *the works of Christ my Saviour*." His Highness, amused with the very brief manner in which she had disposed of the lawyer's tedious harangue, interposed, and saved her from death.[40]

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[39] At this place a monastery of Carmelite Friars had been founded in 1526, and being dedicated to what they styled strangely enough, *the Holy Cross*, a large rood or cross had been erected there. In 1591, the monastery was converted into an hospital for lepers.

[40] Sir James and his sister sought safety in England. On the 3d of March 1535, Sir Adam Otterburn had written to Crumwell respecting Sir James, and in August we find Cranmer introducing him to Crumwell as a gentleman who had left his country for no other cause but "that he favoured the truth of God's word." His property had been confiscated, and on the 26th Feb. 1536, Cranmer again addresses Crumwell, "to move the King for somewhat to be given him to live on here in England." On the 24th of April, Sir James sent to Crumwell a copy of the sentence given against him by the Bishops at Holyrood, praying that Henry would write to the King his nephew, on his behalf. Crumwell, therefore, in the name of his royal master, applied to James, and on the 19th of May, we have the reply, but it was from Stewart, the Lord Treasurer, and amounted to no more than this—"that while the lady of Sir James and his children wanted nothing necessary for their maintenance, *his Highness* (though his relation) *could not help him, neither direct nor indirect, without danger to his conscience, except the gentleman be first reconciled to and by the Pontiff!*" See Gov. State Papers, vol. v., pp. 21, 41, 49, and Cranmer's Remains, by Jenkyns, vol. i. Such was the precious tyrannical power of the priesthood in those days. Sir James, however, after all, did return, though not till 1540, when he informed the King respecting that base character of whom we have heard before, of the same name with himself; Sir James Hamilton, a natural son of Arran's, the murderer of the Earl of Lennox. This man, who had been a conspirator against the King's life in 1528, and notorious for cruelty ever since,

The visible and decided progress of Divine truth is, however, to be observed, not only in those who suffered, but in the character and station of those who had fled. The teacher of the grammar-school, and the advocate, Johnstone of Edinburgh, must have been men of some talent and influence. The former died in England. His house forfeited, was given to James Bannatyne, W.S. The property of the latter, also falling to the King, was sold for a trifling consideration, chiefly to Reid, abbot of Kinloss, afterwards President of the Court of Session, and Bishop of Orkney, and partly to another individual. Johnstone, however, returned some years after, when he was permitted to live in a single chamber of that house which had been once his own; though, at his death, his body was not allowed to be interred in any churchyard!

But the refugees from St. Andrews, the former associates of ALES, were among the most eminent for literature then in the country; and they prove that the disciples of "the new learning," far from being *weak* men, as some one has grossly asserted, were duly appreciated elsewhere. Of *Logie* we know nothing afterwards, but having been the Rector or Principal of St. Leonard's College, he had so embued the minds of the students, that when any of them was suspected, it was said that "he had drunk of St. Leonard's well."[41] *M'Alpine*, who changed his name to M'Bee, or Maccabæus, as he was called on the Continent, became a favourite of Christiern, King of Denmark, Professor in the University of Copenhagen, and one of the translators of the Danish Bible. He was the brother-in-law of Miles Coverdale, and to this expatriated native of Caledonia and translator of the Danish Scriptures, that of the English was indebted for his life, as already explained.[42] *Fife* accompanied Ales to the Continent, though *not* when he first fled from Scotland, but afterwards from England, in 1539; as soon as "the bloody Statute," or that of "the six articles," had passed. At Leipsic he continued to teach as a professor for years; but he returned finally to

ended his days at last on the scaffold. Tytler, vol. v., p. 281. *Katharine Hamilton*, from the Lord Treasurer's accounts, appears not to have left Scotland before November 1535. Proceeding to England next year, she had been introduced to Queen Jane Seymour, and was residing at Berwick in 1539. She was then a widow, having been married to the late Captain of Dunbar, as mentioned by the Duke of Norfolk to Crumwell. See p. 49 of this volume, where that artful letter is placed in its true light.

[41] Calderwood MS. i., p. 82.

[42] See page 294.

his own country, acted as a minister, and died at St. Leonard's, soon after the year 1560, or about five years before Ales.

Henry VIII. could certainly have no objections to King James thus sanctioning this shocking martyrdom of his subjects, for in the same condemnation he was deeply involved himself; nor would he now press upon him the reception of the *Scriptures*, for these, both alike still as stoutly resisted. But, unquestionably, if any embassy has been sent to Scotland at this period, the King of England must have had reasons, and personal to himself. With him the year 1534 was an anxious one, as formerly explained. Suffice it to say here, that this was the critical year in which Henry had been denouncing all political preaching—publicly proclaiming against the supremacy of the Pontiff, and declaring it to be treason to question his own. The proclamation against the authority of Rome had been published in June, and soon after the King discovered his earnest anxiety, that his Nephew should go along with him in his opposition to that court. It was with this view, that shortly before these cruelties in the North, Lord William Howard, as English Ambassador, had arrived in Scotland. This formed the first of a series of intrigues, in order to secure a *personal* interview with James. Henry had flattered himself that if he could only obtain this, he should be able to mould his nephew to his will; and once separated from his counsellors, or those ecclesiastics into whose hands he had now fallen, since the youthful monarch was so bent upon pleasure and pastime of every description, perhaps he might have succeeded. But although Henry perseveringly pressed this one request, at intervals, for eight years, the two monarchs never met; James and his council continuing to blow hot and cold all that time. Through the influence of the Queen-Mother, David Beaton being now in France, the present might seem to have been a favourable opportunity, and not to be neglected.

For this first attempt, Lord Howard was not exactly the man to have sent, no more than Dr. William Barlow or Thomas Holcroft, who followed him. They all proved rather too ardent in their Royal Master's service, notwithstanding the very cautious instructions drawn up for their guidance, in a minute, corrected by Crumwell. These instructions were curious enough. After making his best bow to the young King, to the Queen-Mother, and to the Lord High Treasurer, Bishop Stewart, Lord William was, "as soon as he had convenient opportunity, *to obtain measure of the King's person*, and cause such garments to be made for him, of such stuff as he shall have *with* him for this purpose, in the best fashion that could be devised, by such a tailor and broiderer, as he shall have *with* him, for that intent; which garments speedily furnished,

[43] Cald. MS. i., p. 78.

he shall, with such *horses* as he shall have assigned to him, make present to the said King of Scots." Having thus paved his way, he was upon this occasion to inform his Highness that his uncle the King "was greatly desirous, and nothing more coveteth, than to *see his person*, and specially to have conference with him, in matters that should undoubtedly redound to *both* their honours and glory, and the weal of their realms and subjects." Lord William, "in right loving wise," was then to salute the Bishop Lord Treasurer, "and declare that as an interview was like very shortly to ensue between his uncle and the French King," Henry would be "right joyous and glad" to have his nephew present; would willingly pay all the expenses of his Highness and his retinue; and then in France they should all three consult for the wealth of their three realms. Meanwhile, Howard was to implore that no encouragement should be given to any Irish rebels against Henry, and that the royal favour should be restored to the Earl of Angus and his brother Sir George; proposing that James should receive "the honourable order of the Garter," which the Emperor, the French King, and Ferdinand King of the Romans, had already accepted.

To all this, however, Henry *added* his "Ambassiate and Declaration concerning his own supremacy," exciting his nephew to follow him, and vindicate his own authority from the encroachments of Rome.[44]

The apparel and the horses, James, of course, accepted; but unfortunately for the "declaration," so far from considering it, all that his Highness did was to hand it to his clergy, for their perusal! The idea of the three Sovereigns meeting together, if we were to believe Margaret, the Queen-Mother, was not so lightly treated, down as late as December;[45] and yet it is difficult, if not impossible to reconcile this, with Stewart, the Lord Treasurer, travelling through England to France in the previous August, where Beaton, the Abbot of Arbroath, was residing, in great intimacy with Francis, the reigning Sovereign. The probability is, that Scotland, as well as England, had already commenced that double game with each other, which they continued to play for years. It is, however, certain, that in the month of December, the two governments and their respective chiefs, were distinctly at variance on one

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44 Gov. State Papers, v., p. 1-6. Our historians in general have supposed that some *book* was sent to James at this period, for his grave perusal. Pinkerton, and recently, Tytler, have gone so far as to name it,—"The doctrine for any Christian man," or "the King's Book;" but that was not published till nine years after, in 1543; nor the "Institution of a Christian man," or "the Bishop's Book," till 1537. Lingard has conjectured that it might be "the true obedience" of Gardiner, which was printed this year, or the "Vera differentia Regiæ Potestatis, et Ecclesiasticæ," ascribed to Fox of Hereford, now also published. But in those days it is well known that a Letter or Address, though not above a sheet, was frequently styled "a book," and there appears to have been no book sent, properly so called. Such is the representation of Strype, and he has given the document, or the "Ambassiate and Declaration" from the original manuscript, in the Cottonian collection. Compare Cleop. E. vi., fol. 259, with Strype's Appendix, No. lxiii.

45 Gov. State Papers, vol. v., pp. 10-12.

subject—the authority or power of the Pontiff and his underlings; though James is still represented as determined to "keep his kindness and treaty of peace, without any inclination to the contrary."[46]

Such, then, was the state of Scotland and England at the close of 1534. In one sense, directly opposed to each other, and in another, exhibiting precisely the same aspect. Scotland profoundly attached to the rule of the Pontiff, and England proclaiming throughout the country hostility to Rome: but amidst all the turmoil of political affairs, both governments had found time to be *alike* enraged, and for the *same* cause; both alike imagining a vain thing—that they should be able successfully to *stem* the introduction of the Divine word. Again, both countries had furnished their respective martyrs in this single-handed struggle, though neither of them at home could show even one open, bold, and determined advocate for the Scriptures. John Fryth, it is true, had come home from abroad, and shewn the people of England how to die, rather than deny the truth; as Patrick Hamilton and others had nobly done in Scotland. But the present was distinguished as the moment when Tyndale on behalf of *England*, and Ales on the part of *Scotland*, occupied a position all their own, and one which was singular throughout Europe. "Say not," said Tyndale upon one occasion to England, "Say not that ye be not warned;" and so might Ales have now said to his King and countrymen. With a *nation* on one side, and a *solitary exile* on the other, in reference to both countries; while the Sacred Volume had been actually reading in both, and for eight years, in spite of their respective rulers; perhaps no cause was ever more evidently exhibited to be that of God, and not of man. No exact resemblance to this, was then to be found in any land.

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[46] Idem, p. 14. York was the city fixed on for a personal interview, though Newcastle was broached at one time. The meeting was proposed after this, putting France out of view, in the years 1535, 1536, and 1542.

SECTION IV.

FROM 1535 TO 1537—THE FUTURE EXERTIONS AND WRITINGS OF ALES, TILL HIS DEATH IN 1565—STATE OF SCOTLAND—PROVINCIAL COUNCIL OF THE PRELATES—AGITATION—READING OF THE NEW TESTAMENT FORBIDDEN BY PROCLAMATION—PROGRESS OF THE CAUSE.

IN the course of our English history, these three years, from 1535 to 1537, abounded with interesting details, as including the year before and after Tyndale's martyrdom; the first being that of his imprisonment, the second that of his death, and the third so distinguished for the arrival of his Bible in London. On turning to Scotland, the interest is deepened. We there discover throughout, increasing alarm at the progress of "the new learning," and determined opposition to the Sacred Volume, as translated by Tyndale, and already so powerfully enforced by Ales.

Before proceeding farther, however, since ALES, as well as Tyndale, never returned to his native land, the reader may naturally wish to know, at once, what became of him. Owing to the noise made by Cochlæus, he required soon to remove from his place of residence. Wherever that had been, his next abode, for a short time, was Antwerp itself; but as Tyndale had already been seized and removed to Vilvorde, they never could have enjoyed the pleasure of meeting each other in this world. For some time before his removal to this city, Ales had become intimately acquainted with *Melancthon;* and this intimacy seems to have paved the way for our Scotish exile being invited into England. At the same time, the existing state of things in Scotland, as already explained, with the anxiety of Henry VIII. to interfere respecting them; probably not unconnected with the talents, the attainments, and sentiments of Ales, may account for the courtesy with which he was received. At all events, instead of "the dreadful dungeon" at St. Andrews, he was now accommodated at Lambeth Palace; and before long, though out of favour with his own sovereign, he was known and distinguished in London by the title of "the King's Scholar." In England he remained upwards of four years, where his first occupation was akin to that of Professor of Divinity at Cambridge. "I was sent," he says, "to read a lecture of the Scripture there." But the heads of that University, not being yet able to bear such doctrine, he had to withdraw again to London. We have already seen him, in 1536, discussing the "authority and all-sufficiency of the Word of God," with the Bishops in

convocation, at the request of their Vicar-General, Crumwell.[1] Having, however, paid some attention to the study of physic while on the Continent, on leaving Cambridge he had turned his attention to that science, and before escaping to Germany in 1539, he had commenced practice in London. But the year before this, the times, as already interpreted, had become very critical, when Stokesly and his brethren were beginning to regain their lost authority; and Ales had felt himself called upon to put pen to paper once more. The tract is entitled—"*Of the Authority of the Word of God*, against the Bishop of London, wherein are contained certain disputations had in the Parliament House (convocation) between the bishops, about the sacraments and other things, very necessary to be known, made by Alexander Ales, Scotsman, and sent to the Duke of Saxony."[2] As the author here refers to this period of his life—to his communications with his own sovereign, James V.—and to the malicious interference of Cochlæus, now so richly rewarded for all his villany, Ales must be permitted to speak for himself.

"About five years ago I wrote to the noble King of Scots, the father of my country, complaining of a certain decree, wherein the Bishops had forbidden the Holy Scripture to be read in the mother tongue. I answered also to certain slanderous lies of Cochlæus, whom the Bishops had hired to vomit out all his poison against me. For I was at Antwerp, when a countryman of mine, whose name was John Foster, did send a sum of money unto Cochlæus, by a merchant, from the Archbishop of St. Andrews, who giveth him, so long as he liveth, a certain stipend. And it happened by the goodness of God, whereby he discloseth the wickedness of these hypocrites, that an epistle of Cochlæus, which he sent to a certain Bishop of Poland, came into my hands; wherein he complains, that he hath great loss and evil fortune in setting forth of *books*, forasmuch as no man will (wetesave) vouchsafe to read his books; and he beggeth an yearly stipend of the Bishops of Poland, saying, that he hath been *nobly rewarded* by *the King of Scots*, by *the Archbishop of St. Andrews*, and the (Arch)*bishop of Glasgow*.[3]

"Were it not for the love of my country, and of the king's grace, I would cause his epistle to be printed, with the copy of the king's letter, which he sent to a certain Bishop of Poland; but because he shall know that I have a copy of the king's letters, the king doth write manifestly, that Cochlæus' book did more please him for the commendation of King Ferdinand and of Erasmus, than for any study or diligence of the author.

"I will not utter other things contained in the said letters, neither would I have disclosed thus much, but that I wish the King were

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[1] See vol. i., pp. 451, 498.

[2] The original title is—"De authoritate Verbi Dei Liber Alexandri Alesii contra Episcopum Lundinensem. Argentorati apud Cratonem Mylium, MDXLII." *I was written however in* 1541.

[3] James V., James Beaton, and Gavin Dunbar.

admonished to consider, whether Cochlæus were a man worthy to be presented with his letters and his princely reward, or not. And because I would avoid the fury of this blasphemous impudent railer, whom the Bishops had hired to bark against me; for except slanderous railing words, he made me no *answer* at all, and he threatened, that he would send me home again to the Bishops, if he could bring it to pass, with my hands bound behind me; for which cause I say, I cast in my mind to change again that country where I was; especially seeing that I was called into England by the right noble Lord Crumwell, and the Archbishop of Canterbury. As the railer Cochlæus did plainly write that he was more grieved with me, for dwelling in that place where I did remain, than he was with my matter, or with any other thing else; I considered that Christ gave place sometimes to the furiousness of the Jews; and again that cur dogs, which are tied at men's gates to bark, when no man is by them, then they sleep, and make no business at all. And therefore, to avoid his railing writings, I thought no means so well, as that I should go into England, and even stop mine ears at his raving. And, indeed, I was not deceived, for the serpent left his hissing, and I was lovingly received not only of the Archbishop, and of the honourable Lord Crumwell, but even of the right noble King himself also."

We have said that Ales first went to Cambridge. His own account of this is the more interesting, from its never having been noticed in any of our general histories. Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, it must be remembered, was still Chancellor of Cambridge, and in connexion with the account already given of his death on the 22d of June this year, it is important to observe, that notwithstanding the cruel treatment he received for more than a year before, the University had continued much attached to him, and he remained Chancellor to the moment of his execution. The appointment had been for life, and as Crumwell succeeded Fisher, so Gardiner succeeded Crumwell. With this brief explanation, we now leave the reader to judge, whether the following statement does not fix the arrival of Ales in England to the very critical period of *spring* 1535. He had been sent to Cambridge by *command* of Henry, to which, of course, Fisher in prison, must now yield consent; but it was at that juncture when the University was about to lose its Chancellor, and the place was still in a ferment respecting Henry's supremacy.

"I was," continues Ales, "sent unto Cambridge to read *a lecture of the Scripture there*, but the cross always followeth Christ's doctrine, wheresoever it goeth, and the devil ever hath envy that Christ should have any rest; for even in the wilderness, he would not suffer Him to be quiet *alone*, till he had brought him to the cross. I had scarcely declared out the viii. Psalm, when I perceived my enemy going about, to wrap me in contentions; which although I hate naturally, and have studied all in my power to avoid them, yet I never submitted myself,

cowardly, to the devil, nor *ever recanted any thing*, since I had any knowledge of Christ's gospel. When therefore I would have made answer there, for such doctrine as I had taught, I came to the schools of the University, where a great number of auditors were gathered; and there, before the whole multitude, I tarried an hour or two, looking when my adversary should come; but he, although he refrained from disputation, for what purpose or consideration I cannot tell, yet conspired me such envy, that there were some who were not afraid to threaten me, that it would cost me my life. After I had explained this to the Vice-Chancellor, by the counsel of certain of the wisest men there, and *saw him wink* at the matter, I gave place to this malice also, and departed from thence; especially as I perceived there were *statutes* sent forth from the Bishops, and from the whole Council of the realm, which were such that it had been wickedness not to have spoken openly against them, and yet to have reproved them, would have been counted a point of *sedition*.[4] The man was not hindered nor put in fear by me, but the Chancellor of the University which sent me thither, *by the commandment of the King*, would suffer none of his University to speak against any of the common laws. Wherefore I determined with myself to serve the time, and to change the preaching of the gospel for the science of physic, wherein I had a little insight before. Thus I went unto a very well learned physician called Doctor Nicolas, which hath practised physic in London many years with high praise, whose company I did frequent certain years. By this means I did both see and learn many things, even the principal points in that science: insomuch that at length certain of my friends did move me to take in hand to practise, which thing I did, I trust not unluckily."[5]

It was after Ales had commenced his studies with Doctor Nicolas, that he was one day called "suddenly unprepared," by Crumwell, and introduced to the Bishops in Convocation, as "the King's Scholar," and how he acquitted himself there the reader already knows.[6] But now, about the end of 1538, he connects his appearance then, with the state

[4] All this applies to Cambridge in the spring, but not the *autumn* of 1535, when Crumwell had become Chancellor. The Vice-Chancellor referred to was John Crayford, who according to Kaye (*Caius*) was "a better *fencer* than Vice-Chancellor." "Surely," says Fuller, after his manner, "he was a man of metal, being Vice-Chancellor two years together, which I may call the critical years of Cambridge; being chosen of *purpose*, with his rough spirit, to bustle through much opposition."

[5] These extracts are taken from the *English* translation by Edmund Allen. This must have been one of his first efforts at translation, and the printer has committed a strange blunder in the title. Dividing the name of the Author between him and his translator, he puts Alexander *Alane*, Scot; instead of Alexander Ales. E. Allen was afterwards translator of the book of Revelation in the paraphrase of Erasmus, and Chaplain to Princess Elizabeth in Edward's reign. Hence in her household book, anno 1551-2, we find this item, "Pd to Edm. Allen for a *Bible* xx *s*." He was afterwards Bishop of Rochester, for a few months only, in 1559, and died in October that year; Ed. Gheast succeeding in January 1560. This note will be excused, from Allen's name being generally *omitted* among the Bishops of Rochester.

[6] See vol. i., pp. 498-504.

of things at the moment in which he wrote, or above two years after, and it was only a few months after this that he had found there was no safety for him in all England. It has been vaguely stated that he went abroad in the year 1540; but his first letter, addressed to Crumwell, is dated in July 1539, and this, let it be observed, though about *eight* years after he had left Scotland, and nigh to three after the death of Tyndale, is *the first* reference which Ales has made to *Wittenberg*. There is no evidence of his having been there before.

"To Lord Thomas Crumwell, Lord Privy Seal, &c. Wittenberg, 1539.—Although I hope my mind is sufficiently clear to your Highness, yet I greatly entreat that you may be persuaded, I shall always retain, with the highest gratitude, the remembrance of your favours; for you were nearly the only *port* to me, when living in exile. For the sake of your virtue, piety, as well as kindness, I love England itself, though absent from it, and I declare that I am very much indebted to it. Thus shortly have I spoken of my good will, which when I shall have got a sure abode, I shall declare in such offices as shall be within my power. I returned to Wittenberg the 9th day of July, being most affectionately received, &c.—Farewell, your most devoted Alexander Alesius."[7]

At Wittenberg Ales remained but a very short time, the Elector of Brandenburg having in a few months appointed him Professor of Divinity at Frankfort on the Oder.[8] It is however rather remarkable that before his present arrival in Germany, Providence had signally provided for his safety. Duke George of Saxony, that old and inveterate opponent of "the new learning," and the decided patron of Cochlæus, had died at the age of 68, on the 24th of April 1539. Henry, his successor, being equally ardent on the *other* side, had invited Myconius, Jonas, and Luther himself to Leipsic, and they were preaching to great crowds of willing auditors, in the open air. "Many," said Ales, in his letter just quoted, to Crumwell, and without once alluding to his old enemy still alive, "Many of late have sent for pious teachers into the territory which was under Duke George of Saxony—the churches are now repaired—many towns in Bavaria, and even in the Palatinate, begin to profess the pious doctrine, and now indeed Germany is quiet." It was so, for a little moment, but meanwhile, on the other hand, *Cochlæus* had come into trouble; and instead of his sending Ales back, hand bound, to the Bishops in Scotland, his *own* time for flight and exile was now come! From Meissen (Misnia) where he was a Canon in the Cathedral, not far from the Duke, his wonted patron, and from whence he had so traduced the Scotish exile, he was now expelled. He first fled across the Elbe to Budissin, (Bautzen) in Lusatia, where the printing press was still his

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7 Cotton MS. Nero, B. vi., fo. 56. This was three days before the cruel "statute of six articles" was to take effect in England. See the former reference to this letter, page 69 of this volume.

8 See his oration, "Alesius de Restituendis Scholis," dated Frankford in May 1540; a few leaves, which have repeatedly fetched a guinea and a half.

refuge, and there, throughout 1539, he continued to rail against different opponents, and among others against Luther in Germany, Sir John Moryson in England,[9] and Henry Duke of Saxony, who had occasioned his removal. Hear how his tone is altered, and how he himself lamented over the change:—"Luther's sect, by public command, is introduced into all the lands of Misnia, Thuringia, and Saxony. And in the Cathedral Church of Misnia, where formerly by divine service and divers chantings, God was praised night and day, at all hours, without intermission, the *ancient* appearance of religion is entirely changed." So fared, at present, the bitter enemy of the Sacred Volume, in our native tongue, first in England and then in Scotland, though alike in vain. At Bautzen, however, Cochlæus could not abide. He must move farther east into Silesia on the left bank of the Oder, where he found refuge, as a Canon, in the Church of Breslaw, to the day of his death, in January 1552-3. As for Ales, in about two years he was called westward from this about two hundred miles, to Leipsic; and as a Professor in that city, after an honourable residence of about twenty-three years, he died in peace on the 17th of March 1565, aged sixty-five.

When the public conferences at which Ales spoke, or where they were *afraid* to let him do so, and the numerous works he published, are taken into account, it is evident that he must have continued an active and influential character, to the very close of life.

Thus, so early as December 1540, Ales was present in the Conference at Worms, being sent there as deputy from the Elector of Brandenburg. Granville, the Chancellor of the Emperor, in name of Charles V., presided, when Ales was both ready and eager to engage; but the Chancellor would not suffer him to speak. He appears to have been afraid of the consequences. "He was prevented," says Camerarius, "by order of the president, who knew that Ales had come prepared for the combat." "Such a management of the affair," he observed, "would be wrong." At this conference, however, our exile must have received considerable gratification from meeting with his brother deputies. The divines present, says Sleidan, "were *Melancthon*, *Capito*, *Bucer*, *Osiander*, the uncle-in-law of Cranmer, *Brentius*, Ales, *a Scot*, sent from the Elector of Brandenburg, and *Calvin*." It was young *Calvin*, at the age of 31, proceeding next year to Geneva the second time, where he arrived on the 13th of September. Ales was nine years older, and not improbably one of the first Scotsmen who had formed his acquaintance, at least we read of no one *earlier*. On the other hand, if Cochlæus was not at Worms in

[9] Now in distress, and ruminating over all his troubles, Cochlæus even still cannot forget or forgive the ingratitude of Henry VIII. and Wolsey, in not rewarding him, for his first alarm sent respecting Tyndale's first Testament, in quarto, printing at Cologne in 1525; but as to Alexander Ales, against whom he had so raged, worldly prudence or fear had imposed silence at this moment. Of him, though now so near him, he speaks not one word.

December 1540, we know full well that he was at the Diet in Ratisbon the following March, and still publishing his tracts. At either of these places, if not both, he must have met, face to face, with *Ales*, as well as Melancthon. The former, he now saw, was no *fictitious* character, as he had craftily insinuated ; while both were proceeding on their way, but little caring either for his raillery or small shot.

Since Ales was now meeting both with friends and foes, we must not omit *Stephen Gardiner*. It may be remembered, that this Bishop was not present in the celebrated Convocation of 1536, and that Ales had since written his account of what happened to himself there. Gardiner had come to Ratisbon at this time as chief ambassador to the Emperor, who now presided in person ; Contarini, the Legate from Rome, being there also. One day Bucer and Ales had a long discussion with Gardiner on various topics. The Bishop denying that there were *any* principles and certain way by which the true doctrines of religion might be demonstrated, and the contrary refuted. Bucer quoted 2 Tim. iii., 16, 17 ; and the conversation went on. The Bishop was no Scripturist, and could not stand argument. "How the veins in his hands," said Bucer afterwards, "did leap and tremble, as often as I said any thing that gave him offence ; specially if he heard any such thing spoken by that learned and truly pious divine, Alexander Ales, whom I brought with me to Bishop Gardiner at this conference."[10]

Once more, and fourteen years later in life, when the Christians of Nuremberg in 1555 implored a visit from Melancthon, to compose the divisions which had been occasioned there by the dogmas of Osiander, Ales, and Camerarius accompanied him as his assistants. The former, it is stated, performed his part well ; for "Melancthon knew him to be very capable of this ; he had had him for his assistant the year before, in the conference at Naumburg, which was held to appease the theological troubles of Prussia."[11] By this time, Luther had been dead nine years, Melancthon was to follow in five, and Ales in ten, when Camerarius published at Leipsic in 1569 his well known life of Philip. In this, he says, when referring to the Scotsman who had been exiled on account of the Word of God, and his ardent attachment to it, for more than the half of his life : "He was thoroughly versed in Divinity, had an excellent talent at disputation, and was famous for his extraordinary merit and learning."[12]

By all this, it is not to be understood that Ales had frittered away his time, either in being present at conferences, or in printing tracts. On the contrary, he has himself told us, that to controversy as such, he possessed a natural aversion, and the works he left behind him, when taken

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[10] See "Gratulati Buceri," p. 55. Strype's Memorials, anno 1547.
[11] Beza in Iconibus. Bayle.
[12] Camerar. in Vita Melanct. 1569.

all in all, fully prove this. He had retired to his Bible, and there, for many years, laboured to expound it. His publications, chiefly from Leipsic, amounted to at least twenty-three in number, almost every one of which remain yet unknown in his native land; but we can do nothing more than simply notice his last effort for Scotland, and his subsequent expositions of Scripture.[13]

Before concluding, however, we are unable to refrain from a few sentences, in the dedication to his Commentary on John. They will at least show the spirit of the man, when arrived at the age of fifty-two, or full twenty years after leaving Scotland. He is addressing Augustus Duke of Saxony, Marquis of Misnia, &c., the same country where Duke George, and his agent Cochlæus, once bore such sway, and from whence he had been so traduced by the latter, who was now dead.[14]

"To the truly pious man, whose desire it is perfectly to know and observe the Christian doctrine, nothing is more delightful than the reading of the Gospel of John. For consoling anxious minds against reproaches, hatred, persecutions, the ragings of the world and of Satan; nay, against the alarms of conscience, the fear of wrath, the judgment of God, and of eternal death, nothing is more grateful than the very delightful discourses of Christ, which are inserted in this Gospel alone. Nothing is more profitable, or more necessary for refuting all heresies, and all the sophistry of the Devil, than those most solemn disputations of Christ in opposition to the Jews, who slandered his doctrine and miracles. For, in this Gospel, the first and principal article of the Christian faith, namely, that concerning *the Divinity of Christ*, on which the others hang, and by which they are proved—that upon which the Church is founded, as Paul says, "other foundation can no man lay than that is laid, which is Christ Jesus;" that which idolaters deride, Jews and Mahometans hold to be a reproaching of God, and heretics have, at all times, most bitterly opposed, is here, by many powerful reasons, clearly and copiously demonstrated.

"To himself at the beginning, John proposes this to be proved—That Christ is ὁ λογος, the Word who was from eternity with the Father, of a distinct person from Him, and by nature God. To establish this are principally to be referred all that is here narrated, respecting the creation of all things by the Word—respecting light and life imparted to the mind of man at creation, and restored again after sin, by the promise given forth in paradise concerning the seed that was to come, who bruised the head of the serpent, and by the faith yielded to the doctrine of the cross, through which men become the Sons of God—all things concerning the incarnation of the Word—His glory, seen in the miracles

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[13] It was in 1544 he published "De Scotorum Concordia," or "Cohort. ad concordiam pietatis, *in Patriam missa*." Sent from Leipsic, after the Scriptures had been allowed by authority in his native land. It was repeated in 1559, and is dedicated to the Governors and Nobility, not forgetting the Bishops, and "*the people entire*" of the kingdom of Scotland. After a pause of six years, then came, in one year 1550, "Expos. libri Psalmorum Davidis, juxta Hebræorum;" "In omnes Ep. Pauli;" Expos. ad 1 Tim. et Titus. In 1551, "Posterioris ad Tim." In 1553, "Disputationes ad Romanos;" "Commentarius in Evangelium Joannis." Besides which, we find various other pieces, and among them, "De utilitate Psalmorum," so early as 1542. See *Tanner's Bibl. Britannica, Seckendorff.* The "Descriptio Edinburgi," already noticed, p. 427, *note*, is in Munsteri Cosmog., p. 51.

[14] Cochlæus died at Breslaw 10th January 1552-3. The Exposition referred to, was printing about the same time, and was finished at press in March. "Basileæ, ex officina Joannis Oporini. MDLIII. Mense Martio."

and the descent of the Holy Spirit upon him when He was baptised—the voice of the Father, which was heard—the testimonies of John the Baptist—the turning of water into wine—the healing of the centurion's servant—the nobleman's son—the paralytic—the satisfying five thousand men with five loaves—the man born blind—and Lazarus, whom he recalled from death to life. The Evangelist saw that upon *this* article being weakened, the others concerning the procession and mission of the Holy Spirit from the Father and the Son—the sanctification of the Church by the forgiveness of sins, and the resurrection of the dead, would fall of course ; and on the other hand, *that* being established, these stand firm ; and that it is abundantly sufficient for the proving of them, that the Son of God had taught these things.—

"And what does the Evangelist do, in that longest and sweetest of the discourses of Christ to his Apostles at the Supper, but introduce the Son of God opening up the abyss of Divine love, and allowing all the veins of the love of his heart to flow into the bosoms of his disciples? That the Son of God washes away our stains with his own blood—was afflicted with the deepest grief for the destruction of his own betrayer—endeavoured to draw him back from his wickedness—that he comforts those who grieve for his sufferings, by the consideration of the glory which was presently to follow upon them, and commands them to embrace one another with that love wherewith he follows each of them! Are not these clusters of love, by which he raises up the desponding in mind, and commands them to trust in Him? that by faith in God, and confidence in his aid, they might follow Him thither, where, owing to the infirmity of the flesh, it was impossible for them then to come ; nay, that he now went before, that he might prepare for them mansions in the house of his Father. He promises to return, that he might take them to himself—He shews them the way by which they may follow, and teaches that He is the way, the truth, and the life ; and that no man cometh to the Father but by Himself. Philip he recalls from his error, when desiring to see God, and instructs him, that God is known only by the word of the Gospel. He says, the Divine nature and will are to be seen in his sermons and miracles as in a mirror. He promises, that he would do whatsoever they should ask—that he would not leave them orphans, but ask the Father, that he would give them the Holy Spirit, by whom, as their Teacher, they should understand that He was in the Father, and interchangeably the Father in Him! Does He not lay open the fountains of Divine love, and, as it were, from the opened flood-gates of heaven, rain down into human hearts the love of God, when he promises for the keeping of the doctrines of the Gospel, *His own love and that of his Father?* Nay, that He should come, together with the Father, and abide with him who should maintain his purity!

"Against doubting of these most abundant promises, on account of our unworthiness, there is the sweetest and strongest consolation. That consolation which renders the Church assured respecting the Divine presence of *Him who governs her*—hearing every one of them who call upon Him—assisting the weak members, that they may grow in faith and good works. In conformity to which, He compares himself to the Vine, and us to the branches ; and his Heavenly Father to the Vine-dresser, who pruneth every branch which bears any fruit, that it may bring forth more fruit.

"Now, what do the pious desire to know more earnestly, than which is *the true Church*, and which the *false?* It is that which He himself, in this similitude, properly and perspicuously expresses ; describing those to be the Church, who are united to him by faith, and in whom his words abide ; that is, they hold the Gospel uncorrupted. To such as these belong the very ample pro-

mises made to the Church ; and, on the other hand, those who do not retain the purity of the doctrine, but suffer it to be polluted by *human traditions*, are the false Church, and as withered branches, remain to be consumed with fire."

All this, and much more, he addresses to Augustus, before commencing his Exposition ; and having made all due acknowledgment for favours received, he concludes—"For these so great kindnesses, and the hospitality shewn to the Church and the teachers of the Church, and, among others, to me, a stranger, even since the year 1543, may Christ, the Son of God, adorn you with eternal rewards and immortal glory."

Ales, it appears, had married, probably while resident in England, and this rendered it the more necessary for him to return to the Continent at the time he did. He had three children, a son and two daughters. One only of the latter survived him. For his son, who expired at Leipsic, parental affection found a stone and inscription to mark his grave : but as for the Father, his ashes lie—no *marble* tells us where !

In conclusion, it will now be generally admitted, that Alexander Ales was not a character to be consigned by history to oblivion for three hundred years. The first man in Scotland, nay, and next to Tyndale and Fryth themselves, the first in Britain, who, in her highest places, pled so boldly and so well for the all-sufficiency and supreme authority of Scripture. The first in Scotland who argued so earnestly for the perusal of the Sacred Volume at every *household fire* within her shores ; and therefore the man who struck the first note in giving a tone to that character, for which she has since been known, and often commended. The people of North Britain assuredly have no occasion to feel ashamed of this early native of their capital—the convert of her first martyr—the student and the prisoner of St. Andrews—the friend of Melancthon, and the Professor at Leipsic. Had his countrymen only known him before, some stone of remembrance might have been found even in Germany ; but the memorial of his birth and death ought to have been in *Edinburgh*. There, in reference to the cause he advocated, no inappropriate emblem would have been, *a Father and his child reading the same Sacred Volume*, and, for a motto, in remembrance of his position at the moment, perhaps his own memorable quotation of the Athenian—"Strike, but hear me."

Is it now too late to propose such a thing, and for our children's sake ? Certainly not. It was against this inestimable privilege the storm was still raging—into which we must still inquire ; and what—we repeat it—what had been the state of Caledonia up to the present hour, but for the right and boon, on account of which he first pled, and *long before any other voice was heard ?*

Yet although the memory of Tyndale, as well as Ales, has been allowed to sleep almost in oblivion throughout their native land, it would be unjust to Scotland entirely to forget the grateful recollections, and in Latin verse, of one man, who flourished in the sixteenth century, and

died as early as October 1612. JOHN JOHNSTON, the intimate friend and colleague of Andrew Melville—a classical scholar, and Professor of Divinity at St. Andrews in 1593, amidst his eulogies on other men, appreciated the efforts of Ales, and assigned to the labours of Tyndale their own appropriate place. His tribute to the memory of *Ales*, whom he associates with Machabæus, is well known, as inserted in the Appendix to M'Crie's Life of Knox; but as the lines on TYNDALE, *The Ezra of* BRITAIN, have never been printed, we subjoin a copy, taken from the Manuscript in the Advocates' Library. The labours and martyrdom of our Translator he first briefly records, to which Johnston then adds his own high and heart-felt acknowledgments—

"Ille Dei vates sacer, Esdras ille Britannus,
Fida manus sacri fidaque mens Codicis,
Trans Sacras qui duxit opes Sermone Britanno:
Quique nova inlustrans, quique vetusta dedit,
Incedens veterum nova per vestigia vatum,
Occidit, externis victima sacra focis:
Scilicet innumeris meritis hoc defuit unum,
Vatibus ut priscis par sit honore novo."

We now return to the noble warfare in which Ales so ably, and without compromise, had led the van. We have seen the state of Scotland and England at the close of 1534; nor in 1535, while Tyndale lay in prison, as ardent and busy as circumstances would admit, was there any change in favour of the Scriptures in either government. As nations, far from being on sound terms with each other, they were firmly united in hostility to the Word of God; while in reference to Scotland, the cruelties of last year seem to have only strengthened the determination to *obtain* the Sacred Volume. The hollow device of representing the English New Testament to be the production of Luther or his disciples, which Cochlæus had done all in his power to promulgate, continued to be fostered by the priests for years to come: but by this year it must have been well known, both by friends and foes, in Scotland, that *Tyndale* was the author. In the Castle of Vilvorde, he was now contending for the truth, with the Doctors of Louvain, who, since the days of Patrick Hamilton, had their eye on Scotland. Ales, it is true, all along, and with great propriety, had mentioned no names. But how is this to be accounted for, that we now see Dr. Buckingham, Prior of the Blackfriars at Cambridge, a most determined enemy to the Scriptures in the vulgar tongue—the man whom

Latimer so successfully opposed, and who had for some time been living with his brethren in the Monastery at Edinburgh, leave that city, with a brother friar as his companion, and direct for Louvain? This occurred at the close of March 1535; and the object of this hitherto mysterious movement, we have already explained. We have seen how he wrought, in conjunction with Gabriel Dunne and Phillips, in the persecution of Tyndale, throughout this very year. Buckingham, unquestionably, would not leave his old friends, the friars in Edinburgh, ignorant of what was going on, whether at Louvain or Brussels, as to the prisoner in Vilvorde, with whom all the doctors now wrangled, though in vain.

Meanwhile, the alarm of the Scotish government shews that books were still coming into the country. The Act of Parliament in 1525, against all importation by strangers, had been strengthened in 1527, so as to apply to the *native* importers; but by the language of Ales, it seems as if there had actually been attempts at *selling* the New Testament in *book-shops;* and certainly if the Act was *now* to be repeated, and with greater severity, it lends countenance to all his remonstrances. Parliament, at all events, opening in the summer of 1535, and on the 8th of June, farther degraded itself by not only repeating the Act, but now *all* persons *having* any such books, were commanded to *deliver them up* to their Ordinary within forty days, under the penalty of confiscation and imprisonment. As a decided evidence of no small progress made, even "*discussion of opinions*" was now sternly prohibited by the Parliament! Happily, however, there was an exception, or, as some would say, a flaw in the act, as there has often been since, in many such feats of human legislation. An exception was made in favour of *clerks in the schools*, who *might* read, in order to refute. The consequence was, that a number of these clerks, by reading and discussion, sincerely embraced the same sentiments, or the *reverse* of those which were intended by the indulgence.

In the year 1536, with regard to the Scotish monarch himself, now sinking under the power of licentious habits, and to which the clergy offered no objection, his situation was one which might well excite pity. The language of Ales has clearly shewn, that, as a youth, there were generous and humane feelings within him; and the banishment of the

Douglas family, with Angus at their head, was owing to a burst of emotion perfectly natural. But now the King was beset by no less than three parties. The family of Angus, though not in Scotland, were ever on the watch, having sold themselves to England. James, still unmarried, and without a direct heir, had the Hamiltons near him, not without an eye to the throne; while, as the clergy's kingdom of this world seemed to be in danger, the *guidance* of the monarch had become, with them, a subject of supreme and intense interest. The erratic course of the king's uncle, Henry VIII., had also raised Scotland in the scale of importance in the eye of Rome; so that, in conjunction with the hierarchy, James, being the man he was, had no chance of escape from vexatious thraldom.

On the one hand, Henry's eager desire to have a personal interview with his nephew, must be thwarted. The Queen-Mother, Henry's sister, in conjunction with Lord William Howard, strove for this at present, but in vain. At the same time, in the spring of 1536, the needle seemed to be still quivering in the beam, as to what course the King would pursue. In 1534, the clergy, with the concurrence of the Pontiff, Clement VII., had granted a tenth part of their revenues to James for *three* years, to encourage him, it has been supposed, in following their advice with regard to the suppression of heresy. Clement had ceased to live in September 1534, and this grant would expire in 1537. But whatever was the cause, the monarch appears to have been dissatisfied, and especially with the exactions of the priests at large. The clergy were in motion throughout the kingdom, and from the 11th to the 17th of March 1536, *a provincial council of the Prelates* was held in Edinburgh. Once assembled, they received a message from the King. Of its purport, we have one account from the Earl of Angus. He was then at Berwick, not daring to approach nearer; but in writing to his brother, Sir George Douglas, he says—

"The King is not in the town himself, and very *few* temporal lords. At the making of this writing, (certain articles,) the King was at Crawfurd-John in Clydesdale, and sent his writing to Edinburgh to the clergy. The bearers were Sir James Hamilton, Nicol of Crawfurd, and Mr. James Fowles. These were the points of the King's charge, as I was advertised—bidding the clergy give over the *corps-present* and the *upmost cloth* through all Scotland, that they should be no more taken; and that every man should have his own teind, (tythe,) pay-

ing for his tythes, such like as he pays to his landlord of his maills (rents,) and no more, for his whole tythes. Sir James and the other two said to the clergy, if they granted not that, at the King's command, that there should be a charge laid to them, that he would *ger* (make) them set all the temporals that the kirk have, to feu (fee,) and to have for it, but the old rent, such as the old rentals bear. The Kirkmen of Scotland were *never so ill content.* The word is now through all Scotland that the Kings *will* meet (Henry and James) ; for them that were farrest against it in Scotland, say, that the King will meet his uncle, by the grace of God, and trust nought else. For these tidings that I now write to you, the man that showed me them, came from the King to Edinburgh, and heard the charge given to them by these three that I wrote of before. Written at Berwick the 24th of March [1536]—*Signed.* Arp. Erl of Angus."[15]

If this intelligence was substantially correct, it was certainly indicative, thus early, of very general dissatisfaction on the part of the common people throughout the country ; although the grounds of complaint were not removed for twenty-four years after this, or eighteen after James was in his grave. The King himself, however, was evidently ill at ease, and it might seem, at the moment, as if he were on the point of following his uncle's footsteps. How he became pacified, does not fully appear, though it be evident that the power of the hierarchy—the counsel of the chief priests had prevailed. The Queen-Mother was writing to her brother in England, while these prelates were yet sitting, and she informs him on the 16th of March, that the King, her son, had got counsel of the Kirkmen to desire of him these points : That he will promise not to desire his nephew *to take his new constitutions of the Scriptures ;* not to labour for the Earl of Angus ; to desire the meeting-place should be Newcastle, not York.[16] In April Lord Howard finds also that the *time* of the meeting had been prorogued to Michaelmas ; he had had an interview with the King himself, at Stirling, on the subject, and being disgusted, wished to return home. In May, Henry expresses to his nephew his surprise at their meeting being changed, both as to place and time ; when James, on the 20th of that month,

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[15] Holograph. State Papers, Scotland, in the Chapter-House, Westminster, but placed, by mistake, under the year 1534 in the Gov. Papers, iv., 667. Compare the correction, vol. v., p. 36. The *corpse-present* was a forced payment, as it was not due by any canon of the Kirk in Scotland. The best *cow*, or the best of other property, belonging to the deceased, must then be given up ; and as for the *cloth*, the uppermost covering of the bed, or of the body when alive, was also demanded by the Vicar. This exaction applied to every man, woman, and child, as often as death visited the family, while the *non-exaction* by any vicar, gave great offence to his fellow robbers. The effect, in many instances, was ruin, and even beggary to the family. The King had no objections to the severe satyre on this, and other delinquencies, by Sir David Lindsay, the poet of his reign. See Chalmers' Lindsay, iii., p. 105.

[16] Gov. State Papers, vol. v., p. 38.

by way of prolonging the game, replies in a letter, sweet as summer. "Dearest uncle, trust firmly, that it shall not be in the power of any wicked person to make us believe anything of you, but to repute and hold you our most faithful and kind uncle, and we to be semblable, an heartful and true nephew, ever ready to do unto you all honor and humanity to us possible."[17] In short, the entire communication is pregnant with hypocrisy, as it was not possible for James to be ignorant, that already John Thornton, the protonotary apostolic, had passed through England on his way to Rome, for the Pontiff's brief, charging the Scotish King to have *no* meeting whatever with the King of England. Of this fact, Henry had been informed a week before, so that on receiving his nephew's letter, he could only learn with what celerity he was following his own footsteps, in a course of perpetual dissimulation.

But we have not yet done with this council of prelates. Both *Howard* and *Barlow* were present at their discussions and sermons; and whether the latter had, or had not, been the author of the Satyre on Wolsey, or "The Burial of the Mass;" his language now certainly borders on it, in point of violence. He was still Prior of his monastery, and did not resign till next year; but he had recently been made Bishop of Asaph, and was extremely anxious to try his powers for the first time in Scotland.[18] Having alluded to the troubled state of the borders, when writing to Crumwell, he adds—

"Also, I am sure that the Council, which are only the clergy, would not willingly give such advertisement to the King, for due execution upon thieves and robbers; for then ought he first of all to begin with *them*, in the midst of his Realm, whose abominable abused fashion, so far out of frame, a Christian heart abhorreth to behold. They show themselves, in all points, to be the Pope's pestilent creatures, very limbs of the Devil, whose popish power violently to maintain, their lying friars cease not in their sermons, we being present, blasphemously to blatter against the verity, with slanderous reproach of us, which have justly renounced his wrong usurped papacy. Wherefore, in confutation of their detestable lies, if I may obtain the King's license (otherwise shall I not be suffered) to preach, I will not spare for no bodily peril, boldly to publish the truth of God's Word among them. Whereat though the clergy shall repine, yet *many* of the lay people *will gladly give hearing*."[19]

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17 Gov. State Papers, vol. v., p. 51.—"20th day of May, the 23d year of our regime."

18 Barlow had come down as Prior of Bisham, on the Thames, opposite Great Marlow. The manor-house, partly formed out of the priory, where Queen Elizabeth for some time resided, is still in existence.

19 Holograph. Calig., b. iii., fol. 194. Gov. State Papers, vol. v., p. 37.

Such was the state of things in March 1536, at least in Barlow's estimation, and his testimony on behalf of "the lay people" may be received as evidence that they already knew much more than such clergy had either told them, or knew themselves.

Nor was this all. In only two months more, a more important fact, because referring to the manifest progress of Divine truth, comes out, nor is the name of Luther or Lutheranism mentioned in connexion with it. *In May* 1536, *the reading of the Sacred Volume in the vulgar tongue was publicly prohibited.* Lord Howard and Barlow, in their joint letter of the 13th, give this information—

"Though we have not brought to such final pass the contents of our instructions, according as we had confidence, to the King's Highness' pleasure, yet there wanted in us no diligent endeavour, which nevertheless is not so in vain, but that we have necessarily tried out the Scotish dissembling mutability; which known and mistrusted, can do little displeasure, whereas their feigned untrusty amity intendeth us no farther pleasure but their own profit: except hereafter God give them a more faithful heart, grounded on knowledge of his Word, *which, to be read in their vulgar tongue, is lately prohibited, by open proclamation.*"[20]

Now, in our English history we have already always found, that every such measure as this, within the country, was only indicative of still greater pressure from without, and so it must have been in Scotland. Thus, then, *before Tyndale expired*, so powerful had his exertions proved, that his translation had been publicly denounced by the authorities in the north, as well as in the south; while all the time it was making its way, in unknown directions, and in both countries.

But why, it may now, with all propriety be inquired, should William Barlow, perhaps inflated by his elevation, assume so high a tone, at this early day? Was he not himself a prior still, and why then, thus hastily, be so severe on the clergy? Was it to please Cromwell and the King? Why then use language actually at the expense of *both*, as well as of all the English *Bishops*, of whom Barlow was now one? Did the whole of this talk, so far as it concerned the *Scriptures*, carry very much the appearance of a farce on both sides? So it should seem; for why molest James V. about the Scriptures at present? In April and May 1536, what had Henry VIII.?

[20] Gov. State Papers, vol. v., p. 43.

What had Crumwell, though Vicar-General? What had the Bench of Bishops there yet *done*, in reference to the Sacred Volume in the vulgar tongue? Had they yet found a translation and agreed respecting it, and made open proclamation that all might read, believe, and live? Nothing of the kind. On the contrary, Henry and his authorities had been fighting against it exactly ten years! And what was the English government doing at the moment? Were its members not in the guilty act of leaving the translator to perish, without one solitary or solemn remonstrance from either the King or Crumwell, to whom earnest application had been made, and by no common man? Nay more, at the moment when Howard, the brother of the Duke of Norfolk, and Barlow were thus writing their joint letter, in what a shameful and bloody tragedy, in reference to Anne Boleyn, the King and Crumwell, and all around them were engrossed, we need not repeat.

Barlow remained behind Howard for ten days longer, when he signified that it would be "no more displeasant for him to depart, than it was for Lot to pass out of Sodom!" But he was *not* aware of Latimer being in the very act of preparing his Latin sermon for the prelates then occupying the English bench; and in which they were to have small credit over the bishops whom Barlow had left behind him. He could *not* be aware that Fox of Hereford was about to tell his brethren that they were "in danger of being laughed to scorn by the common people, (who knew more of the Scriptures than they did,) as having not one spark of learning or godliness within them." Above all, he had not anticipated that a native of that same Edinburgh was on the point of adjusting the balance more correctly between the English and the Scotish bench, when he put Stokesly the Bishop of London in a rage; though simply, yet boldly, pleading for no more than the authority and all-sufficiency of *Scripture;* when Cranmer himself was afraid to let him go on, and fight the battle out; or in other words, when the Archbishop of Canterbury would discover as much timidity as the Archbishop of Cologne had done, and before the *same* man! These equal reminiscences are imperatively due to the present history. They show how hostile the men, called ecclesiastical, in *either* country were, and at the same moment, to the highest favour which Heaven had ever bestowed on them both. It was certainly too soon for any such men to throw a snow-ball at

their next neighbours, while "*the lay people*" in Scotland, as well as England, were alike so far a-head of them. Barlow, however, had now set out on his hunt after *preferment*, and a more dangerous course it is not possible for a man to pursue. Whether it was in reward of his services, or in preparation for the noted Convocation about to be held in June; even before he left Scotland, he was translated to St. David's, in which character he sat, and heard all that we have hinted, as in preparation for him.[21] What must Barlow have thought or felt, when he saw a native of Edinburgh so encounter his brethren, and try their temper? But, at all events, we are indebted to him for the information he has given us, respecting those lay people in the north, for whom Ales had already so powerfully pled.

Under the influence of his ecclesiastical advisers, James was now bent on a matrimonial alliance with France. A regency was appointed, of which James Beaton was the head; and taking his nephew, the Abbot of Arbroath, with certain noblemen in his train, he left the kingdom in September, and after an absence of fully eight months, returned with a queen for his royal master, an accomplished princess, Madeleine, the only daughter of Francis I.

During the absence of his nephew from Scotland, Henry VIII., ever intriguing, had sent down Ralph Sadler to his sister, the Queen-Mother, as early as February; and from thence he proceeded with instructions to King James himself at Amiens in March, professedly in reference to his mother, Henry's sister. The visit, in both instances, no doubt, had a double object in view; and hence the Scotish King was scarcely landed, with his bride, on the 19th of May 1537, than Sadler was down once more, charged with long and particular instructions. Henry, understanding that the gentlemen of "the old learning" were very much alike every where, and judging also by those who stood round his own person to the end of his life, again must this ambassador whisper in the ear of James, his uncle's sayings in reference to the clergy.

They were "commonly held by the affection they have to their maintenance, and to their authority in pomp and pride." If Sadler actually went as far as his Master instructed him, he was to say that James was "not to think of himself, as perchance some of his clergy would have him to be, *as brute as a stock*, or to mistrust, that his wits, which he had received of God, be not able to perceive Christ's word, which his grace has left us, common to be understood by all Christian men." Henry farther advised his nephew to try these clergy

21 See the account of the Convocation, to which he was so soon summoned, vol. i., pp. 488, 494-510.

"by their works and deeds"—for "that would induce him to lean to the pure word of God, and to pass light upon dreams of men abused by superstition, to *blind* princes, and other persons of much simplicity." Sadler was then to pray Henry's good nephew "not to conceive any evil opinion of his uncle, from false and lying reports, only because his Highness, sticking to the word of God, had abolished certain Roman abuses and superstitions in his realm;" with many other such words.[22]

The entire document is in perfect keeping with the deep hypocrisy of Henry's character; but if this was a specimen of his policy, not to say the refinement of his language, it was not likely to have much effect on such a Prince as James, at the age of twenty-six, recently married to the only daughter of the French monarch; and immediately after he had been accustomed, for so many months, to a very different style of address. Henry's nephew was not now to be rated like a school-boy, and Sadler, of course, had to return as he came. In pursuance of the same policy, he had brought a present of £200, by way of fee, to the Queen-Mother, and she, as in duty bound, acknowledges receipt, to her brother, in June, when she trusts that the King, her son, is sending to him David Beaton. She prays him to talk kindly with the Abbot, as he was a great man with his master.[23]

The young Queen, however, had but a short time to live, having indeed been ill of consumption before her marriage. Upon landing at Leith, she had "knelt upon the beach," says Mr. Tytler, "and taking up some portion of the sand, kissed it with deep emotion, whilst she implored a blessing upon her new country, and her beloved husband." It says much for her character that in so short a period she had so endeared herself to all classes; as within fifty days after her arrival she expired. The deep regret of many was shewn by their putting on mourning, a custom, till then, altogether unknown in Scotland. James, however, recovering from this shock, retained his purpose of sending Beaton to England. In the month of August we find him as far as Stamford, there soliciting an audience, through Crumwell, with the King, then at Dunstable.[24] He had gone, no doubt, as an *espial*, rather than an ambassador, in return for the visit of Sadler in James's absence. But there could be no cordiality between the countries at this moment. On the contrary, the life of James had been twice threatened by secret conspiracy, through the intrigues of the Douglas family, who were living under Henry's protection. The clergy will continue to advise or promote alliance with France.

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[22] Gov. St. Papers, vol. v., pp. 81, 82, *note*. [23] Idem, p. 90. [24] Idem, p. 99.

SECTION V.

FROM 1538 TO 1542—STATE OF THE COUNTRY—BEATON A CARDINAL AND PERSECUTION REVIVED—THE MARTYRDOMS OF 1538—DEAN FORRET—THE CAUSE OF ALL THE TUMULT IN OPPOSITION TRACED TO THE NEW TESTAMENT IN THE NATIVE TONGUE—ANOTHER MARTYRDOM—MEN ESCAPING—THE CRUEL PROGRESS OF CARDINAL BEATON—DEATH OF THE KING JAMES V.—GLOOMY STATE OF THE COUNTRY AS TO ITS GOVERNMENT AT THIS MOMENT.

THROUGHOUT these five years ensuing, or from 1538 to 1542 inclusive, just as though it had been intended by divine providence to be the more observed by the people as such, and at all events, by posterity, the only cause that looked upward, was that which was most hated; the only progress towards improvement, in any department, was in that of Divine truth. At the close of this period the King is to die, and even now, whether in relation to himself or the country at large, every movement was from bad to worse. All things went the downward road.

In justice, however, to James V., it must be remembered that he was called to contend with more than Henry VIII. ever had to encounter. The English Barons had been brought low by Henry VII., before his son came to the throne; but in Scotland, although in 1513 the "Flowers of the Forest" had died away, another race had sprung up since then. The clergy, too, had a David Beaton among them, as licentious and ambitious as WOLSEY himself, and far more unrelenting in his dispositions than the English cardinal ever was. Besides, James, younger than the English King when he came to the throne, had been watched and swayed by interested parties from childhood; so that having to cope with the Barons as well as the Clergy, it discovered no small force of character, that he proved so much of a sovereign as he did. In early life, amiable in his dispositions, he had evidently endeared himself to the people of his kingdom; and afterwards, in being dragged into such cruelties by these ecclesiastics, it only shews to what fearful extent a man may go, whether from profligacy or mistaken political motives. In short, among all these public men, the King is the solitary individual who draws on our pity. At one moment, indeed, he will be seen to sink himself to the lowest depth, by compliance with his bishops, in the burning of his subjects for their attachment to divine truth; but before

a year goes round, we shall not only see him sit for hours, and hear the ecclesiastical order lashed with the severest satire for their vices; but he will turn round afterwards, and acquiescing in the justice of the exhibition, rate the whole *order* severely to their faces, as the root of all evil. Both Henry and James vainly imagined that they themselves might live as they listed, though neither of them were blind to the scandalous lives of the priests and their superiors.

But to proceed, David Beaton having gone to France once more, and to negociate for another Queen, returned in May 1538, (only ten months after the death of Madeleine) with a woman of a widely different character—MARY of GUISE—an alliance perfectly agreeable to the clergy, though ere long to prove most injurious to the best interests of the country. Beaton, like Wolsey in past years, looking out for his own advancement by the way, had contrived to be made Bishop of Mirepoix in Languedoc, with not less than ten thousand livres of annual revenue; and though not yet a bishop in his own country, his French appointment will strengthen the ladder to higher promotion. Sharpened, no doubt, by his visit to England last year, and having now furnished so trusty a checkmate for his Sovereign, no time was to be lost in proceeding against all the insinuations of his uncle, by strengthening his own personal authority through the court of Rome. He was indeed, as yet, nothing more than an Abbot in Scotland; but with his French see in addition, Beaton had applied to the Pontiff for one of his highest honours. Of course this was represented as by no means on his own account, but merely for the benefit of the kirk, and to meet the signs of the times. This, however, was no usual demand, no common step in advance, yet through the vigilance of his agent in Italy, the able and aspiring Abbot succeeded, and was actually raised, by Paul III., to the powers of a Cardinal, on the 20th of December 1538.

Throughout the year 1538, the new learning having made very manifest progress, the disposition to persecute was about to be fully gratified. The secret of Beaton's zeal for power could not long remain hid, and since James was both so married, and too far gone to profit by any warning; his character as a man must "smart for it," as Henry, his uncle, had predicted. Nothing improved by his former visit to France, gay, licentious and thoughtless, James was as much in want of money as his uncle always was, and money he must have. In younger life he had shrunk from the shedding of blood, but now, in order to beguile him from an eye to clerical wealth and the accumulated treasures of the monasteries, the property of all who should either *die* for their opinions, or *abjure*, was

held out as the base incitement to the enslaved and infatuated monarch. If, therefore, among the subjects of James there were those who would "take joyfully the spoiling of their goods, knowing that they had in heaven a better and an enduring substance," and if their attachment to the word of God as such, should thus become apparent, a better evidence of progress made could not be wished. At the same time, the course about to be pursued by the enemy, is worthy of notice, on another account. It was the choice plan of Stephen Gardiner in England to hunt after such as he styled "the head deer;" and as the persecutor in Scotland is about to not merely gratify his own malice, but supply the King's necessities; the *poor* believer, who had nothing to forfeit or leave behind him, not being a subject suitable to the miserable end in view, must have been, most providentially, passed over. The *poor*, often the richest in faith, were below notice, merely because not worth the trouble and expense.

Before however noticing any instances of persecution, it must be remembered that "*the New Testament in the vulgar tongue*," had been pointed out since May 1536 by public proclamation. There may have been some other English books suspected of heresy already in Scotland, but even still, no *other* book is expressly named. The presumption therefore is, that in all these proceedings, the *Scriptures* chiefly, if not solely, were now aimed at, and all opinions grounded on the Sacred Volume.

It was in the very month in which Beaton was made a Cardinal at Rome, that the persecution in Scotland had already revived. No one had suffered death since August 1534; but after four years had elapsed, an early, if not the first arrestment, afforded rather a curious illustration of blind fury.

Martin Balkesky, a burgess of Edinburgh, had been thrown into confinement in the Castle, as early as December 1538, for "breaking our Sovereign Lord's proclamation against using and having such *books* as are prohibited by Parliament." He first complained therefore to the King, who referred him to Beaton, only a few days before he was made a Cardinal, or about a month before he could hear of the appointment. Beaton still only an Abbot, but coadjutor of St. Andrews, referred the burgess to the Lords of the Privy Council. Balkesky then supplicated them, and they promised enlargement on condition of his finding caution to the Justice-Clerk, Thomas Scott of Pitgorno. The caution he de-

manded was not less than a *thousand* pounds. On the 28th of February, the very day before a dreadful martyrdom, which Balkesky may have witnessed from the Castle, the caution was found and offered; but now not satisfied, on the 7th of March, Sir John Campbell of Calder, Archibald Williamson, burgess of Edinburgh, and Robert Hopringill, burgess of Peebles, had to become sureties for *two* thousand pounds more, that the prisoner should "abide the King's Grace's pleasure and will;" no slender proof that they had already got one substantial citizen by the hand. Only five days elapsed, however, when they were obliged to let him go, "remitting to him the escheat of *all* his goods, &c. for having and using certain *English* heretical books." A letter of remission was granted to him on the 12th of March; his professed defence being, that he had merely "refused to deliver up his *Matin-book* to the official of Lothian at his first command."

But if this proved a blank, they had caught a richer prize in the person of Walter Stewart, son of Lord Ochiltrie. He was fined in his whole estates, or possessions moveable and immoveable, "by reason that the said Walter was abjured of heresy."

Beaton, however, once a Cardinal, there was no farther occasion for troubling either the Lords of the Privy Council, or those of the Justiciary. Wherever his cross was borne before him, there he reigned as lord paramount over the conscience, and other gentlemen will not *now* so easily escape. By the 10th of January 1539, we find Robert Forrester, brother to the Laird of Arngibbon, William Forrester, son of John, burgess of Stirling, Walter Cousland, David Graham, and James Watson, all of Stirling, were seized for *books*, suspected to be heretical; "for breaking his Highness' proclamation, in having and using such books as are suspected of heresy, and *are prohibited by the* KIRK." Observe the altered phraseology, or how soon and slyly they were interposing their own authority. The caution at once exacted from these parties amounted to no less than 3100 marks, so that the entire property must have been considerable. The first gentleman, we shall find die at the stake; the second and third, as well as another, a burgess of Edinburgh, Robert Cant, were all entirely forfeited in March. Similar forfeitures extended to Perth, as well as to Stirling, where John Stewart, son to Henry, Lord Methven, was among the number; and so far as the seizure of property was concerned, the persecution lay very heavy upon Dundee.[25]

Two parties had now fully engrossed the mind of Beaton, namely, the Kirk and the King. The former was to be defended by fire, the latter to be cajoled by fines; and this month of March served to unfold his character, as equally

[25] See the Criminal Trials.

busy in both departments. The most fearful week was the first in this month, and Saturday the 1st its most shocking day. The country hitherto had witnessed no scene so outrageous. The trial, such as it was, and the sentence to death being all overtaken before the sun went down, it must have been intended to strike with terror, not Edinburgh alone, but every other place. Not fewer than five different men appeared; John Keillor and John Beveridge, two Benedictine monks or Blackfriars, not improbably from the same monastery in Edinburgh where Prior Buckingham had lodged till 1535, when he set off to the persecution of Tyndale; *Sir* Duncan Simpson, so called as being a priest, from Stirling; Mr. Robert Forrester, notary, a gentleman of the same place; and last, though not least, a Dean of the Kirk, Thomas Forret, canon regular in the Monastery of St. Colm's Inch, and Vicar of Dollar. Having been summoned before Beaton, and Chisholm, Bishop of Dunblane, men equally notorious for licentious habits, and bigoted attachment to their system, no mercy was in store for any of the five, while the last was treated with characteristic reproach and barbarity. The trial, soon over, the fire was prepared on the esplanade of the Castle, visible at once far and near, to two counties, Mid-Lothian and Fife.

The King, too, must proceed one step farther on the present occasion. In 1534 he had presided in a *red* dress at the trial of Straiton, but his authority on the bench was now *not* consulted. It had, in fact, been superseded by that of this Cardinal, but still his Majesty must sanction all. He must follow the footsteps of his father-in-law Francis I., in 1535, and himself be present to see the red flames on the Castlehill, when five of his best subjects were consumed to ashes before his eyes, on the 1st of March 1539.[26]

Dean Forret, who, with his four companions, died so nobly this day, was a son of the Master Stabler to the King's father, James IV. He had perfected his education at Cologne, from whence, however, he had

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26 "1 March 1538-39. Accusatio hæreticorum et eorum *combustio*, apud Edinburg *Rege* presente." *Household Book of King James V.* The King left the city, next day, for Lithgow, perhaps to escape odium; but it was in perfect keeping with the whole affair, that on the day itself, the Searcher was gone after the property! *March* 1, *Item.* "Delivered to Archibald Heriot, Messenger, to pass and search their goods, who were abjured and declared heretics in Edinburgh and Stirling," 16 sh. *Lord Treasurer's Accounts.* Independently of the cruelty and deep depravity of persecution, it is generally accompanied by a meanness most detestable.

returned as blind as he went, with respect to the Word of God. But after his return, a dispute arising between the Abbot of St. Colm's Inch and these Canons, they had obtained the book of foundation, to examine into their rights. To induce them to part with this book, the Abbot offered them a volume of Augustine's works; and this it was which led Forret to study the Scriptures for himself. The epistle to the Romans engrossed his attention, and he became useful to a number of the canons. From six in the morning till noon he was engaged in study, and committing three chapters of the Bible every day to memory, he made his servant hear him repeat the whole before night. Once appointed Vicar of Dollar, he preached every Sunday to the people, a practice then unknown to any other Dean, Dignitary, or Bishop, in *all* Scotland! This practice, joined to his determined opposition to the sale of indulgences, and his declining to accept of the usual clerical exactions, had rendered him so obnoxious, that he had been frequently called before the Primate, Beaton's uncle, and Chisholm from Dunblane, at St. Andrews. But whether warned or threatened, by the Abbot of his Monastery, by Bishop or Archbishop, he had persevered, till at last, having fought a good fight, he had finished his course.

In a history such as this, however, the place, the very conspicuous place, which was this day given to the Scriptures of the New Testament, as translated by Tyndale, must not pass unnoticed.

The official accuser in court on this occasion was a servile creature of Beaton's, Mr. John Lauder, when the following dialogue took place:—

Accuser. "False heretic! Thou sayest it is not lawful to Kirkmen to take their teinds (tythes) and offerings and corps-presents, though we have been in use of them, constitute by the Kirk and King, and also our holy father, the Pope, hath confirmed the same?" *Dean Forret.* "Brother, I said not so; but I said it was not lawful to Kirkmen to spend the patrimony of the Kirk as they do, as on riotous feasting and on fair women, and at playing at cards and dice; and neither the Kirk well maintained nor the people instructed in God's word, nor the Sacraments duly administered to them as Christ commanded." *Acc.* "Dare thou deny that which is openly known in the country? That thou gave *again* to thy parishioners *the cow* and *the upmost cloths*, saying you had 'no right' to them?" *Dean.* "I gave them again, to them that had more mister (need) than I."[27] *Acc.* "Thou false heretic! Thou learned all thy parishioners to say the Paternoster, the Creed, and the Ten Commandments *in English*, which is contrary to our acts, that they should know *what they say*." "*Dean.* "Brother, my people are so rude and ignorant they understand no Latin, so that my conscience moved me to pity their ignorance, which provoked me to learn them the words of their salvation

[27] See Note 18, p. 489.

in English, and the Ten Commandments, which are the law of God, whereby they might observe the same. I teached the belief, whereby they might know their faith in God, and Jesus Christ his son, and of his death and resurrection. Moreover, I teached them and learned them the Lord's own prayer, in the mother tongue, to the effect that they should know to whom they should pray, and in whose *name* they should pray, and what they should ask and desire in prayer; which I believe to be the pattern of all prayer." *Acc.* "Why did you that? By our acts and ordinances of our holy father, the Pope?" *Dean.* "I follow the acts of our Master and Saviour Jesus Christ; and of the Apostle Paul, who saith in his doctrine to the Corinthians, that he had rather speak *five* words to the understanding and edifying of his people, than ten thousand in a strange tongue, which they understand not." *Acc.* "Where finds thou that?" *Dean.* "In my book here, in my sleeve."

Upon which, the Accuser starting, with a bound, to the Vicar, pulled the book out of his hand, and holding it up to the people, said with a loud voice—"*Behold, Sirs, he has the book of heresy in his sleeve, that makes* ALL THE DIN AND PLAY IN OUR KIRK!" "Brother," said the Dean, "God forgive you! Ye could say better, if ye pleased, nor to call the book of the Evangel of Jesus Christ the book of heresy! I assure you, dear brother, that there is nothing in this book but the life, the latter will and testament of our Master and Saviour Jesus Christ, penned by the four Evangelists for our wholesome instruction and comfort"—The Accuser interrupting him—"Knows thou not, heretic, that it is contrary to our acts and *express commands, to have a New Testament or Bible in English*, which is *enough* to burn thee for?" Then the council of the clergy gave sentence on him to be burnt, for the having and using of the same book—*the New Testament in English*. For these, and the like sentences, was he taken up to the Castlehill in Edinburgh, and most unmercifully burnt." The bodies of these five men appear to have been strangled, before they were consumed to ashes.

No attestation could be more distinct than that which was here given by those unprincipled and wicked men. No other book is once named. All the healthful and life giving commotion is ascribed to one source, and that the book of God. This alone, it is confessed and deplored, was that which gave such great annoyance, and, in their style, occasioned *all the din and play* throughout the country!

Not satisfied with this horrible scene, Beaton must look westward, where it seems to have been resolved there should be another martyrdom by way of terror. Here, however, he was to meet with some temporary obstruction from Gavin Dunbar, who was not only an Archbishop, (of Glasgow) but

at the same time possessing the highest *civil* authority, as the Lord Chancellor. The fact was that Beaton, though nominally a Cardinal, had not even yet received the "instrument of possession" to his title, nor did he do so till October; but though he had been in full power, Glasgow as well as Ross would have demurred to his authority, and objected to his cross being borne there. He will provide for all this presently, but now, being still only an Abbot in Scotland, if resolved to push his way over the head of Dunbar, it will only display the arrogance and fury of this man's ambition.

Two individuals having been apprehended in the diocese of Glasgow; *Jerome Russel*, a Franciscan or Greyfriar, and a young man, *Ninian Kennedy*, only eighteen, of good education, and possessing "an excellent ingyne (genius) for Scotish poetry;" they were immediately brought to trial. This myrmidon of Beaton's, John Lauder, and two other willing agents, Mr. Andrew Oliphant, as notary, and one Friar Mertman, were sent off to Glasgow in commission, to assist, or rather secure success. The Archbishop, not so bloodily inclined, hesitated. "I think it better to spare these men," said he, "than to put them to death." "What will ye do, my Lord?" said the commission from Edinburgh. "Will ye condemn all that my Lord Cardinal, other Bishops, and we have done? If so, ye do shew yourself enemy to the Church and us, and so we will report you, be assured!" Dunbar became afraid, having no relish for coming into collision with this new-made Cardinal. The King had conceded his *own* authority, and his Lord Chancellor now as meanly followed! Adjudging both the martyrs to death, they died in triumph. In addition to these tragedies there was a third, at Cupar in Fife, in order to awe that part of the country, where, by the Lord Treasurer's Accounts, one man, not named, also suffered at the stake.

During a season of confiscation and murder such as this, the victims pillaged must have been numerous; we could name more than we have mentioned, and it is manifest, that they were not only men of intelligence, but of considerable substance. But among those in imminent danger at this moment, there was one, the most eminent scholar of his age. We need scarcely name *George Buchanan*. His *Somnium* or Dream, his satire *Palinodia*, as well as his *Franciscanus*, all of which had been so deeply resented by the whole fraternity of "the old learning," rendered him the most desirable of all victims, and he was actually in close custody at St. Andrews. The Cardinal, it is said, offered the King a sum of money as the price of his blood. Once apprised of this, Buchanan made his escape from the window of his prison, through England into France, and before the close of this year, he had been chosen Latin Professor in the College of Guienne, Bourdeaux. But besides

him, in the course of this month of *March*, many others had fled. The fires had produced their desired consternation. Thus, if we look to Berwick alone, as already quoted under our English history, on the 29th of that month, the Duke of Norfolk informs Crumwell—"*Daily* cometh unto me some *Gentlemen* and some CLERKS (priests) which do flee out of Scotland, as they say *for reading of Scripture in English*, saying that if they were taken they should be put to execution. I gave them gentle words, and to some, money." So did this determined enemy of the Sacred Volume in English write, and act, at the moment, merely from vile political motives. But the enemy himself has often, throughout, corroborated the truth of this history.

Such, then, was the result of the influence and title, newly imported from Italy, but at the same time the storm has again cleared the moral atmosphere, giving decided proof that a great and unwonted power had been introduced into Scotland. In other words, we have before us the veritable progress of all the Scriptural Christianity which has been in the country ever since; and however feeble and unpretending in its commencement, the work, since 1526, was now of thirteen years standing.

With such a second Queen as the Cardinal had procured, and with this increase of tyrannical power to such a man, it was to be expected that James's uncle, the King of England, would take alarm. Through his own rude violence of language, however, to say nothing of his licentious character, and the undermining policy he had pursued, all influence over his nephew was now gone; but for his *own* sake, he must try the effect of warning, through his herald or ambassador, once more. Two or three sentences will explain the general purport.

"—— Forasmuch as it is most certainly come to the intelligence of the King's Majesty, that the Abbot of Arbroath should be chosen of late and elected to be a Cardinal in this your realm of Scotland. Then, should the Bishop of Rome creep into your own very bosom, know all your secrets, and, at last, unless you will be yoked, and serve their pleasure in all points, your Grace is like to smart for it. The thing perchance, in the beginning, shall seem to your Grace very honourable and pleasant: but wisdom would, to beware of the tail, which is very black and bitter. His Majesty's father, and grandfather to your Grace, had a Cardinal, (Morton,) whereof he was weary, and never admitted others after his decease, knowing the importable pride of them. In like manner also his Highness, by the experience of one, (Wolsey), hath utterly determined to avoid all the sort: so well his Grace hath known and experienced their mischief, yoke, and thraldom, that thereby is laid upon princes."

Henry's letter might be regarded as a commentary on the

running month, but it was too late, and he might have saved himself the trouble. James had already "smarted" in his character, by yielding to Beaton; who was by no means to be interrupted in his career after higher authority still. In the autumn of 1539, by the death of his uncle, he had become Primate, but even this, and the red hat of a cardinal to boot, would not satisfy. The western Archbishop, the Lord Chancellor, still sitting, like Mordecai in the King's gate, must be fully, or without question, overruled. The primate's mind, by this time, was soaring after all power, whether over the King or the country, as he will prove before long. Meanwhile, he felt, at this moment, that there was still a technical flaw in the authority for which he panted. He must carry his cross triumphantly over broad Scotland, and no man shall gainsay or plead exemption. In short, though both an Archbishop and a Cardinal, he must not only be Legate *a natus*, which, as primate, he was already, but Legate *a latere*, or plenipotentiary, and enjoy as much or more power than any primate had done before him. Hence Oliphant, his most willing agent, who had been to Glasgow, was then dispatched to Rome, and by the 16th of November 1539, we have Beaton writing from Kelso, urging him on to "diligence and to labour at his power."

"Attour," says he, or, "Besides, ye shall incontinent get us a brief, that we, as Primate of the realm, may bear our cross before us, *through the whole kingdom of Scotland, both in the diocese and province of Glasgow, and all other places whatsoever exempt.* And again, in December from Edinburgh, he adds—"Make the best and most honourable persuasions ye can, or may, to induce his Holiness to the granting of the said legation."[28]

The fact was, that the Pontiff himself faltered and hesitated, but, at last, Beaton's agent was successful; and since he was the *last* individual in Scotland to be clothed in such high and shocking authority, we can now see a propriety in the Pontiff being permitted to put forth all his power, and lift his head as high as he possibly could in the person of this man, a little before his authority in Scotland was to be broken for ever.[29]

[28] Sadler's Letters, 4to, i. p. 14–17.

[29] There is, however, some obscurity as to the precise time of his confirmed elevation. In the State papers this is spoken of as not taking place till 1545. One bull is dated 3 Kal. Feb. 1544, that is, 27th February 1545. Gov. St. papers, v. p. 443.

It will be remembered, that precisely the same thing had been permitted to take place in England.

Whether, however, it was infatuated policy, or rather profligate extravagance, in the Scotish King, there could be no excuse for the guilt of persecution; though still we are not to imagine that James was a true son of the Kirk. He did not care one straw for their system, and held the persons of his ecclesiastics in profound contempt. In the drollery and satyre which was played off against them, he would himself indulge, and even listen to it for hours, with the keenest pleasure. An instance had occurred at this very time, on the 6th of January 1540 at Lithgow, and it is referred to by a veritable witness, Thomas Bellenden of Auchnoull, recently appointed Lord Justice-Clerk.[30] Happening to be at Coldstream in communication with Sir William Eure, the latter writes to Cromwell on the 26th of the month.[31]

"I had divers communings with Mr. Thomas Bellenden, one of the Councillors for Scotland, a man of estimation, appearing to be of the age of fifty years or above, and of gentle and sage conversation, specially touching the *stay* of the spirituality in Scotland: and gathering him to be a man inclined to the sort used in our Sovereign's realm of England, I did so largely break with him in those behalves, as to move to know of him, of what mind the King and Council of Scotland was inclined unto, concerning the Bishop of Rome, and for the reformation of the mis-using of the spirituality in Scotland. Whereunto he gently and lovingly answered, and showing himself well contented of that communing, did say, that the King of Scots *himself*, with all his *temporal* Council, was greatly given to the reformation of the misdemeanours of Bishops, religious persons, and priests, within the realm. And so much, that by the King's pleasure, he being privy thereto, they have had an interlude played in the feast of the Epiphany last past, before the King and Queen at Lithgow, and the whole Council spiritual and temporal. The whole matter whereof concluded upon the declaration of *the naughtiness in religion, the presumption of Bishops, the pollution of the courts called the consistory Courts in Scotland, and misusing of priests.* I have obtained a note from a Scotsman of our sort, being present at the playing of the said interlude, of the effect hereof, which I send to your Lordship by this bearer. My Lord, the same Mr. Bellenden showed me that, after the said interlude finished, the King of Scots did call upon the Archbishop of Glasgow, being Chancellor, and divers other bishops, exhorting them to reform their fashions and manners of living; saying that unless they so did, he would *send six of the proudest of them to his* UNCLE *of England*, and as those were ordered, so he would order all the rest that would not amend. And thereto the Chancellor answered and said to the King, that one word of his Grace's mouth should suffice them to be at commandment! The King hastily and angrily answered, "that he would gladly bestow *any* words of his mouth, that could amend them!" Bellenden went so far indeed as to intimate, that James was "fully minded to

[30] 26th December 1539.

[31] Gov. St. Papers, v., p. 169.

expel all ecclesiastics from having any authority by office, in his household, or elsewhere."

But then upon such an occasion as that of this play, what has become of Beaton? He was not there, and as long as he carried his cross so high, all this was nothing more than idle talk. James might amuse himself, but he must live and die, the mere shadow of a King. This scene at Lithgow, however, was not a solitary or unwonted affair. Such plays and poems and satires were repeatedly acted, and though Buchanan had to fly, there was another man, who never did, and whom the Cardinal never was allowed to touch. Here was a second Mordecai, far more obnoxious than Gavin Dunbar had been, who was long to survive all the fury of this period, and write his "Tragedie of the late Cardinal," after he had gone to his account. This was no other than the Lord Lyon King at Arms, Sir David Lindsay of the Mount, Fifeshire. He had been the official keeper and companion of the King, in the days of his infancy; and now, the author not only of the interlude referred to, but of other satirical pieces, bearing with such force and effect on the superstition of the day, and especially on the ignorance and immorality, or vices of the kirk, as to render its officers, both high and low, most contemptible in the eyes of many. Yet must he never be molested, nor Beaton ever wave his cross over his head. So far from it, the Queen having been lately crowned, Sir David had been not the least conspicuous figure. We find a sum of not less than a thousand marks had been actually paid to him and his wife, for their official services on that occasion.

Mary of Guise was scarcely crowned Queen, when Sir Ralph Sadler was down once more to visit the King. He tried, but in vain, to shake the confidence of James in his Cardinal and Legate; at least so the King pretended, by the manner in which he continued to rally Sadler in reply. But in May, clothed in all his honours thick upon him, Beaton, as Legate *a latere*, proceeded in grand entrance to St. Andrews, with an unwonted array of nobility, and there delivered his first oration.

It was on the 22d of this month, from his Abbey of St. Andrews, that the King informed Henry of his having become a father, by the birth of James his eldest son: but from this period, it may be added, the gay but enslaved monarch was hastening rapidly to his ruin. One cause of molestation

or perplexity now followed the other in quick succession. By the sudden death of Thomas Scott, the predecessor of Bellenden, as Lord Justice-Clerk, the King had been not a little disturbed, but the execution of Sir James Hamilton of Finnart, already mentioned, for high treason, appears to have shaken his nervous system. Jealousy of his nobility preyed on his mind, and there were those who were ever ready to promote the feeling.

Hence it was that, soon after his death, we find individuals arraigned before the Justiciary for "consulting with and frequently giving false information to the late King for the purpose of deceiving him; thereby occasioning vehement suspicions between him and his Earls, Barons, and lieges; and for causing in him great apprehension and fear for his slaughter and destruction."[32] In April 1541, James's second son Arthur was born, but he survived only a few days, and in a few more his eldest son and heir followed his brother to the grave! In July the King writes to his uncle, and sends Lord Justice Bellenden desiring "peace, amity, and kindness to stand between them;" but then in the autumn of this year, he committed his unpardonable offence.

After his uncle had long strived to secure a personal interview with him, Henry set off to York in secret hope of success. Like a reed shaken by the wind, James wavering, never appeared; and the enraged uncle never forgot or forgave the affront. In December, the Queen Mother, Henry's sister, died at Perth; and her son had now only another year to live. The sequel is soon told. The storm which had been gathering for some time, must have vent. The reign of discord between England and Scotland commenced, and open violence, between parties on the borders, was but the precursor of other quarrels. The first movement was from the English lines, and on the 24th of August 1542, the skirmish at Halidon Rig took place. James, not knowing this, wrote the next day to Henry, asking passports for ambassadors, intimating that he had sent the Earl of Huntly to *prevent* farther feuds; but Huntly had scarcely arrived in England, when the battle of Halidon had taken place, in which the English were beaten. As this was in resistance of the Earl of Angus and Sir George Douglas, many years banished from Scotland; on the 1st of September James wrote again, with a justification of the defence, and specially of Huntly; still desiring peace. But Henry will not permit the ambassadors to advance farther than York; and now resolved for war, on the 3d of October his Privy Council desire Lee, the Archbishop of York, to search his registers respecting Henry's *title*

[32] Pitcairn's Criminal Trials, i., p. 329. There can be no doubt by whom such men were hired and upheld.

to the realm of Scotland! Having first proclaimed that the Scots were the aggressors, Henry then published his manifesto, in which he claimed the *sovereignty* of Scotland; and, by the end of October, the Duke of Norfolk having crossed the borders, was destroying the country. Lords Huntly, Home, and Seton, continued to *watch* him only, while James was assembling his army. On the Borough Muir, near Edinburgh, thirty thousand men had gathered round him; but by this time they had assembled from various motives, and gave another proof of the divided state of the realm. Some leading men, sick of "the old learning," felt no objection to a change, or an escape from the iron yoke of this new-made Cardinal and Legate. Some felt hereditary attachment to the Angus or Douglas family, who were with the enemy; while others, foreseeing the inequality of the contest, wished to act only on the defensive. The last were the wisest men, but their advice was not to be taken. With this army James set off, and having halted at Fala, reviewed his troops. He was then bent upon pursuit of the English, now in full retreat, and distressed for want of provisions. He proposed to follow them, but he proposed in vain. To his bitter mortification, almost every chief refused! He upbraided them with cowardice, and threatened. They pled the lateness of the season, the difficulty of obtaining provisions, and that the King must not expose himself to the same man as his father had done at Flodden. The real obstruction lay in the different sentiments of his nobility; and the loss of his authority as King, was now too manifest. Indignant, yet deeply depressed in spirit, James rode back to Edinburgh. One final effort, however, was made, to raise the spirits of the already sinking monarch. Robert, the fourth Lord Maxwell, with ten thousand other men, proposed to burst into England from the west, and obtain reprisals for the violence done by Norfolk. With this little army the King rode out, and as far as Caerlaverock, the ancient castle of the Maxwells. But here, once more, this jealousy of his nobles having become like a fixed disease, the infatuated monarch must now himself take the final step towards his own ruin. For no sooner had Lord Maxwell and his men reached English ground, or Solway Moss, than a minion of the King's, Oliver Sinclair, produced a royal commission, appointing him to the command! Disorder and mutiny were the immediate consequences, and in the midst of this confusion, three hundred of the English horse came up to reconnoitre. The Scots mistaking these for only the vanguard of Norfolk's army, were panic-struck, and fled in every direction. Prisoners of title and substantial wealth, to the number of nearly one thousand, were taken, including the Earls of Cassilis and Glencairn; Lords Maxwell, Somerville, Gray, Oliphant, and Fleming; the sons of Lord Erskine and Lord Rothes, to say nothing of Sinclair, the cause of the disaster. Thus the foolish commission of the King had been obeyed; but, ruined by his own favourite, who was afterwards called to account,

James, dumb and disspirited, could only a second time return to Edinburgh, far more unhappy, and with deeper mortification, than even the first time.

On returning to Holyrood, however, farther misery awaited him. Something else had occurred during his absence. On the 14th of November, John Ponde, Esq., Somerset Herald, and Henry Ray, Berwick pursuivant, had arrived in Edinburgh, with a letter from the Duke of Norfolk to the king. Beaton affirmed, that he was gone "hawking in Fife." He then opened the letter, and in ten days after returned an answer, little aware of what had happened on the day he did so. Presenting the herald and pursuivant with twenty crowns, Beaton told them, that "as they came from the king, their master's lieutenant, this was a lieutenant's reward;" officiously adding, that "if they had come from the king, their master, they should have had a better reward, and an answer from the Scotish king, their master." This was on the 25th, or the fatal day of Solway Moss. Four days before this, Ponde and Ray had been warned by a Scotish pursuivant, named Dingwall, to take care of themselves on the way home, on which they solicited and procured his company on the road; but on the evening of the 25th, as they were approaching Dunbar, Mr. Ponde was attacked by two men, and barbarously murdered. This, of course, was a most serious offence, and the more so at such a moment, as far as James was concerned. On hearing of it, Henry "vowed, that he would have a revenge for the same." In this frame, we are told, he sent a herald to his Nephew, informing him, "that he would put such order to him, as he had done to his Father, having the selfsame *wand* in keeping that beat his father;" referring to Norfolk, who, as Earl of Surrey, had commanded at Flodden. But be this as it may, the poor unhappy monarch, on arriving at Holyrood, had to sit down, only five days after the disaster at Solway, and pen his last letter to his uncle—probably the last time he put pen to paper—assuring him, "that there was no prince living, that would be more loath than he was, that such an odious crime should remain unpunished;" at the same time offering to send two ambassadors, two heralds, and other twelve lieges, to explain "the unhappy and cruel enterprize." But the king did not live to receive an answer. Having remained not more than a week at Holyrood, he then retired to Falkland Palace. Only in the thirty-first year of his age, in his full strength, with a vigorous constitution, he had scarcely ever known what sickness was. But now a slow fever consumed him, and he sunk into a state of distraction, accompanied by the deepest melancholy. Beaton, not far off, was soon present, chiefly to look after his own interest in the event. The queen at Lithgow was on the point of being confined, and if a son were born, it was hoped that this might rouse the father. On the 7th of December, she was delivered of a daughter—"*Mary Queen of Scots*"—but the intelligence

had the opposite effect from that which had been anticipated. Referring to his kingdom, said the dying man—"It came with a girl, and it will go with a girl." Then giving his hand to those near him, he turned himself on the bed and expired, on Thursday the 14th of December. The body was brought to Edinburgh, and interred at Holyrood on Monday the 8th of January 1543; when the Cardinal appeared once more, to preside at the last ceremony, over the remains of a prince to whose calamities he had so largely contributed; and now he will "mimic sorrow with a heart not sad."

Often has it been said, that James V. died literally of a broken heart, and, in Scotish history, certainly he presents the most impressive illustration of that passage in holy writ—"*The sorrow of the world worketh death;*" though in retiring from the melancholy scene, one question immediately presents itself—Whether the king was most sinned against, or sinning? He had been profligate as a man, and as a king profuse in expenditure, more especially in his later years; and, consequently, was for ever craving money. Naturally gay and thoughtless, having no fixed principles of his own, and, at last, no honourable sense of equity, he was equally ready to have accepted supplies from his barons, as from his clergy; while the latter party, simply through their being by far the most dexterous masters of deceit, carried the day. *They*, said Sadler in 1540, "*They* be the men of wit and policy that I see here; *they* be never out of the king's ear." Thus, like a man placed between two fires, James, of a warm temperament, was often most wretched, a feeling which returned with increasing violence for the last ten years of his life. One vice, or burst of folly, led to another, till, in the end, he stood ready for the highest bidder. For all his actions he had been responsible, and was now gone to his account; but how had he been trained up when a boy? And by whom surrounded ever since? In this point of view, he must ever remain as a victim, held up for a warning to rulers. There were ever near him two men—Sir James Hamilton, the murderer of the Earl of Lennox; but, above all, David Beaton, the murderer of more valuable subjects; and since the king chose to lend his ear, these alone were quite sufficient to have ruined any man who would not fear God and think for himself.

Hamilton, however, was put to death in August 1540, so that from that moment especially, Beaton, by himself alone, had the largest share in the king's ruin. Ever since his promotion, his aim was one which involved the destruction of his sovereign as a civil ruler; while, at the same time, his ambitious eye was fixed upon many other men, both of wealth and power, who would not bow the knee to his cross, or crosier, legate extraordinary though he was. It will be remembered, that before he had even obtained the red hat of a cardinal, he had no sooner heard of his title, than he stepped into blood, in the close of 1538; and brought

the king to sanction him, by gazing on a scene more revolting than any which Scotland had ever witnessed: and as soon as he had reached the pinnacle of human depravity, by obtaining the highest power which Rome so presumptuously dispensed, he seems to have felt as though his arm were hampered still.

In May 1540, to which we have alluded, when he had once entered St. Andrews with such a cavalcade, he must commence with some business worthy of his office as legate. Sir John Borthwick, Provost of Lithgow, said to be "of Nenthorn, and brother of Lord Borthwick," must be first denounced as a noted heretic; when the Cardinal delivered his long oration to the prelates, noblemen, and priests assembled, lamenting over the increase of heresy, as having reached even the neighbourhood of the throne; the king also, though not perhaps present, being then in St. Andrews. He at that time urged resistance to Henry VIII., and intimated his determination to act with vigour in his own sphere. Borthwick, whose trial may be read in our common histories, having been cited, and not appearing, was condemned, his property forfeited to the crown, and his effigy burnt at the market cross of St. Andrews on the 28th of May; a ceremony which was repeated in Edinburgh a few days after. This, however, was a trifling affair, by way of giving some point to the legate's oration. Property for the king, was, by no means, the solitary object in view; the mere smell of fire, by way of terror, was not to satisfy the persecutor; and if he fails of burning men themselves to death, if he miss his mark, or his fury be restrained, it will be only in consequence of his disclosing too soon his heartfelt and full intentions. The fact was, that before Sir James Hamilton's death in August that year, Beaton had fully anticipated his zealous offices as a coadjutor, and had he lived, they would have proceeded hand in hand. There was to have been a court of *Inquisition* by way of cure, and Hamilton had actually been appointed as prosecutor, with the king's concurrence. He is said to have even been engaged in preparations for the fiery day, when, it is very observable, in consequence of information lodged by the brother of Patrick Hamilton, the illustrious martyr, the very prosecutor himself came to an ignominious but appropriate death for high treason, of which he had been guilty years before. Nothing daunted, however, Beaton now longed to wield his cross, with a vigour yet unprecedented in Europe, and strike down, at one blow, the best subjects of his sovereign to please himself, and these the most substantial in point of property, to supply the king! He had nerve sufficient to contemplate this once and again. A list of the proscribed had been drawn out, at the head of which was the Earl of Arran, Beaton's own cousin, and presumptive heir to the crown, the Earl of Cassilis, the Earl of Glencairn, and his son, the Earl Marishal. The number of intended victims has, it is true, been differently stated. One author tells us they amounted to seventeen

score, or three hundred and forty; another specifies, that "there were more than a hundred landed gentlemen, besides others of meaner degree;" while Sir Ralph Sadler says there were "a great many gentlemen, to the number of eighteen score, (or three hundred and sixty,) because they were all *well minded to God's Word.*"

Mercifully, however, this dreadful proposal was by far too much so for the nerves of the king. Even after Hamilton's death, he had been haunted by dreams, and now he could not stand even the sight of the roll. As soon as it was laid before him he revolted, and with strong marks of disapprobation. It has been said, indeed, that before the rout at Solway moss, the measure was proposed a second time; but whether or not, for all the purposes of history this is of no moment. Once was quite sufficient, since that once has discovered a state of things which would never have been so distinctly known, or even conjectured. That already in Scotland, any change of opinion so very extensive as this had taken place, could not have been imagined from any other events yet recorded in history. Much more, indeed, has now been authenticated in the preceding pages, than has ever been before known; and allowing that the Word of God, like secret leaven, had been in silent operation since the year 1526, or nearly fourteen years, still, after all that we have yet read, a measure so very formidable in its range comes upon us with surprise, as almost incredible. Taking the very lowest number, such a roll would have more than satiated even Bonner of London with regard to all England.

Of course it would be a violation of all historical propriety, to represent all these proscribed, or marked men, as *Christians*, simply because they were opposed to the Cardinal's politics, principles, or procedure; nor among them all, do we know of a single individual, either at that moment or ever afterwards, who understood the rights of conscience, or who, when in possession of power, would have refrained from persecution; nor is there much room left for our boasting over them, since too many such men exist even in our own day. But conceding all this, still we have before us one striking proof, that a great change had already taken place in Scotland on the public mind. Let the twofold object of the proposed persecution be only borne in mind. It was to seize on *property*, as well as destroy or expatriate certain impracticable men, who now stood in the way of the Cardinal and legate. But then below the rank of these men, as formerly hinted, there were others, and it should seem *many* others, throughout the country, less sophisticated, and more devout readers of the Sacred Volume, whose names, though not mentioned, were already recorded in another roll, on which the eyes of God not rarely look. Including the entire community, it is in reference to this very period, that Buchanan goes so far as to speak of "many *thousand men* who did not hesitate to *peruse the books of the Old*

and New Testament." Farther evidence, too, awaits us, whether in relation to men, or the Sacred Scriptures; but the more important question now is—*How, or by what instrumentality, had this mighty change already been effected?*

Seven years after the Scriptures of the New Testament in English had been first conveyed into Scotland, there had, indeed, been an able and well sustained controversy, though hitherto buried in oblivion, as to the right and duty of the people to read the Scriptures for themselves, and at home in their own dwellings; but there had been no ministry of the word, properly so called. One man, *Forret*, in a very limited district, for a short time had spoken out; but he was almost immediately silenced, and then burnt to ashes. There had been no son of thunder lifting up his voice, nor had any such means been employed as to account for this confessedly great change. Two or three men from England may come down afterwards, and make some impression; but we now speak of the past, and of what had been already effected. Putting the presumptive heir to the crown entirely out of view, as a weak and vacillating man, have so many round about him been so shaken in mind, as to involve themselves, by Beaton's casuistry, in the deadly sin of what he called heresy? Then, as far as the art of printing, or English books were concerned, nothing can be ascribed to either cause: and of books imported from abroad, we find not upon record a single title-page, *save one.* But that *one* has been proclaimed in open court, by Lauder, in 1538, as having been the great, nay, the only source of annoyance. He denounced it as heresy. "God forgive you," said Forret, "that ye should call the book of the Evangel of Jesus Christ heresy." But he insisted that it was, and that it was *this* which had occasioned "ALL *the din and play in their Kirk*," or throughout Scotland. Certainly it was intended, that posterity should observe this, and no event of the day has been more distinctly marked, if so much so.

The ministry of the word, though of Divine appointment, has again and again, throughout this history, been presented by God as entirely subordinate to his own word—the living voice of man, to the voice of the living God. In the scale of human depravity, or the profanation of divine things, besides the neglect or perversion of the ministry, there is a lower

depth, or greater sin. This had been shewn in Scotland as well as England, in the treatment of the Divine Record itself —in the wilful concealment of the Word of God—in the denial of it to the people—nay, in the denunciation of it by the profligate rulers of the darkness which reigned around them. This was the greatest of all crimes. The force of systematic depravity could no farther go. They had rejected the Word of Jehovah, and what wisdom was in them? The Sacred Scriptures, therefore, and more especially those of the New Testament, standing in the same relation to the Christian Church, which the law, when *lost*, did to the Jewish, and which, when found, became the means of its revival; so the Sacred Volume must now take precedence. We leave other nations to examine for themselves; but in the course pursued by Divine Providence towards this island entire, and by way of eminence, this fact is worthy of more reflection than it has ever obtained. The Word of the Lord, as an instrument in his own hands, and conveyed into the island in spite of all opposition, was to be first, and to be thus glorified. So it had happened in England, as already explained. But here, in the north, as well in the south, in Scotland as well as in England—

> Jehovah had resolved to show
> What his own Sovereign Word could do.

And yet, after all that can be said, at *this* moment, what was now to be done? nay, what to be expected? We have come to December 1542. The King is dead, and Beaton has reached the highest point of his ambition. Before his sovereign was even laid in the grave at Holyrood, *he* has usurped the government; and look wherever the people might, every thing seemed to portend success in favour of such a movement. With regard to his own crafty brethren, he sits, like a sovereign Pontiff, over every one of them. The king has left for his heir only an infant, whose mother is favourable to all the intentions of Beaton. The presumptive heir to the crown, the Earl of Arran, is not merely a weak man, but he seems to be quite indisposed for action; while, in point of talent and activity, there is no other individual to be compared with the Cardinal and legate. As for the nobility at large, their power is broken; such of them as possessed any

authoritative influence are either dead, or in exile; and the best of them have been carried out of the way, from Solway Moss to London. The neighbouring powerful monarch, elated by his victory, threatens war; and it may be one of conquest or of extermination. In short, according to Buchanan, "the considerate foresaw a tempest overhanging Scotland, dark and gloomy beyond conception; for the king had not made a will, and left a girl, scarcely eight days old, as his heir."

From all these circumstances, it must have been quite impossible for any man to see before him a single day, or to foretell what awaited either himself or his country. The only certain thing was, that Beaton had resolved to be both "king and priest" for the time being; having, it is said, caused the will of the king to be proclaimed on Monday after his death, and this, it is understood, pointed to him as the future regent. But let what will take place, nothing shall prevent the progress of Divine truth; and, as in nature, the darkest hour precedes the day-break, so it may be even now.

REIGN OF MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS.

THE YEAR 1543, A MEMORABLE ONE—CRITICAL STATE OF THE GOVERNMENT—REMARKABLY SUDDEN CHANGE—THE PRIMATE OF ST. ANDREWS, THOUGH A CARDINAL, IN PRISON—HIS CLERGY IN MOURNING, AND ALL THEIR CHURCHES CLOSED, WHEN PARLIAMENT ASSEMBLED, AND BY A BILL AND PROCLAMATION THROUGHOUT SCOTLAND, SANCTIONED THE GENERAL PERUSAL OF THOSE SCRIPTURES, WHICH HAD BEEN READING IN SECRET FOR SIXTEEN YEARS—CONTRAST WITH ENGLAND AT THIS MOMENT—EXTENT TO WHICH THE SCRIPTURES HAD BEEN POSSESSED, AND THEREFORE PERUSED IN SCOTLAND—THE EARL OF ARRAN, THE GOVERNOR, VERY SOON ABJURES, AND FALLS UNDER THE POWER OF BEATON, NOW ENLARGED—THE SINGULAR EXISTING POSITION OF ALL THE EUROPEAN SOVEREIGNS, WITH THE PONTIFF AND THE TURK INCLUDED—MORE MARTYRDOMS BY HANGING, DROWNING, AND THE FLAMES—THE DEATH OF BEATON—PECULIARITY IN THE HISTORY OF THE BIBLE IN SCOTLAND.

THE year 1543 was a memorable period, and deserves to stand by itself, whether we allude to Scotland or England. In relation to both countries, it was a crisis; but as viewed in conjunction, we are furnished with matter

well worthy of notice, and in close connexion with the Sacred Scriptures. In Scotland, the opening of the year will discover how insignificant is the power of any human party, however ably led, when the moment arrives in which the Supreme Ruler begins to deal with it. Beaton we have just left, in great power, and fondly anticipating a higher place than Wolsey himself had ever reached. He may be allowed, for a few days, to dream of reigning over the kingdom, at the head of a regency, of which the Earls of Argyle, Huntly, and Murray, were to be chief men; and as for the presumptive heir to the crown, the Earl of Arran, he must be neutralized or overruled. If we can rely on the deliberate testimony of Arran himself, BEATON exhibited a will of the King, appointing *him to be guardian of the infant Queen, as well as Regent, or Governor of the realm.*

Henry VIII., his determined enemy, was now dreaming also, as well as Beaton, though in very different strain. The death of James V. instantaneously gave fresh impulse to his ambition. If possible, and immediately, he is to reign over Scotland. He is to get possession of Beaton, as well as the infant Queen Mary, who, as he now proposed, should in due time be married to his son Edward. Once awake, however, both the King and the Cardinal must, like other men, follow with the tide of events; but the question between them at this moment being one of time, the sequel will explain which of them gained his object. No sooner had Henry been informed of his nephew's death, than he sent for the Scotish lords and gentlemen, the prisoners from Solway, who, only a few days before, had been marched, as in disgrace, through London, and then they had been only upbraided. The King now sounded them, with a view to his intentions, when, without exception, they bowed to his terms, and without gainsaying! Henry exacted pledges, which they left behind them; and they engaged, that when Queen Mary came to be ten years of age, she should marry Prince Edward. On Friday the 29th of December, the prisoners were allowed to depart, and coming down by way of Darlington, they had reached home by Wednesday the 24th of January.[1] Arran now found himself in circumstances to act with decision; and no

[1] Gov. State Papers, vol. v., pp. 234, 242, notes.

sooner do we turn to Scotland, than we find, that not one day had been lost by the Governor.

Upon Monday the 8th of January, the King, as already mentioned, had been interred; but on Wednesday the 10th, not more than forty-eight hours having elapsed, the Earl of Arran was proclaimed Protector and Governor of the kingdom.[2] Thus far successful, still the Governor was not sufficiently strong to take any step against Beaton. On the contrary, slow to forego all secular power, it appears that Beaton actually snatched at the chancellorship, and obtained it, for one solitary week! With such an office in addition to those he possessed, if he had effectually ousted Dunbar, the Archbishop of Glasgow, he no doubt intended ultimately to overrule the Governor according to his pleasure.[3]

Here, then, at last, it becomes evident, that Henry VIII. had overreached his greatest opponent in the North; for though already in possession of the great seal, by Friday the 26th of this month, the Chancellor and Cardinal, though Legate, was in safe keeping at Dalkeith; only two days after the arrival of the Scotish barons from England! The will exhibited, pronounced a forgery, had been of no avail. But whatever obscurity still hangs over the precise charges against Beaton, he was put in prison on the day now mentioned. From Dalkeith he was removed to Seton House; from thence, under the charge of Lord Seton, to Blackness Castle on the Forth; and finally, to St. Andrews, from whence he was not released till April, or more than a fortnight after Parliament had transacted all their business.[4] Thus are we left free to inquire what this business included.

In the meanwhile, however, was the arrestment of such a man as this to pass without notice? So far from it, all the disciples of "the old learning" were immediately in mourning, and struck with horror. "The public services," says Mr. Tytler, "were instantly suspended; the priests refused to

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2 "Diurnal of Occurents."

3 On the 18th of January, "David the Cardinal was now Chancellor and Keeper of the Great Seal."—*Scotish Acts of Parl.*, vol. ii., p. 424. "I asked Sir George Douglas," says Lord Lisle, "who was Chancellor now in Scotland? He said the Cardinal; for he caused the Governor to take the seal from the Bishop of Glasgow, and to deliver it to himself." They had intended to appoint the Earl of Glencairn to this office, but had not then sufficient power, not to say that he was still only a prisoner at large.—Gov. State Papers, vol. v., p. 250, note. The Great Seal was therefore *returned* to Dunbar, and he held it till towards the close of the year.

4 Gov. State Papers, vol. v., p. 242, note.

administer either baptism or burial; *the churches were closed:* an universal gloom overspread the countenances of the people, and the country presented the melancholy appearance of a land excommunicated for some awful crime. The days, indeed, were *past* when the full terrors of such a state of spiritual proscription could be felt, yet the Catholic party were still strong in Scotland; they loudly exclaimed against their opponents for so daring an act of sacrilege and injustice; and the people began, in some degree, to identify the cause of Beaton with the independence of the country." The barons also were far from being unanimous on the subject. Four days only after the imprisonment, or on Tuesday the 30th of January, the Earl of Argyle had left Edinburgh for his estate in the west, where, gathering his clan, he might stand ready for any future emergency. The Earls of Huntly, Murray, and Bothwell, had offered to be sureties for the Cardinal's liberty, but in vain. Mass might be suspended, while the priests and monks, having little or nothing to do, had more time for politics and intimidation; but still there was no enlargement of their Cardinal. At this early period, and in reference to the clergy, such an instance of inflexibility was analogous to that of the Venetian government; and it becomes the more observable, when the two *cousins* are viewed in contrast. Between the Earl of Arran and Beaton there was the greatest possible distinction, in point of strength of mind and firmness of purpose. It was therefore fit, that at this peculiar crisis, the weakest individual in authority, or the most vascillating, not to say treacherous, should be instrumental in putting aside by far the most acute and powerful man in the kingdom. All that the Pontiff could possibly convey to him from Rome, had previously been bestowed; and if any words are about to be spoken in Parliament regarding the SACRED VOLUME; if any thing was about to be done, which was *never to be undone;* it was certainly something to say in future years, that all this power had gone for nothing!

Parliament having been summoned to meet on Monday the 12th of March, throughout the month of February, the Earls of Argyle and Huntly, Bothwell and Murray, were straining every nerve to rally and invigorate their adherents; so that the week immediately before the opening of Parliament exhibited two parties in hostile array, one assembled at

Perth, the other in Edinburgh. At the former, besides the earls already mentioned, there were other noblemen, with a great number of bishops, abbots, and knights. They commenced with negociation, sending certain articles to the Governor and his council. The very first of these stipulated, that *the Cardinal should be set at liberty;* the second, that *the New Testament in the native tongue should* NOT GO ABROAD. They then requested that the Governor should be counselled by *them* in all the affairs of the realm, and that other ambassadors to Henry VIII., than those which were intended, should be sent to England![5]

There was not a moment's delay at Edinburgh in returning a most decided answer. The Governor and council would listen to no such terms. On the contrary, they immediately dispatched a herald of arms, charging all these lords at Perth, under pain of treason, to repair to the capital and serve the Governor, according to their allegiance. At the same time, or upon Friday the 9th of March, by way of making their intentions doubly sure, Archibald Beaton of Capildra was committed to ward at Dalkeith, as his relative the Cardinal had been in January, he being now in safe keeping at a greater distance.[6] The party at Edinburgh was now ready for business.

The appearance of the herald at Perth had proved quite sufficient. The Earl of Huntly immediately gave in. As for the clergy, while they could not extricate the Cardinal, if they had any thing to say against the Scriptures, it was proper that they should be mustered on the spot. Since Beaton only is put out of the way, let the fraternity assemble and put forth all its strength. As a body, therefore, whether bishops or abbots, they now followed Huntly's example; and they all arrived in Edinburgh on Sunday, or the day before Parliament was opened. By Monday, the Earl of Murray, and on Tues-

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5 These articles were sent by the hands of a bishop and a knight, Robert Reid, Bishop of Orkney, the first Lord President of the Court of Session, and Sir John Campbell of Calder, uncle of Argyle.—*Gov. State Papers,* vol. v., p. 263.

6 Four thousand pounds were exacted in security for this man remaining at Dalkeith, from whence he was to send no writing, or any manner of person to Edinburgh, on pain of treason. His sureties were Sir Walter Scott of Branxholm and James Douglas of Drumlanrig. Nor was it till the day *after* Parliament had risen, that he was allowed to leave the spot, and cross the Forth. Even there he was to remain in ward, having found security that he would not go beyond the sheriffdom of Fife; thus placing the Cardinal and his friend on opposite sides of the water.—See Pitcairn's Criminal Trials, i., p. 328.

day, the Earl of Bothwell, sent, craving that they might serve the Governor. The only baron absent was the Earl of Argyle, who pled sickness; but on Thursday he sent his procurator and his two uncles to make his excuse. In short, and on the same day, the Earl of Angus and his brother, Sir George, in their joint letter to Lord Lisle, describe the assembly as "the most substantial Parliament that ever was seen in Scotland in any man's remembrance, and best furnished with all the three estates; the multitude, including their serving men, being as much as Edinburgh and Leith could lodge."[7]

This "substantial" Parliament having assembled on Monday the 12th, on Tuesday they proceeded to business, and in three days only dispatched the whole; for though it did not rise till Saturday, after Thursday there is nothing recorded. On Tuesday, as James, the Earl of Arran, had been chosen by an inferior number of Lords only, he was now ratified and confirmed by all the three estates, as Governor and second person in the realm. On the same day, Dunbar, Archbishop of Glasgow, and as Lord Chancellor, made a motion as to the treaty of peace with England, and the marriage of Mary to Edward. By Wednesday they had reinstated the Earl of Angus and his brother, Sir George Douglas, in their honours and estates, after having been kept in banishment by the late King for fifteen years. But Thursday, the fifteenth, was reserved for by far the most memorable transaction, or rather the only one, worthy of our notice.

On that day a bill having been presented by Lord Maxwell for allowing *the Scriptures to be read by all without any limitation*, the Lords of the Articles found, because there was no law shewn or produced to the contrary, that the same may be used by *all the lieges of this realm in our vulgar tongue;* and therefore in full Parliament allowed the bill to be read.[8] The proposer of this measure was the same man who had been so disappointed of command at Solway Moss, through the folly or infatuation of the late King. He was one of those described by Arran as "well minded towards God's word," which, under the sway of Beaton, he "durst not avow;" but little could he have imagined that in less than three months, his Sovereign in the grave, and the mighty Cardinal in prison,

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[7] State Papers, vol. v., p. 264.

[8] Scotish Acts, vol. ii.

his next, or first important step, would be to move in Parliament on such a subject. Maxwell's visit to England has been loosely conjectured to have had some influence on his mind; but his mind, as well as that of many others with him, had been influenced for years before they had seen England; and at all events, his present movement could not have been in obedience to any previous instructions received there, much less any engagement. No, when he departed from London, leaving pledge for his return, if called for, Beaton was in full force as chief ruler of the country, and no such speedy result could have been either foreseen or conjectured. The truth is, that many others in Parliament were of Maxwell's opinion, and hence his success.

But was such a proposal as this to pass, and grow into the shape of an Act of Parliament, without any opposition? Certainly not; and this, at the moment, formed part of its value, as a memorable occurrence. It was not within the power of these men, though they had been unanimous, either to retard or greatly further this cause. That cause was now nearly *seventeen years* old, independently alike of their aid or opposition; and it will go on, when this pusillanimous and unprincipled cousin of Beaton's, the Governor, has turned his coat, and is sanctioning the bloody deeds of the Cardinal, again ruling over him. But in the meanwhile, the opposition was well fitted to instruct the people at large, as to who *were not*, and who *were*, the determined enemies of the will of God being made known to his creatures. There was therefore a select band of men in Parliament now in alarm, though only one, but that one unanimously. We need scarcely name the Bishops and their brethren; for though the body of the Cardinal and Legate had been placed at a convenient distance, the *animus* of his party was present, and in its full strength.

Accordingly up rose Dunbar, the Archbishop and Lord Chancellor, "in his own name, and in name of *all* the prelates of the realm that were present, and dissented *simpliciter*." They now opposed the measure at least "unto the time that a provincial council might be had of all the clergy of this realm, to *advise and conclude* thereupon, *if* the same be necessary to be had in vulgar tongue, to be used among the Queen's lieges *or not;* and thereafter to shew the utter determination what *shall* be done in that behalf; and thereupon he craved

instruments." Thus spake one of the three estates in Parliament to a man, but upon this day altogether in vain, as the bill was immediately passed into a law, and in these terms:—

"It is statute and ordained that it shall be lawful to *all our Sovereign* LADY'S *lieges to have the holy writ, both the New Testament and the Old in the vulgar tongue, in the English or Scotish, of a good and true translation, and that they shall incur no crimes for the having or reading of the same; providing always that no man dispute or hold opinions, under the pains contained in the Acts of Parliament.*"

The party in opposition might complain, and still decline to say mass, nay even refuse to bury the dead, but as soon as Parliament had risen on Saturday, no time was lost in proclaiming to all the people what had been done. On Monday an order came from the Governor to the Clerk-Register, Mr. James Fowles of Colinton, and proclamation was made at the market-cross of *Edinburgh;* but this was not sufficient. Letters were sent off by special messengers, ordaining the Act to be proclaimed within the jurisdiction of the protesting Archbishop, in the *west*—also in *Dundee and Aberdeen, in Elgin, Forres, and Inverness; in Dunfermline and Perth; in Lanark and Dumfries, Kirkcudbright, and Wigton.*"[9]

It is interesting to observe from the reasonings in Parliament, that the English Scriptures in print had been produced before the Assembly; when the friends of "the old learning" did not deny but that they might be read, provided the translation were *true*. It was then demanded what fault could they find with it? When *much search* was made, nothing worthy of reprehension could be found, but that *love*, they said, was put in the place of *charity*, as Tyndale certainly had translated from the beginning. When it was asked, what difference there was, and if they understood the nature of the Greek word *Agape*, (Αγαπη) they were *dumb*. At length the commissioners of burghs and part of the nobility required "that it might be permitted to every man to use the benefit of *the translation of the Old and New Testament which then they had*—till the prelates and kirkmen set forth a translation more correct;" but which, it is well known, they never did. The clergy still opposed and for a long time; but the number of voices prevailed against them, and so by the Act of Parliament, it was made *free to every man or woman to read the Scriptures in their own or the English tongue, and all acts made to the contrary are abolished.*[10]

There was certainly no ambiguity in this parliamentary de-

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[9] Lord Treasurer's Accounts.

[10] See Calderwood, anno 1543. An old Scotish Chronicler, Sir James Balfour, has reported one Friar Gwilliams or Thomas Williams, as having now *translated* the New Testament into the vulgar tongue; but this must be a mistake, probably arising from his being zealous in the *importation* of the Sacred Volume. At the same time there is not a vestige of proof. By other historians he is mentioned only as a preacher, who was silenced and soon departed for England.

cision, nor any want of vigorous dispatch in sounding it out, through the length and breadth of the land. All of a sudden, the trumpet had given a certain sound, from Wigton to Inverness, nor should it pass unnoticed that the voice of the Scotish senate *never* was recalled. The act was never repealed, nor was there any haggling with the subject in Parliament, amidst all the turmoil of many subsequent years. The step, taken, however, considered as a Parliamentary one, becomes doubly striking, as soon as we observe what was doing in England at the same moment. In the northern part of the island, in one single day, they had discussed and settled a subject, on which Henry's obsequious Parliament were deliberating and disputing for weeks, if not months, together.[11] If the Bishops of "the old learning" were discomfited and down in Scotland, at the same precious moment they were up and doing in England. The English Convocation had, it is true, been made to feel and confess its own impotence, again and again, before this period; but at last, having, through its organs in Parliament, for once got the subject before the Senate, they succeeded effectually in befooling it. All their proceedings, however, it is freely granted, recoiled on the head of Henry himself, who did what he pleased, in a Parliament prostrate at his feet; nor in referring to him, as the sovereign agent, is it possible to forget his course of intrigue, in Scotland, year after year. Had he not been prompting his nephew, James V., for the last seven years to compliance? Nay, teasing him to admit the Scriptures to be read in his kingdom? How often he had anxiously felt his pulse on this subject, we need not recount; but now the Scotish monarch is gone, and the very first Parliament after his decease has thus determined, and so promptly. And what is the still surviving uncle, Henry VIII., now doing, or what does he say? Why his Parliament, after abundance of wrangling between Gardiner and Cranmer, have only now discovered that "the Lord Chancellor of England, the Captains of the wars and the King's Justices *may* read the Bible!—That any nobleman, or gentlewoman, or merchantman, being a householder, *may* follow the example! But that *no* woman-servant, *no* artificer,

[11] It was the longest session in Henry's reign, Parliament sitting from the 22d of January to the 12th of May.

no apprentice, *no* journeyman, *no* husbandman, *no* labourer, was to read either the New Testament or the Old, by themselves, or to any other, privately or openly, on pain of one month's imprisonment ! !"

And were these two Parliaments within the compass of the same island, thus acting, and at the same moment? They certainly were; and for additional proof, the reader has only to refer to the preceding volume, under the year 1543. But from the singular coincidence in point of time and theme, with the striking contrast in regard to treatment; if it was intended that posterity should learn a lesson ever after, as to the folly of Parliamentary interference on such a subject, we ask if it be possible to conceive of one more decisive? Nor does the lesson terminate here. Henry the Eighth has an ambassador on the road to Scotland, and in proceeding with our narrative, we find him arrive on the evening of Sunday the 18th of March, or the day after the Scotish Parliament had risen. It was Sir Ralph Sadler once more. That evening he saw the Governor at Holyrood, and heard of all the doings of the preceding eventful week. Next day, when proclamation was made, he had his first deliberate interview, and on Tuesday commenced his first and long letter. By his correspondence, so far as *the reading of the Sacred Volume* was concerned, he will certainly not add to the consistency of his Royal Master's character. For whatever they were deciding in his English Parliament, as a part of the best news Sadler could convey, he informs his Royal Majesty personally, not indeed one syllable respecting the distinction now making in the south, between gentlewomen and maid-servants, between noblemen and labourers, or captains of the wars and husbandmen; but that in Scotland, "the gospel was now set forth in English, and *open proclamations made that it shall be lawful for all men to read the Bible or Testament in the mother tongue*, and special charge that no man preach to the *contrary on pain of death!*" And by the 10th of April, that same Monarch, who was on the point of endeavouring to *restrain* the Bible, threatening to punish every soul among the useful or working classes in his kingdom for daring to look between its leaves, was, in order to accomplish his ambitious designs upon Scotland, urging his ambassador there, respecting "the setting forth of the Scriptures!" Nor was this newly-appointed Governor

in Scotland far behind the English King. His fickleness had, by this month, excited the suspicions of Sadler; but we shall hear of him presently.

These gentlemen, however, having now chosen to say that it was lawful for "all men to *have* the holy writ, and to *read* it, whether in the New Testament or the Old;" the only question is, *where* were copies, either of the one or the other, to be found, sufficient to satisfy the demand? Not a single edition was ordered to be put to press, nor was there any Bible to be printed in Scotland for fully thirty-five years to come. Sadler, it is true, had written, at the Governor's request, for certain copies to be sent, but this was not till a fortnight after Parliament had risen, nor can this render the proclamation intelligible. The Governor had ordered open proclamation to be made, not in Edinburgh alone, but in all the principal towns of the kingdom; but was this to be regarded as no more than a liberty to read what was *no where* to be found? This would have been nothing short of a piece of mockery. Here, therefore at last we meet with a sudden, but certainly no slight or ambiguous confirmation of our previous history. Long before these parliamentary men had thus spoken, human authority for such liberty had never been consulted. It was now above sixteen years since the English New Testament at least had been in Edinburgh and Leith, as well as St. Andrews and Dundee. Maxwell, who had spoken in Parliament, was then a much younger man; and it is curious enough that *at that time*, the Archbishop of St. Andrews, the uncle of Beaton, should have been a fugitive tending sheep, under the disguise of a shepherd; while, at *the present moment*, the nephew, though clothed with the highest pontifical authority, was now a prisoner in safe custody.

At the same time, it should be observed, that but for what had just occurred, no one could have imagined that the importation of the Scriptures had been going on to such *extent;* and, in a historical point of view, it is this which lends any importance to the step taken in Parliament. It was like the drawing aside of a curtain, to let us see what had been accomplished, without any human sanction, either asked or given; and without the agency of even one conspicuous character, to be known in future years. These proclamations were like so

many invitations for the Sacred Volume to be *produced*, if it was already in the country. The precious book which for so many years had been read in secret, or at midnight over the household lamp, might now be held up at noon day.

In such a history as the present, therefore, nothing could be more desirable than to ascertain the precise extent of the circulation of the Sacred Volume, or by whom, at this early period, it was actually and already possessed. Our authority for this, is one which will not here be disputed, although he was a man of whom, till now, we have had no occasion to speak. Even at the present moment, indeed, he had not yet declared himself to be in favour of the Scriptures. About seventeen years must elapse before he will take up his abode in Edinburgh, and at least a few more before he described the fame of 1543; for though born in the year 1505, he had nearly reached his fortieth year before his mind was ripe for any decisive step. It has been conjectured, indeed, that about the year 1535, some favourable change in his sentiments had commenced; but whatever these were, he had not possessed sufficient fortitude openly to profess them, nor to act with decision till about ten years after that period. We now allude, it may be anticipated, to the well known John Knox.

If it has hitherto been imagined by many, that there had been no vital and important movements in Scotland before his appearance, the previous history is left in explanation, and Knox himself will now so far draw aside the curtain. The positive importation of the Sacred Volume in the language of the people, for at least seventeen years past, and that till the men in power were constrained to bow and acknowledge it; or its importation for about seventeen years more before his settlement in Scotland, he has not interpreted; but when sitting down to review the past, he had a distinct and lively remembrance of the memorable occurrence in 1543. Indeed, such an event was well fitted to stimulate even the timid and the wavering mind.

About six or eight years had elapsed after Knox's settlement before he commenced that history, the whole of which passes under his name; and since by the year 1543, though not yet decided in his views of Divine truth, he must have become no unobservant spectator of his country, no man was more able to

narrate with fidelity what had been so visible to many eyes. Looking back, therefore, about twenty-five years,[12] and speaking of the freedom, then at last proclaimed, for all to read the Scriptures, he says—"This was no small victory of Christ Jesus, fighting against the conjured enemies of his verity; not small comfort to such as *before* were holden in such bondage, that they durst not have read the Lord's prayer, the ten commandments, nor articles of their faith, in the English tongue, but they should have been accused of heresy. THEN *might have been seen the Bible lying upon almost every gentleman's table. The New Testament was borne about in many men's hands!*"[13]

Now, these volumes, of course, had been in Scotland before, and most of them long before this period; otherwise such a display could not have been made, for a very considerable time to come; so that, up to this period, the progress of Divine truth had been entirely independent of human approbation, or rather in spite of human authority; and the cause will now proceed as it had done, whatever should occur, or whatever men in power may yet either say or do to the contrary.[14]

The present crisis had served to show that Beaton was nothing more than as "clay in the hands of the potter;" but after all, the triumph in its full extent, was little more than a gleam of sunshine. The parliamentary "liberty" granted, was very much akin to the present *Russian* idea of that term. There was unlimited freedom to *have* and to *read* the Sacred text, but none whatever to form any opinion, or, at least, *ex-*

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[12] From an expression of Knox himself, Dr. M'Crie, in one place, supposes him to have been engaged with his history in the year 1568.

[13] Knox's History; the first book of which was written by himself, the second, third, and fourth from his papers, by Richard Bannatyne, and the fifth by Mr. David Buchanan.

[14] It has been said that John Knox was at St. Andrews as early as 1528, nay, and a spectator of the martyrdom of Patrick Hamilton. Of this, however, he has not himself informed us, and the fact yet remains to be ascertained. But whether he was at Glasgow or St. Andrews, neither the death of our proto-Martyr, nor the voice of Seton, nor the cruel usage of Ales, had made any favourable impression. We have already explained his earliest movements in connexion with Geneva, (see before p. 320, note,) and as connected with his native land, we now subjoin other particulars. Called to the work of the ministry at St. Andrews, in the year 1547, he was soon after carried out of Scotland, and did not return to it for above eight years. "Remaining only nine months, or from November 1555 to July following, he embarked for the Continent, and did not return till the 2d of May 1559. In 1560, he was settled as minister in Edinburgh. Thus, it appears, that as the Scriptures had been reading for about eighteen years before he declared himself, so they continued to be read for sixteen more before he took up his abode in the country. In other words, for a space of time equal to an entire generation, the Divine record had been, first in secret, and then more openly, fulfilling its purpose, at the bidding of *Him* alone, who thus, so providentially, first gave it to North Britain. After his final return, Knox preached his first sermon at St. Andrews, in June 1559; but it is never to be forgotten, that this was about thirty-three years after the first copies in print of the Sacred Volume had arrived in that City, as well as at Edinburgh; nay, and twenty years after it had been publicly announced that it was *this* which then occasioned *all the din and play* throughout the kingdom.

press it! In strict propriety of speech, the terms of the Act were a mixture of presumption and cruelty, or of profanity and persecution: of presumption in any men taking it upon them to legislate on a subject so sacred; of cruelty, in resolving to punish their fellow-subjects for their opinions, and, according to the report of Sadler, with death itself.

The most memorable circumstance however was, what we have already hinted, that the Act never was repealed. As it was therefore "lawful for all men to *have* the holy writ," it never could be illegal to *import* it, and we have to witness presently the extent to which this importation must have gone. Meanwhile, and just as if to render all future progress only the more observable, the Regent of Scotland, the self-same governor who had sent out these proclamations, in less than six months had entirely changed his politics! Indeed, the very next month after Parliament rose, he had begun to betray symptoms of wavering; and though he, and some others, had sold their country for English gold, since Beaton was once more at liberty, as well as in great wrath at what had been done while he was in confinement, it will not be long before the Earl of Arran will be entirely at his command. In short, the Lords of the "substantial" Parliament were soon at variance, and though the treaties both of peace and marriage with England, concluded at Greenwich on the 1st of July, were ratified by Arran on Friday the 25th of August, and at the same time he proclaimed Beaton a *traitor;* in ten days after, or Sunday the 3d of September, he threw himself into the arms of the Archbishop! They met at Callender House, went together to Stirling, where, in the Franciscan convent, the Governor abjured in favour of "the old learning," and from the man he had imprisoned in January, received absolution in September for all that he had done!

The year 1543 is indeed a marked and conspicuous one, as having been fatal to the reputation of every sovereign in Europe, with the Pontiff in the midst of them all. Without exception, their characters suffered shipwreck in open day; for wherever we turn our eye, hypocrisy, however shallow, and want of principle, are conspicuous. Under our English history, we had occasion to glance at this spectacle, but it is not unworthy of being looked at once more, now that Scotland also must be included. These rulers being all gathered before us, as into one focus, and at the same time, renders the lesson more striking. It is one which was well fitted to convey some lasting instruction to posterity.

On looking abroad, we see the King of France standing before us, with the *Pontiff* on one side, and the *Turk* on the other, in closest political alliance; and if we ask for a fellow to this picture, we have it in the person of our English monarch. There he is, with the Emperor, Charles V., on one hand, and the Regent of Scotland on the other. At this moment, from political motives, and however the Cardinals at Rome might profess to be scandalized, even to the *Turk*, the *Pontiff* himself was far from being inimical; while he was enraged with the Emperor, now in alliance, offensive and defensive, with the condemned or anathematized heretic sovereign of England. The Emperor, that steady enemy of *all* change, or of every opinion denounced as heretical, was, professedly, no less angry with Francis, because, as Charles himself expressed it, he "had not *deserted* Rome, and consented to a reformation according to his promise!" Henry, greatly incensed with Francis, for his desertion of himself, was, to serve his own ambition, courting alliance with the Regent of Scotland. He had been urging him, as he had done James V., to "set forth the Scriptures" throughout all Scotland, while, at the same moment, he was not only restraining their perusal, within his own kingdom, as far as his feeble power went; but was taking them from all those who had as much need to be saved, and were as likely to profit, as any "nobleman, or gentlewoman, or captain of the wars," in all England. This was *class* legislation with a vengeance, which soon fell upon his own head. As for the Governor of Scotland, who had first signed a treaty with England, denouncing Beaton as a *traitor*, and in ten days afterwards espoused his cause and the French interest, he was now preparing, with his cousin, the Cardinal, to resist the incensed ambition of his former ally. Henry's voice was now for war, and in Scotland war to the knife; so that the same English monarch who, this year, had been professing to Scotland such zeal for the Scriptures, by the next had given orders to "beat down and overthrow the castle of Edinburgh, to burn and sack the capital, with Holyrood and Leith, and the villages around, putting *man, woman, and child to the sword, without exception!* To overthrow St. Andrews so as the upper stone may be the nether, and not one stick stand by another!" To lay waste the country with fire and sword!

Thus, glaringly, did all those men, whether at home or abroad, remove everything sacred or praiseworthy far from them, and probably the most consistent man among them all was the Grand Turk; but certainly it has been a strange perversion, in too many historians, to mention the sacred name of Christianity, or the Sacred Volume, in connexion with any one of these rulers; as though *he* cared for either the one or the other. No injury to the reader can be greater than that of confounding the history of the Sacred Scriptures, or the Christianity of the Scriptures, with such men. It was God ruling in the midst of his ene-

mies, and, with regard to his own cause, most evidently holding them all in derision.

Turning away from this conspicuous display of human depravity, there is but little more to add, than that the King in England, and the Cardinal in Scotland, who hated each other with a perfect hatred, were now alike hastening to their ruin, and to die within eight months of each other. Beaton once more in possession of unlimited power, was sure to take advantage of the word *opinions*, so strangely inserted, like a sting in the tail of the late Act of Parliament; and with this precious Governor at his feet, he took him forth in 1545, as he had formerly done James V., to witness and sanction his murders. To say nothing of those who were banished, these amounted to at least seven in number, and through the Cardinal's influence, it is worthy of remark, partook of a new character. It had been the practice of that community to which he belonged, to *burn* people to ashes for their opinions; but whether it was cowardice in Beaton that he durst not do this, or rather cunning, that he might *identify the State* with what he did; yet so it was, that of five persons put to death at Perth, four were hanged, and one was drowned. The last was a female, the first and only martyr of that sex of which we read. She was the wife of one of the sufferers, with an infant at her breast, who, before she was thrown into the water, gave the infant to another, and expressed great joy in following her husband to a better world.[15] A sixth individual, a priest, John Rogers, is said to have been dispatched within the Castle of St. Andrews, or thrown over the wall, so as to occasion his death; but the *only* instance of death by *fire* was, conspicuously, Beaton's own act, shortly before his own murder. This was George Wishart, whose martyrdom, on the 1st of March 1546, is to be found in our general histories, taken in connexion with the Government state papers and manuscripts, but recently published. One point only is deserving of notice here, as illustrative of the pinnacle on which Beaton stood, just before he was thrown down or slain within his own strong castle, while in the act of rendering it stronger still. This is to be seen in the inso-

[15] The names of these worthy citizens of Perth were—William Anderson, Robert Lamb, James Ronald, James Finlayson, and his wife Helen, formerly named Stark.

lence with which he trampled on his victim, the Governor, and now treated his authority. Arran had advised delay, and that the cause of Wishart should be thoroughly examined, intimating that if the Cardinal acted with precipitation, the blood of this man would be required at his hands. However deeply chagrined at this message, Beaton coolly replied, "that he had not written to him about this matter, as supposing himself to be *any way dependent* upon his authority, but from a desire that the prosecution and conviction of heretics might have a *show* of public consent! But since he could not obtain it, he would proceed in that way which to *him* appeared to be most proper!"[16] He did proceed, and shortly after followed to his own judgment in another world. His death by violence, which took place on the morning of the 29th of May 1546, may be traced to the long cherished desire of Henry VIII., so well known by his agents at the time; or to the violent existing quarrel between Norman Lesly, Master of Rothes, and the Cardinal, respecting a piece of land, heightened, no doubt, by his treatment of Wishart; but the event was nothing more than might have been expected, while it is impossible to overlook the circumstance, that the man who would not allow another to be deliberately and legally tried, was himself put to death, without trial or ceremony of any kind.

To return, however, from this slight anticipation of our narrative. It is here that the necessity for following out the history of Scotland, in any point, save one, comes to an end. To many readers this assertion may appear not a little extraordinary, but such is the fact; that thus early, in North Britain, so far as *the Sacred Scriptures* are concerned, we are relieved from all necessity for any reference to politics or political men, or almost any allusion to what has been styled either Church or State. This is a peculiarity in Scotish history, as yet observed by very few readers of the Bible, either there or elsewhere, and it remains to be explained.

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16 And therefore without any "*show* of public consent." Could he only have obtained this, he might have yielded to the Governor so far as to have hanged Wishart, instead of committing him to the flames, just as he had already done with the victims at Perth; but in such a course, the Governor, advised, or rather overawed by the advice and solemn warning of David Hamilton, the Laird of Preston, would yield consent to Beaton no longer.

QUEEN MARY, JAMES VI., TO THE COMMONWEALTH.

FROM 1543 TO 1650—SINGULAR HISTORY OF THE SCRIPTURES IN SCOTLAND, DURING THIS ENTIRE PERIOD—NOT SUPPLIED FROM ITS OWN NATIVE PRESS, BUT BY IMPORTATION, FOR MORE THAN A HUNDRED YEARS—STATE OF LITERATURE AND EDUCATION—THE APOCRYPHA.

THE PRESENT VERSION OF THE BIBLE BECOME THE ONLY ONE IN USE, AND AT A PERIOD INDISPUTABLY SIGNIFICANT OF DIVINE SUPERINTENDENCE OVER THE ENTIRE KINGDOM.

FROM the year 1543, and for more than three successive *generations*, the history of the English Bible north of the Tweed, is of a very marked or memorable character, and peculiar to Scotland among all the other nations of Europe. Certainly not one of them has the same story to tell. Throughout, it forms a remarkable continuation of that independence of human patronage, which has been so steadily repudiated from the beginning; while no country has been more signally indebted to the gracious providence of God.

In 1543, when it was first proclaimed to be lawful to peruse the Scriptures, although they had been reading in secret for fully sixteen years, it is to be observed that no edition of the Bible entire, or of the New Testament separately, was ordered to be printed. Cardinal Beaton having immediately regained his authority, such a proposal was not to be whispered for a moment. But as he was removed by death only three years after, this will not account for its being, not three, or five, but *thirty-five* years, before any Bible was issued from the Scotish press! This, too, was in folio, nor did a second edition follow, and of the same unwieldy character, till 1610, or above thirty years more had passed away. Nay, only the third edition, and at last in the octavo size, did not appear till the year 1633; or ninety years from the day on which it was said to be lawful *to have and to read* the Bible in English! There was then also a fourth edition, in 1637, and one in duodecimo next year. Thus it was, that for more than a hundred years, or a space of time equal to that of three generations, there were no more than five editions of the

Bible issued from the printing presses *in the country;* not to say that two of these were in folio, no size even approaching to that which the people required, having made its appearance till so late as 1633. The first pocket Bible was not printed till 1638.

Such then was the condition of our Scotish ancestors, so far as their own *native* press was concerned. No Bible, even so convenient as that of an *octavo* size, had been printed in Scotland, for the use of the community, till one hundred and seven years after the New Testament of Tyndale had been first conveyed to Edinburgh and St. Andrews, as well as other ports.[1] What then had become of the people at large? Had they been left destitute of the book of life to such an extent as this, and for an entire century after it first reached their shores? Far, very far from it. In proportion to its population, perhaps in no other country had it been more generally possessed, if not eagerly perused; and the explanation will afford us now in review, one of the most signal displays of the goodness of God to our northern ancestors. Once pointed out, it certainly will be difficult for the present generation to escape from the obligation to send the Sacred Volume *over sea and land* to other nations.

The very commencement of this long period was auspicious for Scotland. It should not be forgotten, that, as soon as the Earl of Arran was overruled to make his proclamations throughout the country, no trifling display was given of the Scriptures having been already there, and to an extent which could not have been imagined. But at the same moment, Henry in England had frowned on the *general* perusal of the Sacred Volume, because, as it has been said, "he being now to go abroad, upon a weighty expedition to France, thought it convenient to leave his subjects at home as *easy* as might be." This frown, though it was disregarded by many, even in England, must have been quite in favour of *Scotish* usage. Whatever supernumerary copies there were, might have been sent down to the north, where Henry had no objection that the subjects should be as *little at ease* as possible. The printers in England must have been perfectly aware of the crooked

[1] One edition had been printed, it is true, but at Dort, by Hart and Charteris, expressly for Scotland, in 1601, to be afterwards mentioned, but this ranks with the other *imported* editions.

policy of their Sovereign, and, from self-interest, would act accordingly. Not only the Bible, but what Sadler styles "his Majesty's books of religion," Henry was eager should now be read in the North, and by the month of August, or just before the Regent had turned his coat, his Majesty had been personally anxious to know *how* they were "liked" there. The distinction drawn, in reply, between them and *the Scriptures*, should not be overlooked. Although the gentlemen of the old learning were, says Sadler, "well pleased with the *restraint* of the Scriptures in England, and yet would have liked it much better, if it had been *generally* restrained from *all* sorts," there was another class "*much offended with the same;*" while, at the same moment, the "books of religion," so called, the ambassador confesses were "not much liked by *any* party," and as for the Governor or Regent, he did not desire "to have any more of them."

Beaton, it is granted, might prevail with the Regent to discountenance the circulation of the Scriptures, but Providence soon found him enough to do, whether in maintaining his seat, or providing for his own safety. Besides, he died in the short space of three years; and as the first Bible printed on Scotish ground was not published till the year 1579, or seven years after the death of Knox; not to say that this was in folio, and appointed to be sold for the sum of £4, 13s. 4d., or seven marks; how, all this time, had it fared with the people, or the thousands who, even now, could afford no such sum? It may indeed appear scarcely credible, but by even this early period it comes out, that the Sacred Volume in the vulgar tongue, was *almost in every house!* A better testimony to the truth of this fact could not be desired, since it is to be found in the Dedication to James VI. of this first Bible. After acknowledging the "great occasion" they had "to glorify the goodness of God towards their country," the Assembly addressing the King exclaims—

"O what difference may be seen between *these* days of light, *when almost in every private house the Book of God's Law is read, and understood in our vulgar tongue*, and that age of darkness, when scarcely in a whole city, (without the cloisters of monks and friars,) could the Book of God once be found, and that in a strange tongue of Latin, not good, but mixed with barbarity; used and read by few, and almost understood or exponed by none; and when the false named clergy of this realm, abusing the gentle nature of your Highness' most noble goodsire, of worthy memory, made it a capital crime, to be punished with the

fire, to have or read the New Testament in the vulgar language; and to make them to all men more odious, as if it had been the detestable name of a pernicious sect, they were named NEW TESTAMENTERS."[2] And certainly, with the exception of *Christian* itself, a more honourable appellative, by way of reproach, was never bestowed on the people of any country.

The fact was, that the *folio* Bible now published was intended chiefly "to the end, that in every parish kirk there should be at least one kept, to be called 'the common book of the kirk,' as a most meet ornament for such a place, and a perpetual *register* of the Word of God, the fountain of all true doctrine, to be made patent to all the people of every congregation, as the ONLY *right rule* to direct and govern them in matters of religion, as also to confirm them in the truth received, and to reform and redress corruptions, whensoever they may creep in."

But still the question returns—How had the Sacred Volume found its way into so many private families? There was no word of command from rulers, no voice of human authority, and yet still, from the beginning, or for fifty years past, from time to time, the Word of God had, it is evident, come into the country. There was no such thing once thought of *then* as gratuitous distribution. The people desired to have the Book of God, and must have gladly paid the price, but it came to them actually *terrâ marique*, over land, nay, and over sea. They were supplied not only from *England*, but from the printing presses of *Holland*, as they continued to be from both countries, for more than half a century to come. Hence the next edition executed in Scotland was still a folio, and not printed till 1610, or only a few months before our present version; the first edition of *that* version not appearing till 1633, and the first pocket Bible not till five years later. In

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[2] See the dedication to what is commonly styled Bassandyne's Bible, for the original orthography. While this Bible was printing, or in 1578, the Assembly had come to the following among other conclusions, which were inserted in their records the second year after it was published, or in 1581.—"The power ecclesiastical floweth immediately from God and the mediator Jesus Christ, and is spiritual, *not having a temporal Head on the earth*, but only Christ, the *only* spiritual King and Governor of his Kirk."—"Therefore this power and policy of the Kirk should lean upon the Word *immediately*, as the ONLY ground thereof; and should be taken from the pure fountains of the Scriptures, the Kirk hearing the voice of Christ the only spiritual King, and being ruled by his laws."—"It is proper to Kings, Princes, and Magistrates, to be called lords and dominators over their subjects, whom they govern *civilly:* but it is proper to Christ only to be called Lord and Master in the spiritual government of the Kirk; and all others that bear office therein, ought not to usurp dominion, nor be called lords, but only ministers, disciples, and servants. For it is CHRIST'S *proper office* to command and rule his Kirk universal, and *every particular Kirk*, through *his Spirit and Word*, by the ministry of men.

this point of view, certainly no other people in Europe can look back to such a century.[3]

After this we need not repeat that the course pursued by an indulgent Providence was one, in no sense relying on the patronage or power of the authorities in Scotland; but this fact will become still more striking if we now glance at the history of these two folio Bibles, printed in the country itself.

The first intimation of any printer in Scotland obtaining a direct license to publish any part of the Scriptures in the vernacular tongue is dated 22d March 1564. This license was nothing more than what was customary with relation to every *other* book, but there is not even the shadow of proof that any part was ever put to press, a circumstance rendered next to certain from what followed. Four years after this, or 14th April 1568, Robert Lekprevik, the printer referred to, was licensed to print the translation commonly called the Geneva Bible; and as this right was declared to be for twenty years, although *importation* was *not* prohibited, since, from *printing* the Bible, every other person in Scotland was, what hope was there that there would be an edition by Lekprevik, or by any other man, before the year 1588? Certainly none. Lekprevik, too, let it be observed, had been constituted "King's Printer" three months before his license; and in the course of business printed

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[3] How many editions of the English Bible were thus printed beyond seas, whether for South or North Britain, it is impossible to say, as, with a few exceptions, they had the *London* imprint, and can only be detected by an experienced eye, but that there were many thousands is well known. At first, some of these editions may have been undertaken with the concurrence of the English patentee, if not at his expense, but, in the end, the Dutch were reading a severe lecture to this country, on the superiority of *competition* to *monopoly*. The workmanship in Holland had become of a superior character, and threatened to carry the printing of Bibles out of the kingdom. Hence the language of Laud already quoted:—"*the books that came from thence were better print, better bound, better paper, and for all the charges of bringing, sold better cheap.*" A free press at home would have effectually met this grievance, while at the same time the course pursued by Holland, in this, as in every other department, may well serve as a warning to any people against *avarice*. The object of her people was to acquire, *never* to dispense; and they sought to gather wealth in every possible direction. Though they grew no timber, yet they, at last, used more ships than almost all the rest of Europe put together, and certainly never any country traded so much, and consumed so little. They had no *flax* of their own growth, yet made the finest linen in the world; grew no *wool*, yet made immense quantities of good cloth. "They are," said Sir William Temple, "They are the great masters of Indian spices and Persian silks, yet wear plain woolen, and feed on their own fish and roots. They sell the finest of their own cloth to France, and buy coarse cloth out of England for their own wear. They send abroad the best of their own butter, and buy the cheapest out of Ireland and the north of England for their own use. In short, they furnish infinite luxury, which they never practise, and traffic in pleasures which they never taste." And what ensued after all? Why should the "*High and Mighty*," as they styled themselves, ever come to petition as "*the poor and oppressed* States of Holland?" Let a nation fall into the parsimonious and hoarding course of the solitary miser, its downfall is certain. Of nations, as well as individuals, it is true that "there is that scattereth, and yet increaseth; there is that withholdeth more than is meet, and it tendeth to poverty." If the eyes of ENGLAND, *as a nation*, therefore, be open, she must see that her only safety NOW depends upon her being not only just, but *generous*—generous as a nation towards other nations. Sympathy *is* a talent, and when possessed by a nation, one of the strongest guarantees for its own prosperity and peace, when laws, and human policy, or grasping avarice, are alike in vain.

books at Edinburgh, St. Andrews, and Stirling, but still, from whatever cause, and although licensed, he never printed a Bible at all! What was the precise value implied in the title or office of "King's Printer" at that period has never been ascertained, but whatever it was, the Scriptures were to be printed independently of that office. It so happened, that in 1574, this King's printer had published, without license, "A Dialogue between a Clerk and a Courtier, in verse, to the reproach and slander of our Sovereign Lord's Regent." He fell under the displeasure of the Government, and for some time was confined in Edinburgh castle. He *may* then have forfeited his office, though he continued to print for many years after. But, at all events, soon after Lekprevik had lost favour, the printing of the Scriptures was to be taken up in good earnest, and by a man who was not now the King's printer, nor ever was.

This first Bible, therefore, and in folio, appeared at last. It is a *verbatim* reprint of the Geneva translation of 1561, or that book which we have already referred to as promoted by the father of Sir Thomas Bodley, only it is more correct. Like the first Bible of 1537 for England, by Grafton and Whitchurch, this, therefore, was a personal enterprise, originating with two men, burgesses of Edinburgh, Thomas Bassandyne and Alexander Arbuthnot; the latter, it should seem, the man of most substance, the former, a printer by profession. Bassandyne, a native of Scotland, had gone first to Paris and then to Leyden, where he acquired the art of printing, and returning to his own country, had already begun business for some time, in the Netherbow of Edinburgh. He commenced now with the New Testament, which was finished, and dated 1576, but its issue had been hindered or delayed till the Old was completed, in three years after, or 1579. By about this time Bassandyne died, and the book was published with Arbuthnot's name only at the beginning. It had been finished in July, and in six weeks after, having applied to the Privy Council for a license, as it was necessary for all *other* books, he obtained one, and at the same time also the title of King's Printer.[4] It is therefore entitled

"The Bible and Holy Scriptures contained in the Old and Newe Testament. Printed at Edinburgh be Alexander Arbuthnot, Printer to the King's Majestie, dwelling at the Kirk of Field. 1579. Cum gratia et privilegio regiæ Majestatis."[5]

It will be remembered that this was a Bible not for general use at home, but for the "Kirk," wherever it was; and it deserves notice, that a large proportion of the money requisite for the work was furnished

[4] Hence it appears as if Lekprevik had lost the office in 1574.

[5] This last phrase is not to be understood as denoting any privilege either peculiar to the book itself, or to Arbuthnot. It was common to other books, to almost all, as well as used by the other printers.

while it was printing; *not*, however, out of the public purse, but by contribution of the parishioners, through their ministers, whether bishops, superintendents, or visitors. It was, in fact, a present from the *people* to their respective places of worship, and as a proof of their zealous desire it deserves to be recorded, that in many, if not in most instances, the money was furnished about three years before the Bibles were fully delivered.

It was not till thirty-one years after, as before mentioned, that the next, or second Bible printed in Scotland, appeared, from the press of Andrew Hart, dated 1610. This much admired folio carries equal evidence of its being an independent personal undertaking. Hart, as already stated, was not the King's printer now, nor ever was; but it is curious enough that he published this book in the face of Robert Charteris, then printer to his Majesty, who, in June 1606, had received a special license for twenty-five years, to print Bibles in the vulgar tongue; but, like his predecessor before Bassandyne's time, he never printed even one solitary edition.

Here, then, was an exact repetition of what occurred before, as to Lekprevik, the royal printer. In this final instance, like many preceding throughout this history, it must now appear that the Sacred Volume was a subject, with which royalty, for the sake of its own consistency, should have been cautious of intermeddling. Touching with it had invariably elicited *personal* character. Thus, the solitary Bible printed in his own country, while James VI. was yet a boy of thirteen, had been the Geneva translation, and under every sermon to which he had ever listened, for more than twenty years, this was the Bible from which the text was read; but once so elated with being James I. of England, of this version in 1603, he had chosen to express his opinion very contemptuously. Now, however, it comes out, that three years afterwards, and while the Scriptures were actually under revision in England, like Henry VIII., who, at the same moment, could speak one way in England and another in Scotland, James followed his example; and Robert Charteris, the royal printer, and Thomas Finlason, were licensed at Edinburgh, on the 17th of June, 1606, to print Bibles in the vulgar tongue, where only the *Geneva* would sell. So far as James's license went, indeed, this signified nothing, for *nothing* followed; neither Charteris or Finlason ever printed the Scriptures, while Hart, well knowing, though the sovereign had spoken out, that his customers in Scotland thought for themselves, published his Bible. So admired was it, and for so long, that a very fine edition was printed by an Englishman, Thomas Stafford, at Amsterdam, as late as the year 1640, claiming this distinction on its title, "conform to the edition printed by Andrew Hart." This book was no doubt intended for the British market, being folio, and it conveys a proof that the Geneva was still reading even in public

worship, thirty years after our present version had been issued, and fifteen years after James was in his grave. So thoroughly free and independent, all along, so separate or disengaged from all other national affairs, has been the history of the English Bible.

The evidence of this, under our history in England, has been already completed, and placed in such a light as, it is presumed, can never be refuted. The same character has been discovered in Scotland, nor does the proof close even here, although we are now arrived at the period when our present version was first published in London. The folio Bible, therefore, finished by Hart only a few months before, still invites notice. It was not a reprint of the preceding, or Bassandyne's, throughout. In the Old Testament it was, but the New was similar to that published in England, by Laurence Tomson, almost the same with the Geneva text, but having what were styled the Notes of Beza in the margin. *No* license whatever for printing this book has ever been found, though there may have been one; but, at all events, the next year, or 1611, when the first edition of our present version *had* come forth in England, we find the following enactment by the *diocesan* Synod of St. Andrews.

"Forasmuch as it was thought expedient that there be in every kirk a common Bible, it was concluded that every brother shall urge his parishioners to buy one of the Bibles *lately printed by Andro Hart;* and the brother failing either to cause buy one, as said is, or else to give in his exact diligence, shall pay at the next synod 6 *lib.* money;" that is, ten shillings sterling.

Thus, although James had been acknowledged as supreme governor in the south of the island, and a *new* translation had been published there, here was the Geneva required to be used in all these Scotish places of worship.

If it should now be asserted that the people of the north might not even yet have been fully apprised of the new Version being out, more especially as *no* proclamation was ever issued, even in England; there can be no question that by 1612, all parties were fully aware of the fact; but what had occurred in Scotland by this time? In the month of June, Charteris, the King's printer, through some misconduct, having forfeited his office, Finlason had succeeded to it, and obtained a new license, extending for twenty-five years from the 17th of June 1612, but not one word is mentioned respecting the new Version! He was licensed indeed, though not to the exclusion of others, to print "the books of Holy Scripture, containing the Old and New Testament, in *all* languages;" but he did nothing more than prolong the mockery of such grants, which had now been practised for more than fifty years. He *never* printed the Scriptures in any language whatever. Lekprevik, Gibson, Charteris, Finlason, had all been King's printers in succession; every one of them had been licensed to print the Bible, but not

one of them ever did so.[5] Our history, in its progress, disengages itself from all these men; but the *last* license bestowed, becomes by far the most observable, owing to an *unprecedented* clause inserted. By this clause, it becomes evident, not only that the Scriptures might be legally imported, as for nearly seventy years, since 1543, they had been; but now, by the express terms of this license, ANY printer, bookseller, or other person, might *legally* print the Scriptures, or cause them to be printed, either in Holland, in England, or at home. The prohibition clause is expressly and entirely abrogated.[6] The observant reader will mark this fact. "What then," he will say, "could possibly be the inducement, and in the year *after* our present version had been published in England, to make this exception in favour of Scotland, the effect of which was to leave the printing of the Scriptures *entirely free?* If even a license were at all necessary for any one edition, it was open to any, or many, to apply, but the probability is that Hart had printed his last impression without any thing of the kind. Nothing similar to this was doing, or done, in England." No, *nor ever has been done there, since the days of Edward the Sixth, up to the present hour.* By leaving the path open to all, was it intended to induce or invite some individual in Scotland, from preference, and of his own free choice, to print the present version of the Bible, then recently published? So it might seem, but no man can tell; the motive is no where stated. Such, however, are the facts of the case, and at this juncture they are of historical importance. That the propriety, necessity, or wisdom, of *non-interference*, should have been made to appear, *and at this period*, is worthy of special notice. It was nine years after James is represented to have spoken, and so wildly, at Hampton Court, respecting the English translations of the Bible, especially that which he had read from his childhood; and a full year after our present version, with such a fulsome dedication to himself, had made its appearance. Thus in the north, as well as in the south, the people were left to choose the present version of the Sacred Volume—*when they* WERE SO DISPOSED.

In reference, however, to Scotland, that her sons should have been supplied, and so richly, with the book of God, in a way altogether independent of her native press, not to say her reigning government, and for more than a hundred years, is one of the most singular points in her history. From the

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[5] For most of the facts relating to these Scotish patents, the author has followed the accurate information given by the Rev. Dr. Lee in 1824-6. As the first memorial happened to be interdicted at the time, and the second was not printed for sale, the contents of both are not known beyond a select circle. Founded on original documents, printed at the end of each memorial, the inquisitive reader will there find many other curious particulars.

[6] "*Excepting always* the Bible, the New Testament and the Psalm-book, which shall no ways be comprehended under this present gift, but specially reserved and excepted forth thereof, under the pain of five hundred marks money of this realm."

year 1526 down to 1633, and even later, the people at large had been supplied entirely from without. The *New Testamenters* acquired their honourable distinction from reading an *imported* book. Their Bibles, after this, were prepared for them at a distance, with paper and types foreign to their country, and yet as early as 1579, the book was "almost in every house." The tide of importation, however, was then only setting in with a stronger current, for after that it rose to a far greater height.[8]

After these statements, it cannot but appear passing strange

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[8] Nor let it be imagined that the Scriptures *only* thus arrived. Food for the mind, speaking generally, came from a distance, and so spirited was the importation, so numerous the editions of some other books, that, including England itself, the *disposition to read* could scarcely have been stronger in any other country at the time. This becomes very evident throughout the last thirty years of the sixteenth century, during the whole of which time, Elizabeth of England was so apprehensive of the power of the press, that, at last, books were printed in Edinburgh, which the printers upon English ground were afraid to risk. But first, in proof of importation, so early as June 1573 we find a license for one Hooper to carry books from England down to Scotland in the way of regular business. By 1580 a native of France, and printer well known in London, Thomas Vautrollier, had obtained liberty to import books there, and he himself was probably in Scotland next year; but in 1584 he had come down from London to live in Edinburgh. Obliged to decamp, it has been said, for having printed the *Spaccio* of Jordano Bruno, a profane Italian writer, though the General Assembly asserted that he was "banished for religion," he yet continued to print in both capitals, having left his wife to negotiate his business in London. One of his first productions at Edinburgh was "*The Temporiser*, or he that changeth with the times, 1584;" and in the same year he printed for King James, then in his eighteenth year, the first edition of his "Essays of a prentise." In 1587 John Norton of London, in conjunction with Andrew Hart of Edinburgh, were bringing books from Germany, to Scotland equally with England, from "whence Edinburgh was supplied with better books than heretofore, as *cheap* as they were sold in London." Hart, indeed, was one of the most useful and respectable men of his day, and deserved well of his country. But a short time elapsed when he petitioned the Privy Council, on the 8th of February 1589, *i. e.* 1590. Representing to them the hurt sustained by the *scarcity* of books, and the exorbitant *prices* paid for those brought from England, which were thus sold at *third* hand, because brought *there* from the continent; he petitioned that books should be imported direct from abroad, *duty free*. He succeeded, not only for himself, but others. The Lords ordained the officers of customs at "*Edinburgh, and the other burghs*, to desist asking custom for any books or volumes brought, or to be brought, within this realm." We need not exclaim—What a contrast to the proceedings of Queen Elizabeth and her counsel at the moment! But at the distance of more than 250 years, we ask, if as much can be said now? Here, however, was proof powerful of thirst for reading, and the liberty granted becomes more observable from the King, under some temporary alarm, having, in July 1587, procured an act of Parliament against the sellers or dispersers of erroneous books. Thus, at all events, not only Bibles but other books were procured at far less expense and trouble from Holland and France than from England, and the effects soon became evident. It was shortly after this that John Norton, already mentioned, having, in June 1591, obtained a separate license from the Privy Council, his factors received "full power, liberty, and license, from the King, to use his traffic of importing and selling *all sorts* of books, in *all* languages;" upon which Norton opened a shop in Edinburgh for vending by *retail*. Not being a freeman of the city, this was complained of as an infringement, though no objection was made to his *wholesale* trade. Again, however, in 1597 Hart, for some reason, finding it necessary to petition the Lords of the Exchequer against the Custom-house, they ordained, as the Privy Council had done before, that *no* duty should be asked, or taken, for any book brought, or to be brought, in *any time coming*, into this realm. Accordingly, importation continued. Books were printing abroad expressly for the Scotish market, and also for Scotish authors, in Holland and Paris, to an extent now but little known. As for the Scriptures, we find Hart printing at Dort, in conjunction with the heirs of Henry Charteris, an edition of the English Geneva Bible in 1601; a New Testament in 1603; and finally in Edinburgh, his folio editions of 1610 and 1613. The first New Testament of our present version printed in Scotland, was by his heirs, in 1628.

that it should have been supposed, nay asserted, and in print, even in our own day, that from the time when the people of Scotland (in 1543) *obtained leave* to read the Bible, very few people in those days *could* read at all!! And that *very few* copies were introduced into Scotland, till after the year 1560!! Such is the ignorance still betrayed respecting one of the most heart-stirring periods of her history, and which, *as* the earliest, ought to have been regarded with the deeper interest. These, however, are only like the assertions of a man, who never all his lifetime enquired what was then doing, or done. Why, for sixteen years, without asking *leave*, the people had been reading the New Testament, at least to this extent, that, their enemies themselves being judges, they declared, it was *this* that occasioned *all* the din *throughout the land*. Before 1543 also, or before one word was spoken about *leave*, they had been reading the Bible entire; only they could then carry in their hand, what formerly they had read in concealment. Nay, after leave was proclaimed, and after the man by whose orders this was done, had changed his tone, reading went on as before, and to an extent not only as to the Sacred Scriptures, but even as to other books, with which many in the present day are but little acquainted, and but too few have ever observed.[9]

After the opening of the seventeenth century, not only importation of books from abroad, but printing of books at home having proceeded with accelerated progress, we have the surest index to the art of reading having advanced with equal steps. Indeed, some time after this, it is by no means difficult to prove that anxious attention had been bestowed upon education down to the humblest rank, and the art of reading had become very general. It may be thought by some a picture too highly coloured; but according to Kirkton the historian, by the time that our present version of the Bible was prevail-

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[9] According to the statements of Dr. Lee; of Buchanan's version of the Psalms, from 1566 to 1610, there had been *thirty-one* editions, printed at Paris, Antwerp, and London; to say nothing more of his history, than that there had been four editions from 1582 to 1594. Not to mention many editions of the separate pieces of Sir David Lindsay in the course of only fifty-six years, from 1558 to 1614, there had been fourteen editions of his entire works; nine at least printed in Scotland, besides three in London and two in Paris, chiefly for importation into the north. Of Principal Rolloc's works, who died in 1598, at least sixteen volumes were published before 1605, all of which passed rapidly through successive editions. In short, the books printing in the country had now proceeded from nine or ten different presses, and as the booksellers of Edinburgh were about the same number, some of them importing foreign publications, and all selling the productions of their own country, of course the purchasers and readers corresponded.

ing throughout the kingdom, or before the restoration of Charles II., he affirms that "every village in Scotland had a school, every family almost had a Bible; yea in most of the country all the children of age could read the Scriptures, and were provided with Bibles either by their parents or the ministers." Whatever deductions from this statement can be proved, may be freely allowed, but after all, we presume that a very remarkable degree of moral cultivation had certainly been attained, and beyond this period we do not at present proceed.

The Apocrypha.

Although our present version of the Bible was now gaining general acceptance throughout Britain, there was still one serious incumbrance from which it behoved to be delivered, and with which it ought never, for a moment, to have been associated. We allude to the *Apocrypha*. The clear and very decided views of divine truth held by Tyndale, forbid the idea that *he* would have ever associated it with the Sacred Volume, and at all events, of its introduction, in the vulgar tongue, into this country he stands innocent. But Coverdale, who, as we have seen, had so lent himself to Crumwell, entertained no such scruples. The books of the Apocrypha were then indeed placed by themselves, as in distinction from the Sacred Canon, but their insertion, between the Old and New Testaments, like the term *penance* adopted in Coverdale's text, was a sacrifice made at the altar of *expediency;* that baneful doctrine by which the Vicar-General was at once ruled and ruined. Sir Thomas More, constrained to bow before the power of Crumwell's influence, never having once denounced Coverdale, might well let the book pass without open censure, or wink at the progress of a version which was to contain both penance and the Apocrypha.

Penance had been so far, and at once banished from public approbation, by the adoption of Tyndale's version in 1537, and in preference to that of Coverdale. But John Rogers having included the Apocrypha, from Coverdale, that was now to be dealt with, and in no measured terms. Even before our last revisors began, great dissatisfaction had been expressed in print as to the Apocrypha.[10] But it deserves our notice, that when our present version was preparing, and as early as 1604, the King was warned by a voice even from without the kingdom,

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[10] Among others, see "The Plea of the Innocent," by Josias Nichols, 1602.

in very decided terms. This referred at once to the contents of the Apocryphal books, but especially to their being *read* in public worship—

"Because the canonical Scriptures are *alone* sufficient for the Church; and have this prerogative and excellency above all other writings whatsoever."—— "Else should *errors, fables, magic, blasphemy, and contradiction of the canonical Scriptures* be brought into the Church; for such are found in the Apocrypha books. As, for example, see *Errors* in ECCLESIASTICUS and 2 MACHABEES; *Fables* in ESDRAS, 2 MACHABEES, and TOBIT; *Magic* and *Blasphemy* in TOBIT; *contradiction to canonical Scripture* in JUDITH, ESTHER, and ECCLESIASTICUS." "Else should many still be nousled in their ignorance and error, to think that the Apocrypha books be the Word of God and part of the Bible, as well as the books of the Old and New Testament."[11]

No attention having been paid to this remonstrance, and the Apocrypha having been printed along with our present version, the Parliament was now to be addressed in bolder language, not as to its being read merely, but in reference to its place within the boards of the Bible. In 1642, to Bartholomew's Church, behind the Old Exchange, London, an individual had been chosen minister, who was about the most learned man of his day, and in rabbinical learning too, but certainly no advocate for the Apocrypha holding such a place in the Sacred Volume. Having been appointed to preach before the House of Commons on the 29th of March 1643, which happened to be his birthday at the age of 41, he took for his text Luke i. 17.

"The words of the text," said he, "are the last words of the Old Testament —*there* uttered by a prophet, *here* expounded by an angel; *there* concluding the law, and *here* beginning the Gospel. 'Behold,' saith Malachi, 'I will send you Elijah the prophet;' and 'he,' saith the angel, 'shall go before him in the spirit and power of Elias.' And 'He shall turn the hearts of the fathers to the children,' saith the one; and 'the disobedient to the wisdom of the just,' saith the other. Thus sweetly and nearly should the two Testaments join together, and thus *divinely* would they kiss each other, but that the *wretched Apocrypha* doth thrust in between. Like the two cherubims in the temple oracle, as with their outer wings they touch the two sides of the house, from 'In the beginning,' to 'Come Lord Jesus;' so with their inner, they *would* touch each other—the end of the Law, with the beginning of the Gospel—did not this *patchery of human invention* divorce them asunder.——

"It is a thing not a little to be admired, how this Apocrypha could ever get such a place in the hearts, and in the Bibles, of primitive times, as to come and sit in the very *centre* of them both. But to this wonderment there may be some satisfaction given—namely, because that these books came to them from among the Jews, as well as the Old Testament and the New; and because that the Jews alone, and alone so long, had had the knowledge of divinity and

[11] "An apology or defense of such true Christians, as are commonly, but unjustly, called Brownists." Amsterdam, 1604, pp. 65, 66, where the texts are specified in proof of their assertions. This is addressed to the *King* by "the English Church, at Amsterdam in the low countries, exiled for the truth of the Gospel of Christ;" and from which we shall find his English subjects soon taking their departure to a more distant abode.

religion among them, the converted Gentiles could not but give their writings extraordinary esteem.——But it is a wonder, to which I could never yet receive satisfaction, that in churches that are reformed—that have shaken off the yoke of superstition, and unpinned themselves from off the sleeve of former customs, or doing as their ancestors have done ; yet in such a thing as this, and of so great import, should do as first ignorance, and then superstition, hath done before them. It is true, indeed, that they have refused these books out of the canon ; but they have reserved them still in the Bible ! As if God should have cast Adam out of the *state* of happiness, and yet have continued him in the *place* of happiness."

This was no other than the well known Dr. John Lightfoot ; and it is curious enough, that he was then preaching weekly on the very spot to which the body of Coverdale had been consigned in 1568, or seventy-five years before ; the man who *first* placed the Apocrypha in English between the Old Testament and the New.[12] The present preacher, indeed, had long felt as he now did, and fourteen years ago, at the age of twenty-seven, in his earliest publication, had spoken out in a similar strain. The figure he employed with the Commons must have been a favourite one, for he had employed it before, and was now only quoting his mature sentiments before Parliament on a public fast day, in the probable hope that they might have some practical effect. Speaking, in 1629, of those who had put in the Apocrypha between Malachi and Matthew, he had said—

"What do they, but make a wall between the seraphim, that they cannot hear each other's cry ? What do they, but make a stop between the cherubim, that they cannot touch each other's wings ? What do they, but divorce the marriage of the Testaments, and so are guilty of the breach of 'that which God hath joined together, let no man put asunder ?'" In short, he earnestly longed for its being banished from the Bible ; and therefore, once more, on the 26th of August 1645, when again officiating before the House of Parliament, he was not less eager for "a review and survey of the translation of the Bible ;" and that they, as a body, would "look into the oracle, if there be anything amiss there, and *remove* it"—referring, no doubt, especially to the Apocrypha.

Lightfoot, however, it should seem, was not aware that the Almighty had never permitted any such body, in their official character, nor, indeed any other, as such, thus to "look into His oracle." No, and as Parliament was never allowed to touch the Sacred Text itself, so, however

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12 The long-suffering of God towards Israel of old, was often displayed in lightening their burdens, when, though they had destroyed their idols, their groves were not cut down, nor their high places demolished ; and the same long-suffering had here been displayed. But, we repeat it, well might Sir Thomas More pass over Coverdale in silence, when about to give along with his translation, *prayers for the dead—the intercession of saints—the heroism of suicide—the doctrine of purgatory—atonement by alms-giving—justification by the works of the law*—as taught in the Apocrypha ! Lightfoot seems to have thought that a greater insult could not be offered to the Majesty of heaven, than to read any portion of this, on the same day, and at the same place, with the oracles of the living God.

urged, neither was the voice of *their* authority to remove the Apocrypha from its place. That was to be removed by Him who moves the human mind ; and so, as far as the Bible generally was concerned, the Apocrypha sunk at last from that place to which it should never have been raised. It disappeared from Bibles as by common consent ; it sunk under the power of general opinion. From that period the Christians in Britain have stood, and for many a year, beckoning, as it were, to the surrounding European nations to follow in the same safe and lawful, or incumbent career.

Thus the history of the Bible in Scotland, has been brought down to the same point of time with the previous detail respecting England. Since the commencement, in 1525, or of the Scriptures entire, in 1537, there had been a fivefold revision of the original translation, an advantage altogether peculiar to itself, and doubly valuable from that circumstance. Consequently, there had been *five* different versions printed, and these had proved in succession the means of salvation, and the source of comfort to four successive generations ; but now there came to be but *one* version. Entertaining no superstitious reverence for that one, as though it were already perfect, or never destined to be yet improved and corrected, we cannot but pause over this *general consent*, as a very memorable historical event. The last rival competitor for general acceptance had been the Geneva book, a version in several passages preferable to our own, and especially in translating "*love*," not "*charity ;*" but it had been generally encumbered with *notes* or glosses ; and it is observable, that so late as the year 1649, an attempt was made to saddle our *present* version with those *notes*, but it was in vain. One or two editions of the Bible were thus printed, but such additions to the Sacred Text must not continue. *Notes and comments* must be withdrawn. Since the year 1611, however, these two versions of the Sacred Volume had been before the people in both countries ; our present translation, from the beginning *without notes*, the other very generally *with* them ; so, at last, and about the middle of the seventeenth century, our present venerated Bible had nearly arrived at that state of prevalence which it has ever since maintained. Whatever opinions have since prevailed, or died away, from that time to the present, and in any part of the

United Kingdom, the same version, without a single interruption, has continued to be the Bible of Great Britain and Ireland, or wherever the language is spoken.

In looking back, however, from the commencement, even down to this period, it must be very evident, that no space whatever is left for self-complacency. No inhabitant of Britain can now say, that the Revelation of the Divine Will was received by his forefathers generally, with any ready or cordial concurrence. On the contrary, the point to which the Sovereign disposer of all events had now brought our country, was precisely that with which he had begun so long before. It was the Bible, but *without note and comment*, which was now at last received, whether in England or Scotland; but, then, such had been the original movement of Divine providence. This it was, which Tyndale had laid down to Henry the Eighth, as the sole or exclusive terms of combat, above one hundred and twenty years ago! Through the medium of his Word, the Almighty had been striving with the nation ever since, and "*the long-suffering of God had waited*, and long it had waited, *as in the days of Noah.*"

The season and circumstances, therefore, in which this *general consent* took place, it would be criminal to overlook, or ever forget. The event was one of moment to unborn generations, and every one must be eager to mark the time. Both the season and circumstances, it is true, may be humbling to our national vanity, but for this we have been fully prepared; after having had such frequent occasion to observe, that independence of human authority, patronage, or power, has been one distinguishing feature of this history throughout. By far the most remarkable display of this, however, was reserved to the *close*. There was a moral significance, others will say sublimity, in the season chosen. It was at a crisis altogether *sui generis*, when God, by his providence, as all agree, was speaking loudly to every corner in Great Britain and Ireland.

It was at a period when there was *no earthly throne in the island to invoke; no King in Britain to enjoin such consent.* It was when there was *no primate of Canterbury, or St. Andrews, to enforce it, or any House of Lords in being.* Even the office of "*Licenser of the press*" had been abolished, nor must the existing legislature of the day for once interfere. *No voice of human authority was raised*, when a nation, in other respects

greatly divided, became of one consent, and a consent unbroken to the present hour; nor did any one thing in which man was then engaged, concur to produce an effect, then first felt by the whole kingdom, and since enjoyed for nearly two hundred years!

In those unprecedented and tumultuous times, certainly the main consolation of those who feared God, and loved the Scriptures, must have run in very much the same channel; and perhaps at no preceding era in this country, had they more frequently closed their mutual communications in the same expressive terms—THE LORD REIGNETH. But we who live, though at such a distance, can now see this event in greater perfection, as by far the most conspicuous proof that He did reign, as still He does. It was the solitary eminent public occurrence, which was to admit of no mutation for two centuries to come.

The kingdom itself may yet be moved, from its centre to its shores, and be greatly agitated. The civil power may change its aspect. The monarchy may be restored, only to be dealt with providentially, as the Pontiff had been. The line of succession may be broken, and the existing dynasty even be banished from the soil. Yet better days are coming, and no weapon, though employed by a future Sovereign, shall prosper against the Bible of his subjects: though among the causes of removal from his crown and kingdom, should hostility to the Sacred Volume be discovered, this is not to be buried in oblivion amongst other provocations.

THE HISTORY OF

THE ENGLISH BIBLE.

BOOK V.—GREAT BRITAIN.

From the Commonwealth to Queen Victoria.

SECTION I.

THE COMMONWEALTH TO GEORGE III.

BRIEF SURVEY—DOWNWARD PROGRESS OF THE STUART DYNASTY—OPPOSITION AT HOME INEFFECTUAL—LEAGUE, IN WHICH EVEN THE PONTIFF AND GERMANY CONCURRED AND ASSISTED—THE LINE OF SUCCESSION IN BRITAIN BROKEN—THE REVOLUTION OF 1688–9—PRECEDING OPPOSITION TO THE SCRIPTURES BY JAMES II., AN ADHERENT OF THE OLD LEARNING—CONSEQUENCES OF THE REVOLUTION—STATE OF THE BIBLE PRESS IN ENGLAND—CANNE'S BIBLE—GUY'S BIBLES—BASKERVILLE'S—BLAYNEY'S BIBLE—STATE OF THE BIBLE PRESS IN SCOTLAND—JAMES II. EQUALLY BUSY IN OPPOSITION THERE—THE NUMBER OF BIBLES IS NOW PAST ALL HUMAN COMPUTATION—THE RESULTS, IF BUT TOO FEEBLE IN BRITAIN, MUST BE LOOKED FOR ELSEWHERE.

HIS period, extending to one hundred and thirty years, from 1650 to the twentieth year of the reign of George the Third, or 1780, involved many changes in the sovereignty of the kingdom, namely—

The Commonwealth,	1649–1660.	Queen Anne, . .	1702–1716.
Charles II. . .	1660–1685.	George I. . . .	1714–1727.
James II. . . .	1685–1688.	George II. . .	1727–1760.
William and Mary,	1689–1702.	George III.	1760–1780.

The new title given to our native land we have not before employed, but since, after a season of misrule and depression, occasioned by its own sovereigns, it was about to assume a position quite worthy of its name, it becomes the more appropriate. By the way, it is nothing more than a vulgar mistake which ascribes the invention of this title to the first of the Stuarts. Before that James had set his foot in England it had been mentioned by a monarch of far superior powers. In the month of August 1601, it was expressed, and perhaps not for the first time, by the lips of Elizabeth herself, in conversation with Rosny, afterwards Duke of Sully, when she disclosed such views of Continental politics as filled even him with astonishment, and, of course, such as were far above the comprehension of James the First. "Neither the whole, nor any part of these (Low Country) states need be coveted," she said, "by either herself, the King of France, or the King of Scotland, who would become one day *King of Great Britain.*"[1]

Glancing back for a moment at the commencement of the Stuart dynasty, though there was some expression of apparent momentary interest by James I., in reference to the Scriptures, as this was never followed up by any substantial or recorded proof of continued zeal, it was ominous of all that followed in the times of his son and grandsons. That king, it is notorious, in his latter years, had discovered a decided leaning towards the gentlemen of "the old learning;" and, at all events under the successive reigns of his descendants, we witness such neglect in the printing and publishing of the Sacred Volume, not to say open contempt; that if the eye has once fixed on this history throughout, one cannot help anticipating the approach of some great national crisis. What were dignified with the title of "public affairs" had frequently in this kingdom, before now, been treated as subordinate to one other. Among the elements of our national changes, it is true, any reference to the Sacred Oracles, though first given to us after such an extraordinary manner, has seldom, if ever, found a place. And yet, in reference to the Scriptures in the language of the people, a contrast is forced upon us between the house of Tudor and that of Stuart. The princes of the former, from Henry to Elizabeth, had been overruled, and to this they submitted—those of the latter were at last banished from the soil. Among the

[1] "It surely ought not to have been forgotten that it was Queen Elizabeth, herself, who gave to that prospective empire the name of Great Britain."—See Miss Strickland's Elizabeth, vol ii., pp. 271-272.

impelling causes of this final step, the treatment of the Divine Record may have had more to do than has hitherto been observed. But the state of the kingdom first demands our notice.

One of the earliest indications of the downward progress of the Stuart kings became very evident, in their contributing so plentifully to emigration from the entire kingdom, whether to the American colonies or even to Poland, where about thirty thousand families from Scotland had taken up their abode. This might operate for a season as a safety valve, but in the end the entire kingdom was but ill at ease.

In the course of the reigns of Henry VIII. and two of his children, the deliverance of this country from foreign mental despotism had been accomplished and prolonged, through the sovereign disposer of all events. Yet, after this, Britain was to suffer at the hands of her own kings. Not only religious but civil liberty were to be alike in jeopardy, and amidst the perils of the nation at that period, he must be blind as a sceptic who cannot distinguish the hand of Providence raised in favour of our country once more. It wears much more of the character of a final measure, or finishing stroke, than any thing which had occurred in the days of Henry VIII. The despotic power of monarchy had then been overruled in favour of our *first* deliverance; but now, if Britain is to be favoured with a race of constitutional monarchs, limits must be set to the power of the monarchy itself. A period being fixed for abolishing absolute power in the *temporal* order, as had already been done in what was styled the *spiritual;* it was at last glaringly evident that the princes of the house of Stuart were not the men who could ever be moulded to any such desirable end. But if, in order to confer on this already favoured kingdom the consolidation of its liberties and welfare, there was not sufficient power within its shores, then what was to be done? The whole of the adjoining continent itself must be moved. For sooner than Britain shall not inherit her greatest national blessings, namely, civil and religious liberty, even the power of Rome itself, from which she had withdrawn, or against which, others would say, she had rebelled, nay, and that of Romish votaries with whom Britain was at variance, shall not be wanting to concur in establishing her government on a far more solid, and even on an unprecedented basis. Nothing is more worthy of observation in the Revolution of 1689 than this, and especially when it is once remembered that the prejudices of the last two Stuart kings were so recklessly in favour of "the old learning." How the last, especially, would have rejoiced in bringing back the nation to the days of Mary the First, or even of her grandfather, Henry the Seventh! The prejudices and infatuation of these two monarchs, however regretted by some authors, were the preludes to that memorable change which was

so hastened to its commencement in the year 1688, and to its completion in the month of February 1689.

In the days of the first of this dynasty, so far from meddling with the balance of power in Europe, as Henry the Eighth had so often done, James was eagerly bent on alliance with Spain. On the other hand, during the reigns of his grandsons, the King of France was stretching after the possession of all power, and by the year 1678, Louis the Fourteenth had already regarded himself as the arbiter of Europe. Fully resolved after universal sway, he had at last raised his power to such a height as to endanger the peace and independence of all neighbouring states. To him, the concurrence of this country he had felt to be indispensable, and such was the miserable condition to which two successive kings had brought it, that, to all intents and purposes, England was at the disposal of France. But the day of her deliverance, under James II., the last of his race, was near at hand. There is no occasion here to dwell on his progress to ruin—his new-modelling of corporations —his filling the army and navy with his partizans—his expulsion of the Fellows of Magdalene College, Oxford, hard by the spot where Tyndale, in early days, had expounded Scripture; but where now *mass* was once more said and sung in the chapel, and every thing of another character was forcibly excluded. The King himself, a determined and open disciple of "the old learning," was earnestly looking far beyond the free exercise of his own opinions. Through the agency of Lord Castlemain, then in Italy, he had been courting alliance, and sighing, though in vain, after a resident cardinal of Rome, in the person of Father Petre, his confessor. Before his accession he had had the meanness to accept of 500,000 livres from Louis the Fourteenth, to carry on his designs. His afterwards drawing back, and, from pride, no more courting that monarch, while engaged in a double game by treating with Spain, were among the proofs of that infatuation which was to terminate only in the memorable *Act of Settlement and the Bill of Rights.*

Meanwhile, it is curious to observe one quarter from whence resistance arose. At the opening of the reign, the men of Oxford could expatiate on the rights of monarchy, and boast of an obedience which knew no bounds. They now became most determined opponents of the reigning king, and ultimately ranked among the instruments of his overthrow; but some power from abroad must be called to the rescue. Meanwhile the ambition of France had become the subject of general apprehension. They were the footsteps of Louis, which had produced a far spread reaction. The league in opposition was headed by William Prince of Orange, and such was the terror felt at the progress of "the Grand Monarch" that the Emperor of Germany, and even Innocent XI. of Rome, supported him. The consequences of William stepping ashore at Torbay are known to all, and they have been well

expressed by an able French author of the present day, who is at this moment in the government of that kingdom.

"The league against Louis was so powerful that many sovereigns entered into it, either publicly, or in an underhand, though very effective manner, who were rather opposed than not to the interests of civil and religious liberty. The Emperor of Germany and Innocent XI. both supported William against France. And William crossed the Channel less to serve the internal interests of the country than to draw it entirely into the struggle against Louis. He laid hold of this kingdom as a new force which he wanted, but of which his adversary had had the disposal up to this time against him. So long as Charles II. and James II. reigned, England belonged to Louis XIV. He had the disposal of it, and had kept it employed against Holland. ENGLAND *then was snatched from the side of absolute and universal monarchy, to become the most powerful support and instrument of* CIVIL AND RELIGIOUS LIBERTY. This is the view which must be taken, as regards European civilization, of the Revolution of 1688-9. It is this which gives it a place in the assemblage of European events, independently of the influence of its example, and of the vast effect which it had upon the minds and opinions of men in the following century."

"Thus, I think, I have rendered it clear that the true sense, the essential character of this Revolution is, as I said, an attempt to abolish absolute power in the *temporal* order, as had already been done in the *spiritual*. This fact appears in all the phases of the Revolution, from its first outbreak to the Restoration, and again in the crisis of 1688; and this not only as regards its interior progress, but in its relations with Europe in general."

But certainly, at such a crisis, and among the entire group, by far the most observable personage before us, was the Pontiff of Rome! Will *he* come to the rescue of that kingdom by which his predecessors had been so humbled to the dust? The power which had thrown him off for ever? He might not indeed be in direct or personal communication with William, for this would have been contrary to the usual policy of remaining behind the curtain; but his Ministers were fully acquainted with the entire movement, the Pontiff promised considerable subsidies, and his Secretary of State knew before the close of 1687, more than James the Second had ever dreamt; that the object was to dethrone him, and transfer the Crown to the Princess of Orange. But what is even still more remarkable, it was actually from the secret papers in the cabinet of this same secretary, Count Cassoni, that the Courts of England and France derived their *first* knowledge of the whole design! "Strange complication! It was at the Court of Rome

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[2] General History of Civilization in Europe, by M. Guizot, Second Edition, p. 396.

that the threads of a machination were destined to meet, which had for its aim and result, to liberate the West of Europe from the last great danger that threatened it," and to secure to the English throne for ages to come the inestimable blessings of Civil and Religious liberty![3]

Thus the line of succession was broken, and though this was long lamented by not a few, the principles and proceedings of the late King, taken in connexion with his ultimate design, admitted of no other remedy. The headstrong ardour displayed in his rooted attachment to "the old learning," was such as to offend and alarm even its votaries. The Spanish ambassador one day remonstrating with him, the King became highly incensed. "Is it not the custom," said he, "in Spain, for the King to consult on such subjects with his Confessor?" "Yes Sire," was the reply, "and that is the very reason that our affairs succeed so ill." Even the reigning Pontiff had gone so far as to remonstrate with James on his precipitancy, but in vain. Unwelcome and even blunt language had been spent upon him without any effect. The obstinacy and infatuation of that Monarch, were among the means through which were to ensue our highest national blessings. For two months, or from the 23d of December 1688 to the 13th of February 1689, the Monarchy was lying in abeyance; but from that day commenced the reign of William and Mary.

It may now be inquired—What possible connexion can ever be traced between this great national change, and the possession of the Divine Record in the language of the people? It is true, that many instances might be adduced of the very slovenly manner in which the privileged printers had been executing their task. This, however, the long-suffering of God had endured, and will continue to do, so that it may be glanced at afterwards. But now the supreme authority of the Sacred Volume having been unblushingly impugned under the immediate sanction of the Crown, there must be a change. The very *first* year of the reign of James II. was marked by several noted events, indicative of direct hostility to Divine Truth, as affecting its devoted adherents at home and abroad. From the year 1670, indeed, the sentiments of this Prince had created uneasiness, agitating Parliament again and again, and his doings in Scotland from 1679 were known to all. But once crowned, in February 1685, he then pledged himself to be a disciple and adherent of "the

[3] See Ranke's Sovereigns and Nations of Southern Europe. Pp. 318-319.

old learning." In June, Charles the Elector Palatine dying without issue, was succeeded by the house of Newburgh, no less ardently devoted to Rome. In October, Louis the Fourteenth revoked the edict of Nantes; and in December, threatened by the Court of France, the Duke of Savoy had recalled the edict that his father had granted in favour of the Vaudois. All these were indications of some general storm, and the King of England will hasten its approach. Ere long a select junto of persons in favour of the old learning and its re-establishment, with Father Edward Petre, the King's confessor, as a privy councillor at their head, took the management of many affairs, the too evident proof of some concerted scheme being in progress.

And now when the King was down at Oxford, for the last time in 1687, he might "be presented in the name of the University with a rich BIBLE, printed there," which his Majesty, as a blind, said he would accept; and he might afterwards talk of establishing toleration by an Act of Parliament; but it is of far more importance to observe, both before and after this, how he had been acting elsewhere, both at London, and in his former abode at Edinburgh.

The reader has already heard much of the Barkers, as the printers of the Bible, but long before their rights expired, Charles II. had granted a reversionary patent to Thomas Newcome and one *Henry Hills*. Sooner or later this last man, whose moral character seems to have been far from correct, had actually been employed in printing the Scriptures, and, according to report, shamefully incorrect.[4] But no sooner was James upon the throne, than Hills had come into closer confidential contact. He then styled himself openly, "Printer to the King's Most Excellent Majesty, for his Household and Chapel." This might serve for whatsoever was to be done in London, but there was another man sustaining the same office and title down at Edinburgh, and the question will be, how were they engaged? Was the press about to be employed in hostility to the Word of God, and by printed sanction of the King? In both capitals the design was the

[4] See "The London Printer's Lamentation, or the Press Opprest and Overprest," 1660. Or the reprint in the Harleian Miscellany.

same. So early as October 1685, the servile Privy Council in Edinburgh had issued orders to every printer and bookseller, forbidding the printing or selling any books which reflected on the faith of the King. Among these, however, there was at least one bookseller of some spirit and conscience, named James Glen. He explicitly stated that he had *one* book which he was resolved to sell at all hazards, though it was the worst enemy the Church of Rome had ever seen; and that one book was *the* BIBLE. But still the progress downward went on. The King's yacht had arrived at Leith from London in November 1686, with an altar and vestments, images and priests, to be accommodated in no other place than Holyrood. A college of Jesuits was there established—a printing press was set up, and among its fruits we need only to mention one production :—

"The Catholic Scripturist, third edition, more correct, by Joseph Mumford, priest of the Society of Jesus, Holyrood House. Printed by James Watson, printer to his Most Excellent Majestie's Royal Family and Household, 1687. *Permissu superiorum.*"

In this book the reader was told in so many words—"*Scripture alone cannot be the rule of faith.*"[5] So determined was the opposition shewn to all this, that ere long blood had been shed, and cruelties inflicted; though these doings in Scotland were merely a branch of the same wild design, which was driving with unblushing vigour in London itself. Hence from the press of *Hills*, who had just served the office of Master of the Stationers' Company, we have more than one publication, full of monstrous and daring profanity in reference to the Sacred Scriptures. Witness the following—

"*The Question of Questions*, which, rightly interpreted, resolves all other questions. By James Mumford, priest of the Society of Jesus. *Permissu superiorum.* London, printed by Henry Hills, Printer to the King's Most Excellent Majesty, for his Household and Chapel, 1686. There was also another edition in 1688, said to be by "Optatus Ductor," but, slyly, without either place or printer's name."

Now in this book the running title for more than 260

[5] To this man James II. had actually assigned a salary of £100 annually; nor was he the only man employed with the same title. No sooner had Watson died in 1687, than Peter Bruce or Bruschii, a German, was appointed as printer "to his Majesty's Household, Chapel and College." What salary the King assigned in London we have not ascertained.

pages was in these words—THE BIBLE IS NOT OUR JUDGE. And as many more were employed in telling the reader that "*The Roman Church is our* INFALLIBLE *Judge.*" The false and violent abuse of our Translators, commencing with Tyndale, we cannot pollute the page by quoting. But enough has been stated to shew the propriety of such impiety on the part of the Crown being no longer permitted on British ground. James might now call secretly for the Great Seal, and throw it, as he did, into the Thames, and at last retiring to France, he may, in little trifles, faintly imitate the style of Louis the Fourteenth, or visit the monks of La Trap; but he must no more conduct himself towards the Word of God in the way which, through his printers, he had so presumptuously, or, by the laws of his country, treasonably done. The displeasure of the God of Truth he had brought upon himself, and in the great change so remarkably wrought in favour of Britain, the indignity thrown upon the Sacred Volume was avenged.

Such, at all events, was the Revolution of 1688-9, and what were the consequences? These we prefer to express in the language of one of our best constitutional writers:—"The assertion of passive obedience to the Crown, grew obnoxious to the Crown itself. Our new line of sovereigns scarcely ventured to hear of their hereditary right, and dreaded the cup of flattery that was drugged with poison. The laws were not so much materially altered, as the spirit and sentiments of the people. Hence those who look only at the former, have been prone to underrate the magnitude of this Revolution. The fundamental maxims of the constitution, both as they regard the king and the subject, may seem nearly the same; but the *disposition* with which they were received and interpreted was very different." But where shall we find a secret leaven, which had been operating directly on the *disposition* of the people, if we exclude from consideration all reference to that Sacred Volume, recently indeed so slighted by the Crown, but which had been reading by both rich and poor throughout the families of the land?

What the Revolution did for us was this; continues Mr. Hallam, "it broke a spell that had charmed the nation. It cut up by the roots all that theory of indefeasible right, of paramount prerogative, which had put the Crown in continual opposition to the people. A contention had subsisted for five hundred years, but particularly during the last four reigns, against the aggressions of arbitrary power. The Sovereigns of this country had never patiently endured the control of Parliament; nor was it natural for them to do so, while the two Houses of Parliament

appeared historically, and in legal language, to derive their existence as well as privileges from the Crown itself."[6]

To enter with any minuteness into the history of the English Bible throughout this long period, from 1650 to 1780, could answer no valuable or present practical purpose; but this work would, confessedly, be incomplete, did we not put upon record certain particulars, in reference both to the Scriptures themselves, and the vast number of editions printed.

With regard to the Bibles themselves, and especially their style of execution, the history is too often so very unwelcome, that we have no disposition to go into more detail than is necessary. Classics, and almost every species of mere human composition, not only beautiful, but sometimes almost faultless, were teeming from the press, or at least in the best manner which could then be executed; while the Sacred Record, in the most miserable style, both as to paper and printing, was issued by printers, who, to crown all, were proclaimed to the nation as *privileged* to do so. This, however, let it be ever remembered, was *man's* department in the affair, and the slovenly, the penurious manner, in which he too frequently, and so long performed his task, left to his posterity nothing whatever save the blush of shame. There were, it is granted, many most creditable editions, and the English Bible considered as an *instrument* of infinite good, still continued, by the favour of God, to be sufficient for its purpose, or intended end; but a minute detail of the incorrect manner in which it so often came from the press, would serve to illustrate only the forbearance and long-suffering patience of Heaven.

We have already alluded to the King's printers in London as having been fined for incorrect printing of the Scriptures in 1634, but this did not prevent the repetition of a similar offence soon after in 1638. As if to show that the privilege wherever granted, was, to say the least, no security against the same defect, this instance came from the press of Buck and Daniel, the privileged printers of Cambridge, in the reign of Charles I. In the Acts, vi., 3, they had printed "Wherefore, brethren, look ye out among yourselves seven men of honest report, &c., whom *ye* may appoint over this business"—instead of "*we* may ap-

[6] "Hallam's Constitutional History of England." Since that time, adds the same author, "it seems equally just to say, that the predominating character has been aristocratical; the royal prerogative being in some respects too limited, and in others too little capable of effectual exercise, to counterbalance the hereditary peerage, and that class of great territorial proprietors, who, in a political division, are to be reckoned among the proper aristocracy of the land.

point." This careless error of the press, for, from the irregularity of its occurrence, it was nothing more, and without the shadow of design, continued to infest many editions from the days of Charles I. down to those of William and Mary. Such, however, was the virulence of party spirit, that instead of the blunder being visited on the six or eight guilty parties in succession, throughout half a century, not only no fine was imposed, but the blame was thrown on those who had no control over the press. At one time the foolish mistake was fathered on the printers during the Commonwealth or Protectorate ; and, at a later period, it was ascribed to the Presbyterians, which they solemnly disclaimed. The plain facts of the case were only a glaring and repeated proof of the carelessness of successive patentees. Although the mistake began as we have stated, it has been erroneously ascribed to John Field, who, though he unwittingly followed Daniel, in two or three editions, was ultimately the printer of some of the best Bibles then in the kingdom. An old and very good judge has said of him—"The correctness of a book is that which makes it valuable and delightful to the reader ; yea, registrates honour to the memory of the printer. How much in these nations are the true editions of the Bible, printed by *Field*, sought after. It was only the correctness of them gained their reputation, for the *Dutch* counterfeits, generally, far exceeded them in beauty and clean working." Many of his editions read a severe lesson to other patentees ; for if the blunder referred to was committed three or four times in the time of the Protectorate, it has been traced in *thirty-three* editions under Charles the Second and his brother James.

It will be remembered that to her exiles for conscientious opinion, from Tyndale downward, Britain had been all along under far greater obligations than to any of her subjects living at home. About the middle of this century, she was indebted to another, who was living at Amsterdam. The first English Bible, with Scriptural references on the margin throughout, was prepared and printed in that city, by John Canne. He proceeded on the principle, that "Scripture was the best interpreter of Scripture," and his parallels, therefore, are parallels of *sense* and not of sound, as too many have been since his day. Of this Bible there were various editions, at home as well as abroad, viz. :

1644. Amsterdam, 4to.
1647. London, 2 vols., 8vo.
1662. London, 12mo.
1664. London, 2 vols., 8vo.
1671. London.
1682. Amsterdam, London title, 12mo.
1698. London, Bill and Newcomb.
1700. London, ditto, in quarto.
1720. Cambridge, Basket, quarto.
1727, 1754. Edinburgh editions.

Several of these books are but too incorrect, and many of the later have been corrupted by *additional* texts. After a careful collation of these preceding editions, a good reprint would prove a very valuable and saleable book.

Though rather an eccentric character, we must not omit notice of Thomas Guy, as a printer of Bibles from 1680. The English Bibles being so badly printed, Mr. Guy engaged with others in printing them in Holland, and then imported them. Upon this being prevented, he contracted with the University of Oxford for the privilege of printing there. For many years, to his own advantage, he carried on a great trade ; and thus began to accumulate vast wealth, though he engaged in other speculations. The Bibles he printed, though certainly not elegant, were, as books, by no means contemptible. At his death in 1724, he left as large an amount of property as any commoner before him had ever done. Though personally of penurious habits, he must have given away during his lifetime, at least £10,000, if not more. At the age of seventy-six, he resolved to erect the hospital in London, so well known since as Guy's or St.

Thomas's Hospital, and before his death, four years after, at an expense of above £19,000, he saw it roofed in. By the year 1732, the Hospital had carried to the account of his executors for its endowment, £220,134, 2s. 7d., forming a total of £240,134. To the almshouses and library at Tamworth, he devoted about £2000 ; to Christ's Hospital, from £8000 to £10,000 ; and there were £80,000 still remaining, for any who could prove themselves to be related to him. Whatever was the character of the deceased, therefore, it may be said, that among printers of the Bible, Thomas Guy stands by himself. His property must have been above £330,000.

After the Revolution, the very first monarch who took any cognizance of the carelessness of the privileged printers of the Bible belonged to the House of Hanover. George I. having informed himself on the subject, issued the following orders to the patentees— 1. That all Bibles printed hereafter shall be upon as good paper, at least, as the specimens they exhibited. 2. That they forthwith lodge four copies in the two Secretaries' offices, in the registry of the Archbishop of Canterbury and Bishop of London. 3. That they shall employ such correctors of the press as shall be approved of by these two bishops. 4. That they print in the title-page the exact price at which each book is to be sold to the booksellers. These orders, dated 24th April 1724, must have had some effect, though they could not possibly reach the root of the inaccuracy.

There was, however, considerable improvement, and in the reign of George II., a folio Bible was produced, said to be the most beautiful ever yet printed. This was by John Baskerville of Birmingham, the printer and typefounder, in 1763 ; though once more the country had been indebted, as it had often been before, not to any privileged or incorporate body, but to individual genius and enterprise. Baskerville, indeed, had to pay a considerable *premium* to the University of Cambridge for permission to print his Bibles, and after his death his types, which lay a dead weight for want of a purchaser, were carried out of the country.[7] The reign of George II. was also distinguished by one of the most careful revisions of the Scriptures which had yet been made. In 1769, a Bible in folio and quarto was edited by Dr. Blayney, the subsequent Professor of Hebrew at Oxford. Professedly, in this edition, the *punctuation* was thoroughly revised ; the words in *italic* were examined and corrected by the Hebrew and Greek ; the *proper names* were translated and entered on the margin ; the *heads and running titles* were corrected ; errors in *chronology* were rectified ; and *marginal references* were corrected and considerably increased. This has been referred to often since as the *standard* edition. Yet even then, there had not been sufficient vigilance in superintendence, as more than a hundred errors have been detected since, and it was reserved for our own age to make a nearer

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7 In 1765, Baskerville applied to Benjamin Franklin, then at Paris, to sound the literati as to purchasing types. The answer was, that the French, "reduced by the war of 1756, were so far from being able to pursue schemes of taste, that they were unable to repair their public buildings." After the death of Mrs. Baskerville in 1777, many efforts were used to dispose of the stock of types, but in vain. The London booksellers preferred the types of Caslon and Jackson—the University of Cambridge rejected any offer. In two years after, they were purchased by M. de Beaumarchais of Paris, and very soon employed in printing the works of *Voltaire*, with the advertisements and notes of Condorcet! This edition of Voltaire, printed with the types of Baskerville, consisted of *seventy* volumes in handsome octavo. This man's vast projects and incessant activity in paper-making and printing at *Kehl*, near Strasburg, were worthy of a better cause. At last, however, they terminated in the loss of one *million* of livres, but nothing could cure his thirst for speculation. Ingulfed in the delirium of the approaching French Revolution, he finished by importing sixty thousand stand of arms in 1792, though he survived to his seventieth year in 1799.

approach to an immaculate volume. But enough has been said of the English press. It remains only that we look to North Britain.

With reference to Scotland, were it not that the inhabitants had been constantly receiving the Scriptures both from England and Holland, their condition would have been deplorable, so far as their native press was concerned. During the Commonwealth, and down as far as the twenty-fourth year of Charles II., or from 1649 to 1672, there is understood to have been no Bible printed in Scotland, and perhaps the people had better have remained dependent on foreign supply for forty years longer.

It was in the year 1671, that a privilege was obtained by one Andrew Anderson from Charles II., which continued for forty years, to the great disadvantage and molestation of the country, and most dishonourable to the King. At his very outset, Anderson had been convicted by the Privy-Council of gross inaccuracy in printing a New Testament, yet still this man, and especially his widow, were permitted to harass the trade on one hand, and the country on the other, with their productions; this woman actually accumulating very considerable wealth at the expense of both. Anderson's 8vo Bible in 1679, was, indeed, very well executed, but all the subsequent editions, down to 1712, waxed worse and worse. The privilege thus granted by Charles II., was of such shameful extent, that it has been said of it by one who felt its effects— "By this gift the art of printing in this kingdom (of Scotland) got a dead stroke; for by it, no printer could print anything from a Bible to a ballad, without Anderson's license." Bibles the most illegible and incorrect that ever were printed in the world came from this press; the patentee persecuted all the other printers in Scotland, and at last went so far as to seize a number of Bibles brought from London by the booksellers. Still the patent was never revoked, and when it came to an end, it will scarcely be believed, that this woman "left no stone unturned to procure a new one!"[8] But the Stuart kings were gone, and under Queen Anne such an avaricious pest was no longer to be endured. Watson, from whose history we have quoted, became printer under Freebairn, the patentee, and a better day succeeded. For ten years, from 1713, he printed a number of most excellent editions in folio, quarto, octavo, duodecimo, and twenty-fours. His editions of small size in 1715, 1716, 1719, and 1722, as well as his folio of 1722, are still deservedly esteemed. The assignees of Watson were not so careful, but by this time the Scriptures were printing in Edinburgh by two or three other houses. One merciful peculiarity, however, in regard to Scotland, and during the whole period under review, must not be forgotten. It was this: *importation* was never interdicted, and the consequence was, that long before 1650, and beyond 1780, the Scriptures had been imported during the run of all the home patents. Such Bibles are still in existence, and to be found there, ranging in point of dates throughout a period of above two hundred years. More than half the Bibles used in Scotland throughout the eighteenth century, are supposed to have been printed in England or Holland.

But we must not omit to glance at the *number* of Bibles

[8] Watson's History of the Art of Printing; Edinburgh, 1713.

and New Testaments printed in England, Holland, and Scotland on the whole. At the very threshold of this period, and so forward, we meet with one circumstance, which, to every reflecting mind, must immediately convey an idea of personal, and, of course, national responsibility, rising to a height beyond all accurate calculation. It is simply this—*The Books cannot be numbered!* Hitherto, we have numbered the editions printed. This is now *impossible.* From the commencement of this period to its close, no one can say how many *editions* of the English Bible have been published, much less inform us how many copies on the whole. On attempting this, one is soon lost, as in a wilderness; but it is one unknown to any other part of the world, or any other language upon earth; and all is vague conjecture. The printers themselves have left no data, nor can those now living lend any assistance. Both in England and Scotland, it is long since they have left off numbering even the editions.

That there should be one ever-watchful eye, and only One, who knows this secret, and the number of them all, is a consideration of no light import; the amount of which will only be known, when another book is opened, which is "the book of life." But we have noticed this circumstance here, chiefly in order to point out its bearing upon every thing else *printed* in the English tongue. Even long before 1780, no *other* book, in the annals of printing, occupied such a place. Of no *other* book, in the history of our country and its literature, can any thing approaching to this be asserted. As far as the English language and the art of printing were concerned, every thing else in the form of human composition, or in the shape of a book, was reduced to a thing of comparative insignificance. Even before the close of the last century, notwithstanding the countless multitude of publications by men issued from the press, how triumphantly had the *Sacred Volume* redeemed itself altogether out of the usual category of *books!* This it has already done, by our simply following out only its history. Nor is this all. From the place it *thus* occupied even then in this land, it never will be, never can be, superseded as to its number, by any book of *human* composition in the shape of print. With all safety, at the present moment, we assert as much, not blind to all the approaching wonders of the steam-press itself.

It is, however, with the times that passed over Britain during these one hundred and thirty years, that we have now to do; and the all-important inquiry remains to be answered —What were the results? To record all these, would, of course, demand a volume. The days of burning the Sacred Volume, or those who possessed it, had long since passed away. And whatever the beneficial consequences now were, while, we repeat, that there had been many most estimable editions of the Divine Word, the slovenly and imperfect style in which man had too often fulfilled his part, only render the results so much the more observable. On the whole, however, at home, or within the shores of Britain, it must be confessed, there was by far too much ground for the genuine patriot to hang down his head. Thus, in finishing his well known "History of the Translations of the Bible," in 1738, one cannot but observe, that good John Lewis seems to have been in but very low spirits indeed with reference to the subject on which he had bestowed unprecedented research.

"This is the account," says he, "which I have been able to give of the several translations of the Bible and New Testament into the ancient and modern English tongue, and of their most remarkable editions in print. From whence, I suppose, any one will infer the great honour and esteem that these holy books were always held in by our Christian ancestors: since they were so very desirous to have them, and to know and understand their contents, as to spare no cost or pains, but to run the hazard of even their lives and fortunes, and not to count them dear, so that they might but procure the free use of these books, and have the advantage of perusing them. The great number of the copies of them in manuscript, before printing was invented, and the many editions of them since printing came into use, is a demonstration of the great value put on them by the Christians here in England; and that every one who could read took care to purchase a Bible or Testament in the tongue wherein he was born. This, no doubt, will be thought a very great reproach to the professed Christians of the present age, and but too good an argument of their having lost their first love, and being nowise earnest for the faith delivered to the saints in these holy books. Since—to our shame be it spoken—whatever reputation the Holy Bible *has* been had in, it is *now* treated with the utmost slight and neglect, and is scarce anywhere read but in our churches! So far, too, are many of our modern Christians here in England, from reading this book, meditating on it, and letting the sense of it dwell richly or abundantly in them; that, every body knows, the writings of the most silly and trifling authors are often preferred, and read with greater pleasure and delight. What surer sign can be given, that we have a name that we live, and are dead? And, consequently, that unless we remember from whence we are fallen, and repent, and do the first works, the great Author and finisher of our faith will come unto us quickly, and will remove our candlestick out of his place. *Sed Deus avertat omen.*"

Mr. Lewis, no doubt, spake as he felt at the moment, and

must have had too much reason for all that he expressed. Yet such is the history of our English Bible, when *fully* followed out, that it will be sure to raise any man far above his own vicinity, his own community, or connexions. From the beginning to the then existing moment, our Sacred Volume had been the counsellor of all departments throughout this nation, the partizan of none; and immediately after the author had penned these lines, by many who had never read them, considerably revived attention was given to the Scriptures of truth. But as we have now to raise our head, and survey a century and a half, we shall obtain a more enlarged view of the progress made; and it is not for us to present so sombre a picture of the times as that of Lewis. True, indeed, we have been accustomed all along to look to our own favoured island only, as embracing the soil where the seed was sown; but we have come to another, and more advanced stage of this stupendous cause; and in tracing it out, if we simply follow the Sacred Volume, we are invited to depart, or to look far beyond the shores of either England or Scotland.

SECTION II.—NORTH AMERICA.

THE REIGN OF JAMES I. TO GEORGE III.

NEW MOVEMENT IN REFERENCE TO THE ENGLISH SCRIPTURES—THE BIBLE FIRST BEHELD BY THE NATIVES IN AMERICA, AN ENGLISH ONE—COPIES CARRIED AWAY TO NEW ENGLAND BY THE REFUGEES AND FOLLOWING SETTLERS—NO INDIVIDUAL EVER SPECIFIED AS PARTICULARLY ZEALOUS IN THE TRANSIT OF COPIES—YET WERE THEY SENT ACROSS THE ATLANTIC OCEAN FOR ABOVE A HUNDRED AND SIXTY YEARS!—A MOVEMENT SUCH AS NEVER DISTINGUISHED ANY OTHER EUROPEAN VERSION, AND NOW NEVER WILL—THE EXTRAORDINARY RESULTS DURING THIS LONG PERIOD—WILLIAMS, ELIOT, MATHER, EDWARDS, BRAINERD, AND MANY THOUSANDS BESIDE—THE RESTRICTIVE AND UNNATURAL POLICY OF BRITAIN—SHE MUST BE OVERRULED, AS HER MONARCHS HAD BEEN IN ENGLAND—IN JUSTIFICATION OF ITS CONTINUED INDEPENDENCE OF ALL HUMAN AUTHORITY, THE ENGLISH BIBLE IS AT LAST PRINTED IN AMERICA—NO CONSULTATION OF THE MOTHER COUNTRY—THE FIRST EDITION ONLY IN 1782—THE INDE-

PENDENCE OF AMERICA ACKNOWLEDGED BY BRITAIN, HOLLAND, ETC.—THE FIRST BIBLES IN OCTAVO, QUARTO, AND FOLIO, PRINTED THERE IN 1791—THE SECOND IN DUODECIMO NOT TILL 1797.

Up to this period, or the middle of the seventeenth century, we presume it will be admitted, that the history of the English Bible, in comparison with that of the Sacred Volume into every other European tongue, had sustained a character all its own. This peculiarity may now undergo a change in its general appearance; but the singular distinction of character will remain, nay, and be more strongly marked than ever before.

In the opening of the seventeenth century, England and Scotland, once united under the same crown, had received the appellation of *Great Britain* from her overjoyed monarch, James the First—a title peculiarly flattering to his personal vanity. In connexion with the Sacred Volume, his kingdom exhibited the aspect of an island which had been invaded from without, and which, after long resistance at first, had been ultimately subdued by the Word of God. The Scriptures in the vernacular tongue, which were now happily printing both in England and Scotland, had, from the beginning, been often also *imported*, nay, and from Holland, copies were importing afterwards. But if perfect liberty not only to read, but also to judge of their contents, is not to be here obtained, Divine Providence has now another, and a greater lesson in reserve. The inestimable gift, or deposit, is not to be always, or even long, confined within the shores of Britain.

Of course, it could not then have crossed the imagination of any man, that the same unseen hand, which we have observed all along, was already in motion, and actually preparing for the population of a *new* world, where a freer life and a fresher nature were to be enjoyed; and even at the present day, few individuals may, at first, be disposed to trace the populating of the American wilderness, in any degree, to the consequences of *reading the English Bible in Britain.* At all events, the time had arrived, when, as it was carried out of England to the European Continent in the reign of Queen Mary, so under that of James, nay, and of *seven* sovereigns in succession, it was to be carried farther still. If the liberty to form opinion of its dictates, was a blessing denied to many

under the Tudor family, so it happened under that of the Stuarts; and the same cause produced the same effect, only to a far greater extent. Under Queen Mary I., all that had occurred, was an affair of little more than five years' duration. It might be compared to the migration of those birds, who, in summer, return again to gladden the land, for at that time many returned; but now, from the American "Pilgrim Fathers," and so onward, the people in general who hurried across the Atlantic, like the passengers to eternity, were to return no more. For this singular movement of the British people, in the *civil* department of the British constitution, there was not to be found even the shadow of a cause; but if the existing government of the mother country, generally speaking, was either so framed, or to be so conducted, as to charge itself with the vain task of regulating the mind, as well as that of ruling the bodies of its subjects, then was there no relief or remedy, but in another arrangement beyond seas. Hitherto, we have long, and not unfrequently, seen the Almighty overruling *individuals* of the highest authority within this kingdom; but, if necessary, it was as nothing with Him to overrule the *realm* itself. The only question will be, What connexion had all this with the perusal of the Sacred Volume in our native language, and in our native land?

With reference to America at large, it is well known that both Spain, Portugal, and France, were upon the alert, before Britain, just as the Portuguese, the Dutch, and French, were in the East Indies. But in regard to North America, although there were no mines of silver and gold, as in the South, no tempting immediate prospects of wealth or pleasure, nor indeed any thing whatever so inviting in the unexplored wilderness of the North; still, if the delusion that it was possible to set boundaries to the mind, or that knowledge was to grow up only to a certain fixed point, must prevail in England; then shall the Sacred Volume, so wondrously bestowed on the mother country at first, and so long afterwards, be read also beyond the ocean, on the banks of unknown rivers, amidst the sylvan grandeur, or in the deep recesses of a new world. Long had the Divine Record in our native tongue been imported into both England and Scotland. It was now to be exported, or rather first carried away, by all who knew its value. Since 1526 it had been sent *home;* it was now to be sent *abroad*, but for a period longer still, and to more than ten times the distance it had ever come.

The very first Bible that was ever beheld by the Indians of North America, was, unquestionably, an *English* one, and so early as the year

1585. That part of the Continent then visited, Queen Elizabeth had just named Virginia, and, in the expedition sent out, there happened to be one Heriot, an eminent mathematician, and apparently a kind-hearted Christian. Feeling deeply interested in the artless and hospitable Indian natives, he took advantage of the impressions made by the sight of their instruments, whether marine or mathematical, perspective and burning glasses, clocks and books. This led many of them to give credit to what he said respecting God. "In all places," says he, "where I came, I did my best to make his immortal glory known, and told them, though the *Bible* I showed them contained *all*, yet of itself it was not of any such virtue as I thought they did conceive. Notwithstanding, many would be glad to touch it, to kiss and embrace it, to hold it to their breasts and heads, and stroke all their body over with it."[1]

These merely mercantile and scientific adventurers, however, as generally known, did not succeed. Twenty years after Sir Walter Raleigh had planted the first colony in Virginia, not a single Englishman remained alive, and the colonization of America had to await the energy of a widely different impulse, to be followed by far other results.

Although America had been discovered to England, by Cabot, in 1497, under Henry VII., the first permanent colony on the coast of Virginia did not arrive till 1607, while our present version of the Bible was preparing; but this was still nothing more than a mercantile adventure under James I. It was in the year 1620 that the refugees from England to Holland embarked on board the Mayflower, and touching, by way of farewell, at the land of their birth, proceeded across the ocean. On the 12th of November that year, these "*Pilgrim Fathers*," as they have been ever since styled, having their Bibles with them, kept their first Sabbath on the shores of *New* England. The name thus given, by Prince Charles, a few years before, seemed to send its echo back to the country which they had left for ever. The Sacred Volume in their native tongue, which these people prized above life itself, was now within the shores of a new Continent; but this was in the year 1620, whereas the *first Bible with an American imprint was not published till the year* 1782, that is, above a hundred and sixty years afterwards, or little more than only sixty years ago! Yes, such is the remarkable fact.

From the first reception of the English New Testament by Britain, it was about a hundred years before the Bible, so singularly conveyed to the island at first, began to be carried away, never to return. But what must now appear in retrospect far more extraordinary, for *a hundred and sixty* years the authorities at home would never permit of a single edition being printed, except within this island! To speak still more correctly is humiliating to our common nature. The British authorities, in fact

[1] Smith's Virginia, p. 11.

never did give any permission, but at the end of this long period, the English Bible was then printed, four thousand miles distant, *without* authority or liberty being either asked or granted by any man. As if the singular history of this version *must* still retain the integrity of its character, down to our own day, and exhibit to the world, once more, the same independence with which it was first presented to us at home, the American edition was printed in defiance of all British restrictions, in the year 1782.

The simple announcement of this fact, though never pointed out or contemplated, as it has deserved to be, at once gives birth to a crowd of remarkable associations. Here was a period of more than a century and a half, in all which time no man, or set of men, is represented in history as particularly zealous in the business. Nothing similar to a society, confederacy, or association, was formed; the idea of either *cheap* or *gratuitous* circulation had never once entered the human mind, to any known extent; and yet, by the good providence of God, through the usual channels of commerce, *from the reign of James the First, down to that of the eighth sovereign in succession, or the 22d year of George III., was the Divine Record in English uniformly carried all the way across the Atlantic!* It belongs to the Christians throughout America at present, along with those now living in Britain, devoutly to mark this as by far the most remarkable SIGN OF THOSE TIMES. It was the zeal and long-suffering patience of God which thus ministered his Word to those who lived and died at such a distance from the spot where it was prepared! Odious, indeed, and humiliating must this spirit of restriction or monopoly now appear; but as to the event itself, never were any people upon earth so singularly supplied, and for so long a period, with the Word of Life. As one step in the path of Providence, it even still suggests the idea that something far more powerful and extensive is intended, through the medium of *this* version, than it has ever yet accomplished.

The greatness and importance of this movement, however, can only be estimated, by observing its results; or, in other words, by adverting to the trans-atlantic events of that period, or the men who lived and died in America, throughout these years, and this would require a volume. But for our present purpose a very few names may suffice, and these are mentioned simply in the order of time, as they come before us. The first was born in Wales, the second in England, and the three last in America itself.

ROGER WILLIAMS,	born in 1599, died in 1683.	Aged 84.
JOHN ELIOT,	born in 1604, died in 1690.	Aged 86.
COTTON MATHER,	born in 1663, died in 1728.	Aged 65.

JONATHAN EDWARDS, born in 1703, died in 1758. Aged 55.
DAVID BRAINERD, born in 1718, died in 1747. Aged 30.

It is not a little singular that, in point of time, among the first conspicuous moral characters, connected with such a history as the present, there should be found ROGER WILLIAMS, though his principles have frequently been misunderstood or mis-stated. At all events, his case stands in history as if intended to explain at least one cause of the emigration, and its current for many years. Perhaps he was the only emigrant who ever happened to come into personal contact with three of the Stuart dynasty—James I., his son, and grandson. The founder of Rhode Island, he was the first legislator in the world, who effectually provided and established a government of free, full, and absolute liberty of conscience. A native of Wales, he had been first bred to the law in England, under the immediate eye of Sir Edward Coke. He had once conversed with King James himself, procured his first charter in 1644 from Charles I., and the second in 1663, with the full consent of Charles the Second. The latter gave his promise, under his hand and broad seal, that "no person in Rhode Island should be molested, or questioned for matters of conscience to God, if so be he was loyal and kept the peace." This charter once granted, the high officers of State were startled, but "fearing the Lion's roaring, they couched, against their wills, in obedience to his Majesty's pleasure." "Sir," said Williams, when writing to Major Mason (of New Hampshire ?) in 1670, "Sir, we must part with lands and lives before we part with such a jewel. I judge you may yield some land, and the government of it to us, and we, for peace sake, the like to you, as being but subjects to one King; and I think the King's Majesty would thank us, for many reasons. But to part with this jewel, we may as soon do it, as the Jews would have done with the favour of Cyrus, Darius, or Artaxerxes. Yourselves pretend liberty of conscience, but, alas! it is but self, the Great God *self*, only to yourselves. The King's Majesty winks at Barbadoes, where Jews, and all sorts of Christian and Antichristian persuasions are free; but our grant, some few weeks after your's sealed, though granted as soon, if not before your's, is crowned with the King's extraordinary favour to this colony, as being a banished one; in which, his Majesty himself declared, that *he* would experiment, whether *civil* government could consist with *such* liberty of conscience."[2]

Thus was insured to this small State almost entire exemption from all Indian hostility, and although their quiet was interrupted once in 1686, under *James the Second*, by Sir Edmund Andros, who dissolved their government, and broke their seal; after the Revolution in 1688-9,

2 See the account given by Williams himself, dated "Providence, 22d June 1670, *ut vulgo*, in the Massachusetts Historical Society's Collections, vol. i., pp. 275-283.

Rhode Island and Providence resumed their charter, on the ground that an act extorted by terror might be justly recalled when restraint no longer remained. With the exception of these three years, therefore, the Government, on which King Charles was experimenting, has now *consisted* for two hundred years.

Next comes JOHN ELIOT to meet us, and carrying his *Bible* in the language of the North American Indians, completed in the year 1663; for though the emigrants to America might *not* print their *own* Bible, they might print the Indian, or any other they pleased!

"Though there be in this western World," said Eliot, when addressing Charles the Second, in 1663, "though there be in this western World, many Colonies of other European nations, yet we humbly conceive *no* Prince hath had a return of such a work as this!—The Southern Colonies of the SPANISH nation have sent home from this American continent, much gold and silver, as the fruit and *end* of their discoveries and transplantations: that, we confess, is a scarce commodity in this colder climate. But suitable to the ends of our undertaking, we present this, and other concomitant fruits of our poor endeavours to plant and propagate the gospel here; which, upon a true account, is as much better than gold, as the souls of men are more worth than the whole world. This is a nobler fruit of COLUMBUS's adventure, and, indeed, in the counsels of All-disposing Providence, was an higher intended end."

In the same year that Eliot published his Bible, COTTON MATHER was born, and here he comes with his singular "Ecclesiastical History of New England." For passing over all its strange credulity, he brings his "Essays to do good," to which Benjamin Franklin, and many others, have acknowledged themselves so much indebted; to say nothing of his three hundred and eighty publications beside.

Lest, however, any inquiry be made after strength of mind, here is JONATHAN EDWARDS, not only with his "Notes on the English Bible," and his "History of Redemption," but all his profound writings. Perhaps no man was held by him in higher admiration than DAVID BRAINERD, that prince of missionaries to the American Indians, whose example has been of such value ever since.

The time would now fail to tell of many other venerable, laborious, and useful characters; but though they were all before us, or all mentioned by name individually, one of the most notable circumstances in their lives was this—that *not one of these men ever possessed any other than an* IMPORTED *English Bible!* And *all* who ever heard them, *all* who read the book from which they preached, were using volumes which had come to them, thousands of miles, across the sea, from the land of their ancestors! A similar track, or lengthened

train of proceeding, of course cannot be pointed out, with relation to any other European version of the Scriptures; and, with reference to any Bible in any language whatever, we may safely say, that the same remarkable course will never *again* occur in the history of future times. Meanwhile, if the path pursued has lent additional emphasis to the history of the English Bible, so it ought, assuredly, to the obligations of those millions, far and near, who now all read the same version.

To return, however, to the history itself, the first proper American imprint, as already stated, was not before 1782; though in the course of this long extended period, there was one attempt at what has been styled piracy, in a small edition of only 800 copies of the Bible, in quarto, by Kneeland and Green of Boston. But it certainly casts no honourable reflection on the monopoly so long maintained in England, that this was done only by an evasion of the patent. Carried through the press as privately as possible, about the year 1752, it bore this imprint—"London: Printed by Mark Baskett, Printer to the King's most excellent Majesty." A similar expedient was resorted to with a solitary edition of the New Testament, by Rogers and Fowle of the same place. The principal man concerned in both, was Daniel Henchman, a spirited bookseller, who had built one of the first paper mills in New England. The fact is, that the printing press had been set up as early as 1639, and its noblest fruit had been the Indian Bible for the natives; *other* books they were at liberty to print; they had a newspaper as early as 1704, and were making paper from one generation to another; but owing to their connexion with Britain, they must *not* print the *English Bible!* The very few Scriptures now mentioned—such was the humiliating apology—were thus put forth, "in order to prevent a prosecution from those in England and Scotland who published the Bible by a patent from the Crown, or '*cum privilegio*,' as did the universities of Oxford and Cambridge." Nor, alas! for Old England, was the liberty EVER granted! At last it was wrested from her, *nolens volens*, so that the first English Bible, with an American imprint, was not published till the year already specified. In connexion with this fact, one should have imagined there could scarcely have been

another more humiliating to national vanity; and yet there was one, which must not be suppressed, as it may be of some value even still. During this long period, no other nation in Europe had so treated its vernacular Bible. There never was any monopoly of the Sacred Scriptures, as to printing them, in Germany, similar to that in England; no patents from the beginning, to compare with British policy. And therefore the first Bible in any European language, printed in *our own* America, was in *German*. This was in 1743, after having been three years in the press, by Christopher Sauer at Germantown, near Philadelphia. He printed a second edition in 1762, and a third in 1776. It was only her *own* Bible, as already stated, that England held in chains, thus painfully reminding us of the language of one of her own poets—

> "Oh bright occasions of dispensing good!
> How seldom used, how little understood!
> To give Religion her unbridled scope,
> Nor judge by statute a believer's hope."

Still, however, and as if to link the two countries, even *then*, more closely than ever in Christian bonds, this first American Bible is the more worthy of notice, as not having been the work of a native American. It was a year equally memorable in both countries. Political ties might be snapt asunder; not so those of Christianity; and at the very moment in which American independence was acknowledging by Britain, there had been printed, by a native of Scotland, on the American shore, and in the city of Philadelphia, a practical acknowledgment, that we were still the readers of one common Bible, and equally bound by the same Divine authority.

Robert Aitken, born in 1734 at Dalkeith, had served a regular apprenticeship to some bookbinder in Edinburgh, and afterwards perfecting himself in the knowledge of the book trade, at the age of thirty-five he sailed for America. Having seen the country, he came home, and in 1771, with a stock of books, embarked for Philadelphia. Three years after this, having commenced printer, and in 1775, a magazine, it was in 1782 that he published, in small duodecimo, his edition of the Bible in brevier type—"Philadelphia, printed and sold by R. Aitken, &c., MDCCLXXXII." Mr. Aitken died only in 1802, having survived his son, but he left a *daughter*, who continued the business; and she has had

the honour of printing the *only* edition of the *Septuagint* that ever had been translated into English.[3]

When formerly treating of Scotland, it must have appeared strange, that it should have been so singularly supplied with the Scriptures from without, and for so long a period ; but, in point of distance from supply, as well as length of time, here in America had been a course stranger still. Both cases, however, and in succession, thus form essential features in the history of our common version ; and it is in perfect keeping with this retrospect, that the first printer of the English Bible openly in America, should be taken away from the mother country, and in that country from Scotland. It was fit that such a man should be the first to do that for his adopted country, which had been so remarkably done for his own. Nor is it less observable that he should do this in *such* a year, when there came the acknowledgment of that independence by Britain and Holland, to which so soon after Sweden and Denmark, Spain and Russia fully acceded. At the end of the Old Testament, in Aitken's edition, was printed a resolution of *Congress*, recommending it to the people at large, " as a pious and laudable undertaking, in the *existing* state of the country."

Into the history of the printing of the English Scriptures by native Americans, we here enter no farther than to mention, that the *first* English Bible, in *folio*, was published at Worcester, Massachusetts, by Isaiah Thomas, in 1791 ; and the first, in *quarto*, with a concordance, also that year. At the same period, the *first* edition of the English version in *octavo*, was printed at Trenton, in New Jersey, by Isaac Collins. The *second*, in *duodecimo*, was not published till 1797, by Thomas at Worcester, Massachusetts, which seems to prove, that Bibles of this size, at least, if not others, were still importing from Britain. Farther than this we need not now proceed, under this head.

Thus, as far as we have come, and before we proceed to our final section, we may be permitted to assert, it has been demonstrated, that for more than two hundred and fifty years, or from 1526 to 1782, the Sovereign Disposer of all events had proceeded invariably, and with infinite long-suffering, after the *same* manner, whether in England or Scotland, or finally in America. The same mysterious and unwearied footsteps, are now visible throughout. First, in braving all the hostility of

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3 " The Old Covenant, commonly called the Old Testament, translated from the Septuagint, by Charles Thomson, late Secretary to the Congress of the United States. Philadelphia, printed by Jane Aitken, 71, North Third Street, 1808." Forming, with the New Covenant, or Testament, four volumes 8vo. It is singular, that the Septuagint should never have been translated or printed in BRITAIN *till only the other day*. We have for years possessed the first translation, but know not as yet the comparative merits of the two versions.

the authorities in succession, at home, as in Britain, and then abroad, as in America; thus overruling the narrow policy of England towards her distant colonies, with regard to that blessed book which had been so undeservedly bestowed upon herself. Conveyance from a *distance* had been adopted, first in the one case, and then in the other. There was printing in *one* country, and reading in *another;* first for a hundred, and then for above a hundred and sixty years! Importation was ever and anon pursued, and for so long a period. As if to elevate every mind conversant with this language, to a higher tone of veneration for the Divine will and record, than it has *ever yet* obtained; it was in this lofty and independent manner, that Divine Providence had now proceeded throughout the space of two centuries and a half! No other nation upon earth had been so visited at first—no other people so favoured and followed ever since—no race of Adam so frequently addressed.

III.—OR FINAL SECTION.

REIGN OF GEORGE III. TO QUEEN VICTORIA.

The last Sixty-four Years.

THE COMMENCEMENT OF A GREATER MOVEMENT THAN EVER BEFORE—TO BE UNDERSTOOD ONLY BY FIRST LOOKING ABROAD—THE REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT IN FRANCE—THE AGITATION EXTENDS—NEITHER BRITAIN NOR HER COLONIES REMAIN UNSCATHED—THE SAGACITY OF ENGLISH AUTHORS IN EVERY FORM OF COMPOSITION IS EXHAUSTED, WITHOUT AVERTING OR EVEN ALLAYING THE STORM—ACTION IS CALLED FOR—BUT THE OBSTACLES TO UNITED ACTION APPEAR TO BE INSUPERABLE—THE SOVEREIGN DISPOSER OF ALL EVENTS, AS A SECRET MOVER, UNOBSERVED—IN SECRET HE MUST BE ACKNOWLEDGED—THE FIRST FEEBLE MOVEMENT TAKING ITS NAME FROM THE BIBLE—THE SECOND—ITS ENTIRE FAILURE NO GROUND FOR DISCOURAGEMENT—TEN YEARS BEFORE, DIVINE PROVIDENCE HAD FIXED ON ONE YOUNG MAN—READING THE ENGLISH BIBLE IN OBSCURITY, HIS MIND IS RIPE FOR ACTION—A NEW FEELING, OR SPIRIT OF ENLARGED BENIGNITY IS IMBIBED—IN MATURER YEARS, HIS HISTORY

AND EXERTIONS GRADUALLY INTERPRET THE BENEFICIAL REFLEX INFLUENCE OF FOREIGN OPERATIONS—TWO OTHER MEN GO TO HIS AID—THESE EFFORTS MUCH IMPRESS A FEW POWERFUL MINDS AT HOME—THE BIBLE WITHOUT EITHER NOTE OR COMMENT DRAWS MORE ATTENTION—THE DESTITUTION OF IT IN WALES—THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN BIBLE SOCIETY WITH ITS AUXILIARIES—THEIR EXERTIONS UP TO THE PRESENT DAY—THE UNITED KINGDOM AND HER COLONIES EMBRACE ABOVE FOUR THOUSAND SIMILAR ASSISTANT OR INDEPENDENT UNIONS—THESE FORM ONLY AN INFERIOR DIVISION OF THE VAST FIELD OF ACTION—AFTER A DISTRIBUTION AND SALE OF SO MANY MILLIONS OF THE ENGLISH SCRIPTURES, THERE OCCURS AN EXTRAORDINARY AND UNPRECEDENTED FALL IN THE PRICE OF THE SACRED VOLUME—THUS LENDING TO THE PRESENT HISTORY, ITS LAST PROVIDENTIAL MOVEMENT, OR A CONCLUSION AS CHEERING AS IT WAS UNANTICIPATED.

BRITAIN AT THE HEIGHT OF A RESPONSIBILITY NOT EASILY CONCEIVED, AS IT BAFFLES ALL ADEQUATE DESCRIPTION—ON THE SUMMIT OF HER HIGHEST PRIVILEGE THERE IS NO REPOSE—THE PRESENT HISTORY INDICATES A COURSE OF ACTION, IF NOT THE ONLY ONE, WHICH INVOLVES HER FUTURE WELFARE AND STABILITY—A PATH OF DUTY WHICH CANNOT, WITH IMPUNITY, BE EVADED.

IN the first year of this period, or 1780, we discover the first feeble symptom of a great movement, and one with regard to the Sacred Volume, more especially the *English Bible*, greater than this nation, or even the world had ever witnessed. But it cannot be duly appreciated, nor its true bearing understood, if we at once begin here.

While the Scriptures were in the course of translation into English, when they were first printing abroad, and importing into our native land, the state of the Continent, as well as that of Britain, invited our attention, and that, alternately, for a series of years. And now, in the last division of this history, now that these Scriptures had been read and enjoyed for so many generations; now that they, and they *alone*, are to be regarded as the means, under God, of having given to Britain her distinguishing character among the European nations, we are constrained to look across the Channel once more, but only once. It is to France.

It is long since we have looked particularly in that direction, and, indeed, since the days of Francis the First, we have had little occasion so to do. But now, and with immediate reference to DIVINE REVELATION, and to that, we hesitate not to say, above every other object whatever, the last sixty years are to be regarded in the light of a critical period or

crisis, not even *yet* exhausted ; and without a brief retrospect, the exertions now making, and *yet to be made*, cannot be properly understood.

Speaking generally, for these three hundred years, there has been one feature of distinction between this country and our next neighbour on the Continent. It here invites observation, and the more so, that it scarcely, if ever has been followed out. A marked distinction, confessed by all, has long existed, and it has appeared so palpable, that the British people have been described as "living in a sort of *moral* separation from the rest of Europe, analogous to their physical insulation." An eminent French writer, M. Guizot, has lately said as much, and then he traces this to "the development of the principles, the *different* elements of society taking place in some measure at the *same time*, at least much more simultaneously than upon the Continent." There is much of truth and beauty in his subsequent explanation, but in searching for an adequate cause of distinction, must we not go farther, or deeper than this ? Must we not inquire whether there was not some appliance, or powerful agency within this country, which France, as a country, had repudiated, or of which she has been, for ages, comparatively destitute ? And if we *do* find something among the people here, but not there, the operation of which, in its influence on society, may be compared to the irresistible influence of secreted leaven, are we not called to watch and observe it ? To observe it too, in its operation upon every *element* of society, let that society, as a whole, be found in whatever condition it may ? Now it is notorious, that the Sacred Volume has never been received so as to be calmly and deliberately enjoyed in France, as it has been in Britain. Civilization, indeed, in the popular sense of that term, has proceeded in both countries, and so much the better for all the purposes of comparison. There is, indeed, no necessity for our nicely balancing which has been foremost in *that* race, but we are certainly bound to observe how one people, *with* the Divine record in their hands, have gone on ; and then to observe the other, who have advanced in what is styled civilization, *without* it. Their respective careers afford one great moral lesson, in which the incidents on the road, and the progress of the journey, become alike impressive, and full of instruction ; while, at the same time, it is not to be forgotten that such has been the place which France and Britain have occupied in the eye of the world, that all Europe has looked on—all Europe has been engrossed, and even affected ; nay, such is the actual position of these two kingdoms at the present moment.

The history of Britain, in connexion with the Scriptures, we have already given ; and, in this comparison, let all justice be done to her potent neighbour. There *was* a time, in the sixteenth century, when France bade fair to have followed in the same career. Like England, and especially Scotland, she was highly favoured from *without*. In the course of only fifty years, or from 1550 to 1600, there were printed not fewer

than ninety-eight editions of the French Bible, and fifty-nine of the New Testament separately. Again, when in 1600, Lertourt had printed his edition in folio, it was followed by thirty-five editions in various sizes, besides fifty-six separate editions of the New Testament. To these we may add thirty-six editions of the Catholic version, and seventy-four of the New Testament, from 1600 to 1700. Here, then, of the Scriptures in the French tongue, we have not fewer than *three hundred and fifty-eight* distinct issues from the press![1] Oh, what an affecting retrospect, if all this was *not* to prevail? If all this was to be resisted from within the kingdom at large? For of these 358 editions, not fewer than 205 had been printed, not in France, but chiefly at Geneva, on the one hand, and at Amsterdam, on the other. Yet so it happened, for then came the reign of Louis XIV., with a brilliancy of a far different character. Were any one to take the hundred years which preceded his being declared of age in 1651, and compare it with the century which followed his death in 1715, few historical contrasts would be more striking. In the former, we should see the truth of God combating superstition, and promising, if only let alone, to make the vine-covered hills of France rejoice in the possession of the true vine; in the latter would be seen but little or nothing else save infidelity, undisguised and unblushing, in frantic rage against Divine truth itself.

For our present guidance, however, all that is requisite is only a brief survey of the two last, or the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Throughout the former, our attention is perpetually drawn to the *government;* throughout the latter, it is more irresistibly fixed on the French *people.*

During the seventeenth century in France, but more especially from the year when Louis the Fourteenth was declared of age, all eyes were fixed on the Crown, and for sixty years despotic monarchy was the order of the day. This long reign has not unfrequently been compared to that of Augustus. Poets and orators, philosophers and lawyers, painters and architects, were not merely allowed to play their several parts, but they were fostered and stimulated by the royal bounty, while at the same time arts and commerce were brought into a flourishing condition. But was this all? Not to mention the licentiousness of this Monarch and his Court, how did he conduct himself towards the human mind and the Sacred Volume? After hearing Massillon on more occasions than one, well might he go away, as he confessed, "very much displeased with himself;" but he was the slave of his own passions, and so died. It was the same man who persecuted the Port-Royal of which Pascal was the head, who banished Fenelon, but to crown all, revoked the Edict of Nantes, in 1685! And what then? More than fifty

[1] See "Le Long-Biblia Gallica Genevens." &c., although he has not marked all the editions.

thousand families, nay, it has been said eight hundred thousand individuals fled the kingdom, and they are not in this history to be called by any mere nickname. Correctly speaking, they were the people who pled for the *Scriptures*, or possessed them ; and prizing them from principle, above life itself, left all behind. They were the salt of the land, as the pestilential exhalations which followed, most fully proved. No, the condition in which a Monarch *leaves* his country, has been well described as the key to his character and to his reign ; and in what condition was France when Louis the XIV. died in September 1715 ? Dying at the age of seventy-seven, after a reign, in full sovereignty, of more than eixty years, several provinces were left less powerful than they were even at the beginning. The insatiable thirst for splendour at Court had beggared the kingdom, and another Versailles would have completed its ruin. The people possessed no rights ; the Royal authority was restrained by no limits. And how did the people behave, when their King died ? They insulted his funeral procession, and the Parliament cancelled his will. He had carried despotism to its utmost height, violating laws both human and divine ; but the eyes of Louis *Le Grand* once closed in death, his entire system was levelled to the ground. Such was the termination of brilliant despotic monarchy in France.

Twenty-seven years before the death of this man, it was well that the surrounding nations, Britain included, had taken alarm. His aim appearing to them to be nothing short of universal monarchy, that league was formed, of which we have already spoken.[2] As a providential interposition in favour of the best interests of this island, it is ever to be ranked next in importance, to its deliverance from Rome at first. To this apparently chosen land was then presented a fairer prospect of its becoming " an asylum for freedom of thought."

But if after this period, French government as such had little or no power to annoy, the eighteenth century was to prove of a far more serious or searching character. A storm which had been long gathering, amidst the elegant gaiety or external polish which reigned at Paris and Versailles, was, in the end, to break over the country at large ; and occasion not a few, even in Britain, to stand in doubt whether she should be able to weather it. Properly speaking, this was a question, not respecting *government* of any kind, but *society* at large. It was not any single monarch which now filled the eye, all over Europe, but the people of France, in full resolve, to throw off every restraint, human and divine. It was a development, of what was styled " public opinion," working for unlimited display, and for many years. The closing ten years of the eighteenth century only interpreted a process which had been in constant operation, ever since the days of the Grand Monarch. The death

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[2] See before, pp. 552-554.

of Louis the Fourteenth had been the signal for action. In patronizing genius, he had been all along inviting intelligence and opinion, and the next century was to explain to all Europe, as had been done in ancient times, "that science may flourish amidst the decay of humanity, and that the utmost barbarity may be blended with the utmost refinement."

Under Louis the Fifteenth, the French in general were at a loss to comprehend how a narrow channel of seven leagues sufficed to separate a country where the people were every thing, from one in which they were nothing: but there were philosophers, falsely so called, busy night and day, and they had sternly resolved to make "something" of the people. It was not an error into which these men had separately fallen, and which they separately avowed, but a deep laid understood design. A powerful confederacy had been formed, at the head of which all historians agree in placing VOLTAIRE. His disciples or associates are known to all. There was Toussaint and Helvetius, D'Alembert, Diderot, Condorcet, and many others of the same school. The vain design, which was carried on for many years, with great subtilty, was to sap the foundations of Christianity, and destroy the authority of *Scripture*. Before these men, there was nothing so inviting in their own apprehension as the triumph of Reason, the perfectibility of the human race. By this time, the mind of man, they said, sighed for its *native home*, and well it might; but they fearfully mistook their way, when they confounded Christianity with superstition, and cast away the word of Jehovah. There was, however, to be no Temple, save the Temple of Reason. As it were, in the inner court of this structure, the league had been formed against all who looked higher than *Nature*, for the object of their veneration and confidence. They had banded together, and their *Dictionnaire Encyclopédique* contained the entire poison of the sect —Scepticism, Materialism, Deism, and unblushing Atheism. Carefully enlisting the lusts and passions on their side, against every species of restraint they had vowed vengeance; but, above all, the Sacred Volume excited their implacable hatred. Voltaire, their hoary ringleader, was born in 1694, and at the age of 81, was full of the hope of success. Upon Louis the Sixteenth ascending the throne, in 1775, when writing to Frederick of Prussia, the *philosopher* King, for such was the title in which they gloried.—"I know not," said he, "whether our young King will imitate your example, but I know that, with the exception of one, who is a bigot, he has taken *philosophers* for his ministers; one of them, M. Turgot, is worthy of your Majesty's conversation. The priests are in despair. *This is the beginning of a great revolution.*"

This vain and miserable apostle and high priest of infidelity had now for half a century vented all his malice, especially against the Scriptures. With learning, such as he had cultivated and possessed, with genius and wit, he had daily, year after year, put forth all his

strength. Both Jews and Christians, the Old Testament and the New, he had assailed, as if labouring under a virulent species of black inspiration. At this moment he was within three years of his death, as he expired at Paris on the 30th of May 1778, it is generally understood, in mental agony, not to be described. It was only three years after, when one of the best of our English poets placed him in contrast with an English Christian cottager—"never heard of half a mile from home," and in verse which will never die.

> "The Scripture was his jest-book, whence he drew
> 'Bon mots' to gall the Christian and the Jew;
> An infidel in health—but what when sick?
> Oh—then a text would touch him at the quick:
> View him at Paris in his last career.——"

The votaries of this school, it is well known, died miserably, almost to a man. Condorcet swallowed poison, when, in the depth of wretchedness, he was pursued by the myrmidons of the Revolution at that time raging. The scene was then, if it be not still, indescribable. There was no inundation of surrounding nations from without, no earthquake or pestilence from within, but a ferocity more terrible than them all in union, which spared no age, nor sex, nor rank. With all its horrors, however, it was nothing more than the natural or necessary result of those principles which had been diffused throughout France, for many years; and with a zeal which had never, in modern times, been exhibited by the believers in Christianity. As if to keep *them* humble, and rouse *them* to activity, in all time to come, and especially in times like the *present;* never let it be forgotten, that before the Revolution of 1792, the promoters of infidelity in France are stated to have raised among themselves and spent, a sum equal to *nine hundred thousand pounds in one year*, nay, again and again, in purchasing, printing and dispersing books, to corrupt the minds of the people, and prepare them for desperate measures!

Amidst a frenzy, so peculiar in its character, and certainly unknown to any former age, while France was driving on in misery, neither Britain, nor even her colonies, remained unmoved. To say nothing of older sceptics, from Herbert to Hobbes, England had now her Edward Gibbon; Scotland, her David Hume, who by the way had first lighted his taper in France, with a view to his own country; and then finally came home, an Apostle to the *common* people, Thomas Paine from America. In Britain the sentiments of Gibbon and Hume had infected the higher classes, and it is well if many of them be not infected still; but for the people at large, Paine, though obliged to leave his native land, sent into it fourteen thousand of his deistical publications, and these were followed by large and cheap editions printed on British ground, and most industriously circulated.

After all this, and on both sides of the Channel, certainly never more

could infidelity complain of want of time or space, to put forth all her strength. The tree was one of a hundred years' growth, and now it stood like the deadly upas, in great vigour, spreading its branches all around. Philosophy, falsely so called, had actually done her "perfect work," and to what now did it all amount? The mass of a mighty neighbouring nation was reduced to the rank of atheism; one of the most current of all languages had become the language of infidelity; the most polished people upon earth had become the most profligate, and even ferocious; the burning lava of French principles was overflowing the Continental nations, and Britain was now more than threatened: she had been scorched, and begun to suffer. Her very colonies were affected. Not only was the baneful influence felt in America, but even in India, almost all Europeans were of the infidel school. There, said Sir James Mackintosh, "every form of religion was tolerated, *except* the Christian." Some English writers went so far as to apply to the times one passage of Sacred writ: "And the fourth angel poured out his vial on the sun; and power was given unto him to scorch men with fire: and men were scorched with great heat, and blasphemed the Name of God, which hath power over these plagues: and they repented not to give him glory." They remarked, at the same time, that this "heat" could not be understood of the persecution of the faithful, because they would not *blaspheme* under it. But all prophetic or ambiguous language apart—

> "The very spirit of the world was tired
> Of its own taunting question, asked so long,
> 'Where is the promise of your Lord's approach?'
> The infidel had shot his bolts away,
> Till, his exhausted quiver yielding none,
> He glean'd the blunted shafts that had recoil'd,
> And aim'd them at the shield of Truth again."

Such a scene Europe had never before witnessed, so that if the dormant energies of all who believed in Divine Revelation had not been awakened, never could they have said that burning zeal had not been displayed by the enemy—zeal sufficient to have roused the soul of every one in this country, who rested all his hope for time and eternity on the Sacred Volume *alone*. To this, therefore, and to this *alone, and without note or comment*, must they not finally turn?

In these circumstances, however, and only thus far, we may be permitted to remark one notable distinction between France and Britain. Both countries, it will be said, had produced their respective infidels, and where then lay any difference? In France had they not enjoyed elegant writers in Fenelon and Pascal? Ecclesiastical and civil historians, as in Dupin, Fleury, and Rollin? Nay, celebrated preachers, as in Bourdaloue and Massillon? True, nor do we forget among them all, Houbigant, living till within about thirty months of being an hundred

years old, from 1686 to 1783. Shut out, by deafness, from society around him, for more than eighty years of study, he had put forth his Hebrew Bible in four volumes folio in 1753; and borrowing strength from England and Scotland, translated Charles Leslie's tracts against Deism, and President Forbes's thoughts on Religion, natural and revealed. But still, throughout the eighteenth century, there had risen not one French mind, of sufficient power and skill to gainsay and resist, so as to check the tide of infidelity. No, it spread over the people, and swept all before it into one common ruin. And why? The *people in France* HAD NOT READ THE SCRIPTURES FOR THEMSELVES. A *ceremonial* religion, though supported by immense wealth, had proved to be no barrier. On British ground there was a difference. Her sceptics in succession, had, every one of them, been looked hard in the face. From Herbert down to Hume and Paine, they had been fully met, exposed and overthrown; while Deism, false philosophy, and boasted human reason were not only tried by appeal to the oracles of God, but scrutinized as to their moral tendency, and found wanting. But why all this, or rather why successful, to whatever degree? We hesitate not to reply, that there is but one answer. The *people in Britain* HAD LONG READ THE SCRIPTURES FOR THEMSELVES.

Such a storm as this, however, was not to be drifted to leeward by the breezes of controversy. Man might do his utmost, and seemed to have done so; but the sky had not cleared, nor, to human apprehension, had the tide turned. At last, towards the close of the century, Richard Watson, who had so meanly crouched to Gibbon in 1779, after having written against him in his "*Apology* for Christianity," put forth a second apology. It was no other than an "*Apology*" for the Bible!! This able publication was of great use, so far as the audacious and vulgar sophistry of Paine had imposed on such as had not previously examined for themselves; although the advocate of divine truth could not have descended *lower*, in adopting such a title, in reference to such a creature; but still there was actually nothing done by man, such as the times demanded. Disentangling the sophisms of infidel writers, or resisting the scurrility of licentious and profane men, was but like fighting in the fire for very vanity. Human composition of any kind was but of little avail. It was not a time for writing *books*. The season called for action—UNITED ACTION.

Here, however, obstacles deeply rooted, and of long standing, presented themselves, and especially in Britain throughout. That there were myriads of Christians within her shores, all reading the same Bible, could be questioned by no man; but how to bring those myriads together, or how to make them act in *union*, were questions more difficult than that which Columbus proposed with respect to the egg. Differences, professedly conscientious, had kept British Christians asunder for ages. As bodies of men, they had been living in a state of estrange-

ment from each other, from father to son. It seemed as if there were even a degree of hereditary alienation from each other. The writer is old enough to remember all this distinctly, and more than this. Not to mention prejudice, selfishness, or easy indifference, there was the spirit of nationality, as seen, not merely in the different forms under which Christianity was professed, but in the five different languages spoken within the realm. Among them all, there were those who read and revered the sacred page; but *how* they were to be brought together; *how* they were ever to put forth their energy in *union*, no man had yet said, because no one had yet seen. There was the spirit of monopoly affecting every interest, whether sacred or civil; or, what was many years since designated by no common mind,[3] that "nasty little corporation spirit," which not only tied up the hand, but froze the heart, and made self the centre and circumference, whether of feeling or desire. All these things had given such a tough and unaccommodating character to Christians, on the whole, that union to any great extent was certainly *not* premeditated. By the generality, it was not then expected!

Long had Britain boasted of her "*Institutions*"—far too long. But, though formed professedly both for defence and safety in time of danger, to which of them could she, or did she, now look for help, against the common foe of divine truth? She stood, indeed, like a stag at bay, and withstood, as no other nation had; but it is not now to be concealed, or to be forgotten, that not one of her corporate bodies, not one of her "interests," or her long-established institutions, stepped forward, as such; nor would the strongest of them all have been of any avail in turning the tide of infidelity, much less in driving it back. The fact was, that a spirit of scepticism had more or less infected all ranks and all parties; and yet the union of *all* was demanded, a united phalanx, a larger Christian *circle* than Britain had ever witnessed, and, ultimately, than the world itself had seen. Yet how was such a thing possible?

Meanwhile, the enemy had been united, and united only for purposes of vengeance or disorganization. The enemy was at the gates, and had spoken with a voice which had made the nations quail—our own included. But in regard to *this* country, it is most of all remarkable, for we are now at sufficient distance to see it as soon as pointed out, the *real state of things* was perceived by no man in it. In the very heart of this crisis, as in every other such, or just when the tide of infidelity was rising to its height, Providence was first, and the first mover. The names of a very few men then moved, remain unknown to this day; nor was a single individual among this feeble band then aware of the work he had begun. The enemy was certainly coming in like a flood; but the finger of God had already at least pointed to a standard against him. It involved but a *single*, but a *simple* idea, in proof of the quarter

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3 Wilberforce.

from whence it came; yet nearly a quarter of a century passed away, before it was *heartily* taken up by man. God had spoken once, nay, twice, yet man perceived it not. The first time he did so, a remedy was pointed out, applicable not to one class in this nation alone, or at such a season, but to the world at large, though this was not yet observed. The second time was in reference to FRANCE itself, and at the very moment in which their fearful Revolution was about to burst out; though that was not a soil where such an idea could *then* be expected to ripen into action. "The still small voice," however, already uttered, and on *both* sides of the channel, was not to be ultimately drowned in the roar of infidelity.

But in addition to those incidents, which will be explained presently, it will also appear that, though it was in the shades of obscurity, God had already infused a spirit of deepest sympathy into one human breast in England. It was sympathy for his country, though not for it alone, but more especially for *foreign and distant*, or heathen nations. In modern times, it was the commencement of a NEW feeling in the human heart, and of more value to the best interests of Britain, than, as a nation, she has even yet perceived. Such, however, will turn out to be the first *symptoms* of that great movement to which we have alluded, and now turn.

In the year 1780, while England was in a state of warfare not only with America and France, but with Spain and Holland, the first association of individuals known by a title taken from the Scriptures themselves, without note or comment, took its rise. "*The Bible Society*," and nothing more, was the name chosen. With whom the idea originated, has never been clearly stated; but at such a period it was the more singular, as being intended solely for the benefit of *soldiers* and *sailors*. It had been resolved to put into their hands the words of Him of whom it is said, "He shall judge among the nations, and rebuke many people, and they shall beat their swords into ploughshares, and their spears into pruning hooks—neither shall they learn war any more." It appears to have been simply the idea of their frequent exposure to death, whether by land or sea, that suggested the movement.

This Society was supported by "voluntary individual subscriptions, and collections at different places of worship." Within two years they had expended upwards of £1500, having distributed more than eleven thousand Bibles among different regiments and ship's crews. The very first ship to which they gave the Scriptures, it is singular enough, was one, the hulk of which Major-General Pasley, with such laborious in-

genuity, has been raising out of the deep in our own day, at the distance of sixty years after she had sunk.

" It was not in the battle ;
No tempest gave the shock ;
She sprang no fatal leak ;
She ran upon no rock.

" A land breeze shook the shrouds,
And she was overset ;
Down went the Royal George,
With all her crew complete."

It must have been about eighteen months before this that a Bible had been given to every couple of seamen ; and " by letters from some on board, written before the sad and sudden event, there was sufficient ground to believe that the Holy Scriptures had made some of that crew wise unto salvation." There were 400 bibles on board, " when Kempenfelt went down, with twice four hundred men." At subsequent periods we read of many thousands of the Sacred Volume having been distributed ; for it need scarcely be mentioned that this is the same institution which exists at the present day, under the title of the Naval and Military Bible Society.

It was not till ten years later, or May 1792, that we hear of another kindred association. A certain number of individuals in England, chiefly in London, had met, and assumed the title of " *The French Bible Society.*" Their object was to furnish those persons in the French nation who were destitute, with copies of the Scriptures in their native tongue.

They had opened correspondence with some gentlemen in Paris, who had expressed an intention of forming a similar Society. A printer at Paris had been engaged, and four thousand livres remitted in advance, while they in England recommended the formation of societies in different parts of this country. But all this was in vain : it was all too late, whether on this side of the Channel or on that. Over France, in general, and especially throughout the summer of 1792, there was louring nothing save the sulkiness of a thunder-storm before it opens, and the Revolutionary war put a period to all communication between the countries. The funds remitted were lost. " We have lived in times," said the printer, still alive in 1801, " which have destroyed every thing, overturned every thing, and all must begin afresh." But nothing then could be either begun, or carried on ; so the money collected in England had to be spent in circulating English Bibles in *Ireland*, and the Society was then *dissolved!*

Nor, in this failure was there any thing to discourage the historian of the times. No work of any magnitude *ever* took its first rise from an assemblage, or confederacy, whether large or small. Of this fact we have abundant illustration in Scripture itself; it is reiterated with great power, especially in the

eleventh chapter to the Hebrews; and our previous history from the beginning throughout forms a running attestation to the same effect. An association of any kind, involved *too many* for God to begin with. At all events, we do not hear one word more of a Bible Society, nor was one spoken of, for more than ten years to come.

These years, however, even from 1780, were pregnant with vital importance in regard to all that have followed since. And though even now but imperfectly understood, in other days, when tracing the footsteps of a gracious Providence, not in our Island alone, but in lands distant "far as the sea-fowl in a year can fly," they will look back to this period, or before the existence of any modern efforts, styled missionary, when the Church at large lay in a state of sad and criminal repose. But in doing this, every one will have to be alike content, should he meet with scarcely more than one human agent, or no more than one man, wherever he was, and however unknown at the time.

If, therefore, throughout these years, there was any thing else in progress, however secretly,—if there was one individual mind loaded with one subject, and if, instead of any community of whatever description, that individual attract notice, it will only be in perfect keeping with the entire history through which we have passed. Now, from the year 1780 down to 1792, when he fully declared himself, and in the very same month, when certain men, of whom he knew nothing, were thinking of France, their next-door neighbour only; we are informed of one who, when all that he accomplished before death is taken into account, cannot be overlooked without doing injustice to the present history. If his mind had been, for years, engrossed,—if his heart had been, in truth, oppressed by a sense of pity for mankind, and of imperative obligation to convey the Volume of Inspiration to every land, we have found at least one appropriate link in the chain of our narrative with regard to the Scriptures, nor have we been able to find any other.

It was in the year 1779, when he had only completed his eighteenth year, that this young man was brought to a heartfelt persuasion of the truth of Christianity, and, in justice to the *English Bible*, in the first instance, let it be observed, that in little more than three years, "without reading any thing material on Christian doctrine, *besides the* SCRIPTURES, he had formed his own system." The same version, for many generations, his countrymen and forefathers in succession, had been perusing; but certainly never since it was first translated, had it been read with the same ultimate effects, for his mind was already bent upon *action*. These early impressions were the more remarkable, in that they were cherished, and grew, amidst a most singular conflict of opinion, respecting the *duty* of all to whom the Gospel is proclaimed, to *believe*

it—so very low had Scriptural Christianity sunk! At the same moment, senior ministers of the truth, around him, were saying,—"The time is not come; the time that the Lord's house should be built;" and those in younger years responded,—"There is more than enough to do at home." Certainly, no one was more ready to admit, that much, very much, remained to be accomplished in his own country; but of this young man it requires to be particularly observed, that it was rather the dark and immoral state of the world itself, and upon the largest scale, which had taken possession of him, and so preyed upon his spirits. It is now an established fact, that for years together he had no one who could fully sympathize with the deep and peculiar frame of his spirit. From a personal acquaintance with circumstances, even the writer is able to attest as much. All that time he emphatically belonged to *himself*. A persisting and unquenchable efficacy of purpose dwelt in him, night and day.

As this took place, however, above sixty years ago, it is not improbable that certain readers may be disposed to inquire, and say,—"But why should such a state of mind have been found in all England, and, as if *he alone* were to blame for the darkness which had brooded for ages over heathen nations?" We need not answer this question by asking another,—"Why should *Thomas Clarkson*, in England too, have but one gloomy subject before him, from morning to night? or why in the day time be uneasy, and in the night have little rest, before he knew even of a single step taken to destroy the slave trade, or saw how it could ever be possible to destroy it? But apart from this analogy, we may now ask every one to look back, and consider, how long ago it was since England had been put in possession of the Oracles of God, and by such singular means, in spite of herself? How long she had enjoyed the unmerited boon? We ask, too, whether the Christians within her shores had, for two hundred years, cherished the gift so bestowed with becoming gratitude? But, above all, whether they had remembered their Redeemer's own unrepealed commission, by taking pity on other nations, and striving to convey the light of heaven to other lands? Certainly they had not. With the exception of the never-to-be-forgotten efforts of the truly honourable Robert Boyle, in the seventeenth century, in promoting the translation of parts of the Scriptures into the Malayan, Turkish, and Irish languages, and some translation of the New Testament into Arabic, by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge; the greater part of the last or eighteenth century but too strongly reminds one of that parable of the Virgins, where it is said, "they *all* slumbered and slept."

Why, then, should it ever have been, or be now, matter of surprise, that infidelity had prospered, and grown up, and threatened to become rampant, throughout even this country, in the destruction of *the Sacred*

Volume itself, and of all civil liberty? Had not the Almighty, of old, twice destroyed his own Temple? France, in full view, was now posting on to its own dreadful crisis, and there was a moral propriety in our being most severely handled. The sins of more than two hundred years' neglect lay at the doors of the righteous in the house of God, and it was fit that judgment should awake them, or there begin. Had we received the "Oracles of God," that we might either reverence or neglect them at pleasure? Or that, worse than the Jews of old, we might keep them to ourselves, and say of every or any other nation, "This people that know not the law, are cursed?" But surely, if judgment was averted, it becomes us to inquire in what manner? If the plague was stayed, how much is it now to be admired, if a long-suffering and yet gracious Providence had already been preparing for its assault, though in a way altogether unobserved by the nation, and but too sparingly acknowledged since?

By this time there may be not a few who suspect or anticipate that we have been alluding to CAREY—the Tyndale, in our own day, not of an island only, but of a continent, or not of Bengal alone, with its thirty millions of a population, but the first translator of the Bible entire into the parent language of India, as well as several of its dialects, and of the New Testament Scriptures into others, not a few. As a reader of *the English Bible*, in the first instance, and with such effect, he comes to fill his appropriate place in such a work as the present; and although half a century may yet pass away before his position in history will be properly understood, having now gone to his reward, we are permitted to speak of him with a little more freedom than his own innate modesty before allowed.

WILLIAM CAREY, who, in point of resolute determination, may well be ranked as akin to William Tyndale, is supposed to have been a descendant of James Carey or Cary, the curate of Paulers Pury, near Towcester, from 1624 to 1630. But if so, the family had undergone a gradual declension with regard to circumstances. His grandfather, Peter Carey, appears to have been well educated, from the very free and even elegant style of his signatures in the register as parish-clerk. His father, Edmund Carey, was originally a journeyman Tammy weaver, and lived in a very humble cottage, at a spot in this village called Puryend. Here *William*, his eldest son, was born on the 17th of August 1761. When he was about seven years of age, his father being appointed parish-clerk and schoolmaster, removed to the school at Church End. These united offices he continued to fill in a manner which gained him the respect of

all his fellow-parishioners for nearly half a century. The elementary instruction imparted to William by his father, constituted the first education of the future learned linguist and botanist. But if there were any tokens of genius then apparent, circumstances would admit of no other course than that of his being bound as an apprentice in 1775, at the age of fourteen, to a shoemaker at Hackleton, a hamlet in the same county, about five miles from Northampton. The change, however, which took place in 1779, already noticed, proved to be the turning-point in his existence. After that, while he derived certain advantages from residing at Olney, in Buckinghamshire, he is to be regarded, in an eminent degree, as self-taught, and we are now prepared to observe what became of him.[4]

The truth, as far as we have been able to ascertain it, seems to be this—that from the year 1783 to 1786, the bondage of the human *mind*, as well as that of the human *body*, had come up in remembrance before God; and however arduous was to be the struggle, not only the chains of *superstition* and *idolatry*, but the chains of the *slave* were ultimately to be broken. To retain the Scriptures in our own possession, we must *give* them to the heathen; to preserve whatever of Christianity existed at home, it must be *sent* to the ends of the earth; and if we were longer to retain our own civil liberty, we must make others *free!* With a view to these immense and glorious purposes of infinite wisdom, God had already looked down upon our native land. With all its faults, not to say heedless ingratitude, most of Christianity, and most of civil liberty, were yet to be found there. But for these great ends, in the first instance, so far as indefatigable perseverance and amount of labour were to be concerned, little or nothing more seems to have been requisite than that the hearts of two men only should be touched. They were equally unknown to each other. The first so moved, was William Carey of Paulers Pury, Northamptonshire; the second, Thomas Clarkson of Wisbeach, in the county of Cambridge; and having once pronounced

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4 See the elegant county history of Northamptonshire by Mr. Baker. It is, perhaps, worth mentioning, that the only event which had ever before distinguished this rural parish, was the birth of another learned man, in the 17th century—*Edward Bernard*, born in 1638. A scholar, astronomer, and critic, he was master of Latin, Greek, and Hebrew; and to these he added Syriac, Arabic, Persic, Coptic, and Russ. Succeeding Sir Christopher Wren as Savilian Professor of Astronomy at Oxford, he was the author of various learned productions. On the dispersion of his library after death, his *Polyglot Bible*, full of collations, notes, and scholia, was purchased for £20 by Olaus Wormius, and carried to Denmark. Dr. Bliss thinks it most probable that his father was not the rector, but the curate of Paulers Pury in 1638. If this be correct, he had succeeded Carey's supposed ancestor. *Wood's Athenæ, by Bliss*, vol. iv., pp. 701, 2, 3.

their names, as they will be, by successive ages, there can be little doubt that we have referred to by far the most instructive and important reminiscence in the present age. The bondage of the *mind*, as an intolerable grievance, had already, as it were, seized upon the spirits of the one; the bondage of the *body*, upon those of the other. Carey was up, indeed, earliest in the morning; Clarkson rose next, and almost immediately after him; but, in point of time, the coincidences between them were so very remarkable, that it would even here be unpardonable to pass them over; and the more so, as we are not aware of their having ever before been pointed out.

Here were two young men, who never met; who never exchanged one word with each other; who were entirely ignorant of each other's feelings, however painful at the same moments. They were not only alike natives of the same country, and born within seventeen months of each other, but the mental conflict, which each, under his own burden, endured, was literally *contemporaneous!*[5] Carey, as already hinted, was first in distress, simply because he was first awakened from that bed of easy indifference, on which millions lay asleep around him. This had begun in 1784, if not a little earlier, but next year Clarkson rose after him, and to his own gloomy subject of African slavery, from morning to night, or from day to day. By November 1785, he had given himself up to his subject. So, as it respected anxiety and a painful sense of obligation, it had been and now was, with Carey; while his eye roved over a slavery more ancient, and spread over a wider surface; sighing and praying for the extension of a liberty, which *up to that moment* had remained unsung—

> ——"unsung
> By poets, and by senators unpraised,
> Which monarchs cannot grant, nor all the powers
> Of earth and hell confederate take away:
> A liberty, which persecution, fraud,
> Oppression, prisons, have no power to bind;
> Which whoso tastes can be enslaved no more."

If these lines, however, were written *then*, here was a third individual, though he also was "Retired from all the circles of the gay—and all the crowds that bustled life away." But he had laid hold of his lyre, and he too had begun to sigh after liberty, both in the sense of Clarkson, and in that of Carey. Little did Cowper imagine that, at the very *moment* when he was penning the whole of this beautiful passage for the press, there was then actually living in quiet and peaceful Olney, within the sound of his voice, and nearly the sight of his own parlour window, another man of equal modesty, with the same initials as his own; and that too such a man as the future translator of the Sacred Volume into so many Oriental languages. But so it happened.[6]

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[5] Clarkson was born on Friday, 28th March 1760, and still lives in his 85th year, after devoting fifty-nine years to the cause of the oppressed. Carey was born on Monday, 17th August 1761, and fell asleep on Monday, 9th June 1834, with a mind which had been fifty years under one governing principle.

[6] The progress of that enchanting performance, "The Task," was this. The first four books and part of the fifth, were written by the 22d of February 1784; the final verses of the poem in September following. The work being sent to the press in October, the poet wrote to Mr. Newton on the 30th: "I mentioned it not sooner, because almost to the last, I was doubtful

Throughout the whole of the following year, or 1786, it is impossible to say of Carey and Clarkson, which was most painfully engrossed with his appropriate subject. The *latter*, to interest the public mind, was translating into English his Latin poem, for which he had obtained the first prize from Dr. Peckard, Master of Magdalene College, Cambridge, the year before. The *former* was actually taking account of the four quarters of the earth, and had begun his "Enquiry into the Obligations of Christians to use means for the Conversion of the Heathen." The latter began to think "that the finger of Providence was discernible," but the former still met with objections, on the ground of "so much needing to be done at *home*." Before the close of this year, Clarkson imagined "that the day star of African liberty was rising, and that probably he might be permitted to become a humble instrument in promoting it;" but to Carey neither sun nor star for many days appeared. His object being of a deeper character, he must sustain still longer mental suspense. The fact was, that Clarkson had been more than surprised, to hear of the labours of GRANVILLE SHARP, and that some six individuals in London had been associated for the purpose of enlightening the public mind; while, at the same moment, Carey also had at least three stanch friends, to whom he had applied with great earnestness. These, it is well known, were FULLER, SUTCLIFF, and RYLAND. He this year had urged any one of them to take up *his* subject, but they, knowing well how much and deeply he had thought, devolved it on himself. When the extent to which he pushed his "Enquiry" is observed, and the circumstances of the writer at the moment are taken into account, if we consider it simply as a literary production, it would be difficult to find a parallel. Ungainly in his appearance, absorpt in thought, he was regarded by some others as phlegmatic, and how could he be otherwise than dull? Independently of the subject with which his mind was loaded, he was now preaching regularly at Moulton, a village four miles from Northampton, for an income much below twenty pounds, and he was teaching a school as an additional means of support! These were circumstances not likely to elevate the spirits of any man, and which certainly augured anything but future influence and power; save in the eye of Him who "draws from human littleness, his grandeur and renown." But still, he was now reading the Bible in three, if not four languages, and every incidental circumstance only contributed to deepen the impression on his mind, as well as his sympathy for the most distant nations. Among other branches, when instructing some of the village children in geography, of which he was very fond, he had resolved to inform them, as he pointed out the different countries on the map, or rather, on a globe by himself constructed of *leather*, the *religion* professed by each of them. Going over these, as he had to do, again and again, saying—"These are Christians, and these are Mahomedans, and these are Pagans, and these are *Pagans*, and *these* are *Pagans!*" The thought would as often return upon him —"Why they are almost *all* Pagans, and I am now telling these children as a mere fact, that which involves a truth of the most melancholy character." But so passed away 1786 and longer still.

The Abolitionist, it is well known, then sped on *his* way, with an immensity of bodily toil, and intellectual effort, which have been amply described; and

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whether I should ever bring it to a conclusion; working often in such *distress of mind*, as while *it* spurred me to the work, at the same time threatened to disqualify me for it." Here then was a triumvirate; equally unknown to each other, but individually sombre or sad, like Nehemiah of old. Such, at the commencement of great moral changes, are the ways of infinite wisdom, and so they have been from the beginning. Carey, in 1784, not yet called to the ministry, was then living with his venerated tutor, Sutcliff, within hail or sight of Cowper's dwelling-house.

so did the Translator of the Divine Word on *his*, with whom we have here more especially to do. Painful reflections about the same time must have passed through a few other minds; but with reference to these two men, in their distinct walks, or the arduous course which they took respectively; as the first who were absorpt or overwhelmed with a sense of obligation; the first who put their shoulders to their different objects, and personally accomplished so much; posterity can never mistake the place of either the one or the other. The farther it recedes from the times, this will only become the more apparent. In tracing our past and present obligations to individuals whom God had so distinctly moved, the analogy, in point of mental conflict, and coincidence, in point of time, appear to have been so remarkable, that it is difficult to say whether we have much digressed. But we have done.

Heartfelt sympathy, or conscientious obligation with regard to the moral condition of Heathen nations, or distant lands, was unquestionably *a new feeling*, which had now sprung up within the shores of England. For more than two centuries and a half she had enjoyed the light of Divine revelation, but had never yet acted fully in character, or almost, in any degree, worthy of the high favour bestowed upon her, whether in 1526, or in 1537.

The feeling, however, now to be found in the bosom of one man, was not to be cherished only, and then to die with *him*. For several years still, indeed, this deep impression had to be maintained amidst feeble hopes of success, or rather many discouragements. Thus, partly owing to straitened circumstances, and to his own modesty, the "Enquiry" of Carey was not published till 1792. But the same year he enjoyed one special public opportunity of unburdening his mind of the convictions and impressions of previous years. Having read Isaiah liv., 2, 3, he remarked in his introduction, that the Church was here addressed as a desolate widow, dwelling in a little cottage by herself; that the command given, to enlarge her tent, contained an intimation that there should be an enlargement of her family; and that to account for so unexpected a change, she was told that her "Maker was her husband," so that another day he would be called "the God of the *whole* earth." He then enforced what he conceived to be the spirit of his text, in two exhortations. "*Expect great things—from God.*" "*Attempt great things—for God.*" "If all the people had lifted up their voices and wept," said Ryland, "I should not have wondered at the effect; it would only have seemed proportionate to the cause; so clearly did he prove the criminality of our supineness, in the cause of God." To all he then uttered, the preacher soon gave the force of his own example, by leaving his native land, with the fixed intention of laying his bones in India.

It is worthy of remark, that while the audience he had addressed, was so deeply moved at the moment, there is certainly no discourse in modern times, which has been so frequently alluded to since. The two leading remarks have been repeated, as a sort of "key-note;" then first struck; and repeated also, as an instigation to exertion, ever since, for these fifty years, in England, America, and the East. And why? Within the compass of an hour, the man was expressing the deep feeling of eight or nine years.

Upon embarking for India next year, it might have been supposed that England would have enjoyed the favour of sending to her own colonial possessions, one of her own sons, so bent on conveying the word of life and truth to the Heathen; but, as a nation or government, she could no more enter into the design, even in 1792, than she had done when she herself was about to be so mercifully visited, through Tyndale, in 1526. The analogy between the two

cases was but too strong. If on the part of authority, in the early part of the sixteenth century, there had been fear of England *receiving* the Sacred Volume in her native language ; so in the close of the eighteenth, on the part of certain authorities, there was also fear as to the consequences of *giving* it, and that to her own Eastern possessions ! ! The second psalm, after having been read upon British ground, for above two hundred and fifty years, was not yet understood ! The honour, therefore, of conveying Carey to his appointed field of action, was given to a Danish vessel, and he left his native land, never to return, as Tyndale had done, so long before.[7] Nor did the resemblance here terminate. Our translator was never quite secure of permanent residence, in his adopted continent, till he had sat down upon Danish ground at Serampore, and for a short period, when it was taken by the British, scarcely even there. Still it was from this spot, as from a little sanctuary of only six square miles, that the Sacred Volume was to issue forth in so many of the Oriental languages. In the modern, as well as the ancient instance, the undertaking must appear to be, not a national, but a providential one.

Carey having arrived at Calcutta, in November 1793, as there was no decided movement in his native land with regard to the English Bible, or any other, for more than ten years to come, the space can only be filled up by his progress in the translation of the Scriptures into Bengalee and other tongues, and in their printing, as commenced in the year 1800.

Possessed of a mature acquaintance with Christian doctrine, in his thirty-third year, and in the spring of 1794, Carey had begun to translate the New Testament into the language of Bengal, and by 1797 it was finished, and nearly ready for the press, as soon as types could be cast, and a printing press procured. These were the days when every thing was to *begin*, and far different in their character from those of following years ; but thus labouring in India, there was time sufficient given, if not appointed, for the character and exertions of our Translator to make a deep impression upon individual minds at *home*, and this they certainly did. Thus, the venerable John Newton was fully acquainted with his progress, and so early as August 1797, in his own playful style, he informs his intimate friend, Dr. Ryland,—" Mr. Carey has favoured me with a letter, which, indeed, I accept as a favour, and mean to thank him for it. I look to such a man with reverence. He is more to me than bishop or archbishop : he is an apostle. May the Lord make all who undertake missions like-minded with brother Carey."[8] Far separated from all Christian society, and literally alone, in the midst of the most ancient idolatry in the world, meeting only with Europeans more than tinged with infidelity, they told him that it was impossible to convert the natives ; but nothing could either damp his zeal, or at least affect his determined perseverance. His dearest friends at *home*, in feeling for his situation, had become more alive to their own. Thus, in April 1798, Fuller informs him,—" The spark which God stirred you up to strike has kindled a great fire, not only here, but in America. I received a letter lately from a society in New York, who are endeavouring to station missionaries all along their frontiers. There is a good understanding among Christians of all denominations on this subject. Dark clouds overshadow us as a nation, but we are happy in God. *Infidelity* threatens to swallow up *Christi-*

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[7] He was not, however, solitary and alone. Mr. John Thomas, who as surgeon on board an Indiaman, had been in Bengal before, and deeply concerned for the state of the natives, had now found in Carey as his companion, and as a messenger to the East, all that his heart desired. There were devoted friends at home too, never to be forgotten, who "helped them over the sea," as Munmouth had served Tyndale.

[8] MS. letter.

ority: but however those who are interested in its emoluments may tremble, we have no apprehensions. Instead of waiting for the attack of the enemy, we are acting offensively. The Christian world is almost laying its account with nothing but victory, and commencing its operations against the strongholds of heathenism. So we have nothing to do but to pray and preach. Our worthy friends HARDCASTLE and REYNOLDS feel interested much in the work, particularly *the translation*. I have just now received a letter from the former, full of inquiries as to what can be done to promote it."[*] Thomas Scott, the well-known expositor of Scripture, had early conceived high expectations of Carey, and in 1793 had written to Charles Grant, Esq., in his favour, who expressed the most cordial desire to serve him in his purpose. At that period, however, and without an atom of patronage, the translator must and did proceed to India, as already described. The son of Mr. Scott, the late member of St. Mary's, Hull, had talk with his father, and, in writing the life of that venerable and useful man, alludes to Carey and these early days. "He is," says he, "perhaps, better entitled than any other individual to the praise of having given the first impulse to the extraordinary exertions of the present age for the propagation of Christianity in the world. I well remember the late Rev. Andrew Fuller reporting, at my father's house, in the year 1792, the impression which had been made upon an association meeting of his own denomination, by Carey's sermon on the address to the Church, Isaiah liv., 2, 3," &c. Mr. S. then refers to various institutions as springing up in succession, "all, we trust, destined to contribute their share to that great and blessed consummation, by prophecy's unerring finger marked, to faith's strong eye." But in these pages we are necessarily restricted to the SCRIPTURES themselves, and the progress here made, till the period when that subject was taken up, in good earnest, by the mother country.

By the close of 1796, Marshman and Ward having arrived in India, the three men so well known ever since, had met, and settling down at Serampore, on the 16th of May, 1800, the Bengalee New Testament was put to press, and in less than nine months it was finished, on the 7th of February 1801. Upon copies being sent home, one was conveyed by Fuller to the late Earl Spencer, on whose property Carey had once lived. He immediately sent a cheque on his banker for £50, to be applied to the translation of the Old Testament into Bengalee, recommending that a copy of the *New* should be presented to George III. as by *his* request. This was done, accordingly, by the late Mr. Bowyer, one morning, at Windsor. In the address presented along with this volume, desire was expressed that his Majesty might live to see the principles it contained universally prevail throughout his eastern dominions, when some doubt was whispered, by the lord in waiting, as to whether this book had now come through the proper channel. The king, however, replied immediately,—"The Board of Control has nothing to do with it;" and turning to Mr. B.—"I am greatly pleased to find that any of my subjects are employed in this manner."

In 1801, Carey having been appointed, by the lately deceased Marquis Wellesley, to one of the Chairs in Fort-William College, his views as to translations, in conjunction with those of his colleagues, were, throughout 1802, ripening into a plan for embracing others. "We have it in our power," said Carey, in 1803, "if our means would do for it, in the space of about fifteen years, to have the Word of God translated and printed in all the languages of the East. Our situation is such as to furnish us with the best assistance from natives of the different countries. We can have types of all the different characters cast here, and

[*] Fuller's Letters, MS.

about 700 rupees per month, part of which I hope *we* shall be able to furnish, would complete the work."

An undertaking of such growing magnitude as this, in the Eastern World, but in constant correspondence with the *mother* country, could not fail to have a powerful influence upon certain individuals at home. It not merely affected but vastly enlarged the mind. Instead of being cooped up within the limits of its native island, or only brooding over its own private personal concerns, a habit of feeling for the *masses*, of pity for *nations* had been induced ; and it expressed itself in language lofty as the Scriptures alone could furnish. So at least were deeply affected, the immediate correspondents of Carey, Marshman, and Ward.

" If," said they, " the Gentiles had been called in the early ages of the world, there had been no such proof afforded of the necessity of divine grace, by the manifest insufficiency of human wisdom to lead men to God: and if they had not been called when they were, and the blessings of the Gospel had been nearly confined to the Jews, the spiritual pride which abounded in that people might have become intolerable. But by things being thus wisely *balanced*, the favour of God appears to be what it is, altogether free ; and both Jews and Gentiles may each see enough of themselves to humble them in the dust. First, the world is provoked to jealousy by God's calling and blessing Israel ; next, Israel is provoked to jealousy by His calling and blessing the world ; and He will at last have mercy upon both, and perhaps by means of one another. At least the " receiving" of the one, shall be a kind of moral resurrection to the other, so great in extent, that all which the " casting away" of them has hitherto occasioned in our favour, will be little, it seems, in comparison of it. Reflections like these may preserve us from impatience and despondency, though but little fruit should appear for years."

" Something analogous to this," added Fuller when writing to India in 1804, " has lately struck me, in respect of the *Eastern* and *Western* parts of the world. For two thousand years and upwards after the flood, learning, government, religion, and every distinguished favour, was conferred on the East, and our fathers in the West were mere barbarians. For the last two thousand years, learning, government, and religion, have been in the West, yea, have extended beyond the Atlantic ocean. Before the end of the world, and perhaps before many years, the East and West shall both accede to the Church of God. I think this is predicted in Isa. lx., 6, 9. Premising that the geographical descriptions of Europe and Asia are given by way of synecdoché, those parts of each which lay nearest to the Holy Land, being put for the whole— ' the dromedaries of Midian and Ephah,' ' all they from Sheba,' ' the flocks of Kedar and the rams of Nebaioth,' will signify the accession of Asia ; and ' the isles and the ships of Tarshish,' may denote Europe and all the western world."

" One great cause of mercy to the western world was the Roman conquests, which, whatever were their motives, were overruled for the introduction of the gospel among the European nations : and who knows but the extension of the British conquests in the East, may be designed for a similar purpose. Even that iniquitous traffic in the persons of men, seems already to have been overruled for the salvation of thousands. A goodly number of those poor people have been torn from their relations, connexions, and native shores, that they might be brought into the gospel net. While their masters are basking in wealth, rolling in filthiness, neither entering into the kingdom of Heaven themselves, nor suffering those who would, to enter, God is gathering to himself a people from among these despised outcasts."[10]

[10] Fuller writing to the East. MS.

Sentiments of such enlarged compass as these, ever met with congenial minds at Serampore. In truth, the "Enquiry" of Carey had spread out before them the four quarters of the earth with their various countries, in all their destitution of the Word of God, or knowledge of Christianity.

But we have now arrived at that most deeply interesting period, 1804, when there was a movement at home in this our native land. That is, one more worthy of the exalted favour so long bestowed upon it, as a distinguished storehouse or depository of Divine Truth; more worthy of the place which it had long held among the European nations, and of a country whose commerce had extended to the ends of the earth. Before, however, turning to this event, the formation of the BRITISH AND FOREIGN BIBLE SOCIETY, as we have been pre-engaged, it would be unpardonable to break off here, and not follow to his grave, the man who had been so deeply moved on this subject for twenty years before.

Carey, in the close of 1799, as already hinted, having been joined by two others, Marshman and Ward, who laboured with him, they all in union pursued the same course. WARD, though he had been called to the ministry, was a finished printer, and under his eye all printing was conducted. When upon his voyage to the East he happened to write in his journal these words, by way of anticipation,—"Unto me, who am less than the least of all saints, is this grace given, that I should *print* among the Heathen the unsearchable riches of Christ,"—though he little knew to what extent this favour would be granted him; otherwise he might have added, "and in *twenty* of their languages." The twentieth version of the New Testament had advanced to the book of Revelation at the press, by the day of Mr. Ward's decease, Friday 7th March 1823. It was the twenty-fourth year of his residence in India.

In MARSHMAN, our first translator had met with a mind no less determined than his own; but as he had taken up India, Marshman had sat down to the language of the largest associated population upon earth—the *Chinese*. "Four or five persons in our family," said Carey in February 1806, "are labouring hard at the Chinese language." It was about the beginning of that year that Marshman, with two of his own sons and one of Carey's, had commenced the study of this peculiar tongue, and through their persevering efforts, within two years they had attracted notice.

"I am in truth strongly inclined," said Lord Minto, on the 27th February 1808, as visitor of the College of Fort-William, "whether regularly or *not*, to deal one encouraging word to the meritorious, and I hope not unsuccessful effort, making, I may say, at the door of our College, though not admitted to its portico, to force that hitherto impregnable fortress, the Chinese language." "A Chinese press, too, is established, and in actual use. In a word, if the founders and supporters of this little College have not yet dispelled, they have at least sent and admitted, a dawn of day through that thick impenetrable cloud; they have passed that *oceanum dissociabilem*, which for so many ages has insulated that vast Empire from the rest of mankind."

By 1811, not only was the Pentateuch translated as far as Numbers, but two of the Gospels were printed off, and the others at press. Ere this time, however, as Marshman could translate *from* Chinese, when advancing, with more caution, in translating *into* it, he had completed a translation of the first volume of Confucius, with a preliminary dissertation. And this gave occasion for the Governor-General to break silence once more.

"I cannot," said he on the 15th September 1810, "omit the opportunity which this singular publication presents of offering the homage which appears to me to be due to this laudable effort of modest genius and labour. This commendable design has advanced, however, silently, without aid or notice, by the innate powers of strenuous, though humble and unassuming energy of mind, directed by liberal and virtuous views. What Mr. Marshman has already accomplished, both in the tuition of his young but distinguished pupils, and in works, the produce of self-instruction, would have done honour to institutions fostered by all the aids of munifi-

cence and power. To have risen, in the shade, *ipse suis pollens opibus*, renders his successful labours only the more worthy of admiration."[11]

But it should seem as if the time to favour CHINA, yea, the set time had come, since another laborious and persevering man had now been engaged with the same language. Robert Morrison of Morpeth, in Northumberland, had landed at Macao in September 1807, and in 1808 had commenced his studies. By 1811 and 1812, he too had printed the Gospels of Matthew, Mark, and Luke. Next year, William Milne, a native of Aberdeenshire, also arrived at Macao, and was no less diligent in the cultivation of Chinese. In short, here at last were two translations of the entire Scriptures in Chinese left by these three men. The Chinese Bible entire, by Marshman, was completed at press in April 1822. Upwards of a year after, or in the summer of 1823, that by Morrison was ready for publication. As first versions they remain, just as all our first European versions did, to be greatly improved. But as divine truth makes progress in China, as unquestionably it will, another day, when contemplating the infancy of Scriptural Christianity there, these devoted men will never be forgotten as the first and best friends of that vast Empire.

To proceed, therefore, no farther than the tenth, or last memoir of translations before the decease of Carey on the 9th of June 1834, the entire Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments had been printed and circulated in seven languages,

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[11] See the "Disputations" at Fort-William College, 1808-1810. We have quoted this language, however, not for the sake of Marshman, or Carey, one of its Professors, but for a special reason. Although Marquis Wellesley, as the first founder of the College, and Marquis Hastings, Lord Bentinck, and others after, had expressed cordial approbation of both these men, the language of Lord Minto is deserving of being put on record, because it was uttered through out a period actually by far the most *critical* in the history of these exertions. Before his arrival in India, not a little had been said and printed, calculated to prejudice any Governor-General on the wrong side, and even poison his mind. But though Lord Minto began his administration with consummate caution, no ruler of India ever expressed himself in terms more decidedly favourable. Nor was this approbation unprecedented. In 1804, or forty years ago, the nobleman first mentioned, with his brother, General Wellesley, the Duke of Wellington, were present, when Carey addressed the Governor-General in a speech, which, with the exception of his own pupils, no European present understood! It was in *Sungskrit*, the parent language of India. The compliment was felt at the moment, and after its translation into English, still more so. Both in writing, and afterwards verbally, Lord Wellesley acknowledged it; but it was in such a style, as Carey's modesty never would allow him to comprehend. "I am truly pleased with CAREY'S original and excellent address. I would not have a word of it altered. Such praise, from such a man, I esteem above the applause of Courts or of Parliaments."

—WELLESLEY.

In his address, Carey had quoted the language of the Brahmins as to Sungskrit learning. "It was like an extensive forest, abounding with a great variety of beautiful foliage, splendid blossoms, and delicious fruits; but surrounded by a strong and thorny fence, *in the language itself*, which prevents those who are desirous of plucking its fruits and flowers from entering it." JONES, WILKINS, and others were then glanced at, as having broken down the fence in several places, but by the College now founded, a high-way had been made into the midst of this forest. "This ancient language, which refused to disclose itself to the former Governors of India, unlocks its treasures at your command, and enriches the world with the history, learning, and science of a distant age." "Were the Institution to cease from this moment, its salutary effects would remain. Good has been done, which cannot be undone. Sources of useful knowledge, moral instruction, and political utility, have been opened to the natives of India, which can never be closed; and their civil improvement, like the gradual civilization of our own country, will advance in progression for ages to come."

FULLER'S interpretation of all this, though never printed, need not now be withheld. "I rejoice," said he to Mr. Ward in 1809, "in all your literary attainments, as they afford not only a mean of *spreading the Word*, but a *shelter* to you. Had you been a company of illiterate men, humanly speaking you must, ere now, have been crushed. God gave Daniel and his companions *wisdom* in Babylon, for a PRESERVATIVE."

that is, in six Oriental tongues besides the Chinese; the New Testament had been printed in twenty-three languages more; the Pentateuch, and other parts of the Old Testament, had been also printed and circulated in several of these languages last mentioned, and portions of the Scriptures had been printed in ten others. In other words, more than *two hundred and twelve thousand volumes* of the Divine Word, in *forty* different languages, had issued from the Serampore press. The population of China has been rated as low as one hundred and fifty, and as high as three hundred and sixty-five millions; but should we reckon it at no more than two hundred millions, these languages embrace the vernacular tongues of three hundred and eighty millions of immortal beings; of whom about one hundred and forty millions are either our fellow subjects, or living under the immediate eye or influence of our rule. It is curious enough, that upon an average, we have here a *distinct* language issued from the press where he was sitting, for *every year* in which Carey had been so engaged.

Thus it happened, and before the death of this indefatigable translator, that as far as the translation and printing and circulating of the Sacred Scriptures were concerned, or in reference to that object on which his heart was daily bent for forty years, there had been expended above *ninety-one thousand five hundred pounds.* Of this sum, more than sixty-five thousand pounds, in congregational collections, donations, or subscriptions, from the year 1798 to 1833 inclusive, had been furnished by the Christian public at large in Great Britain and Ireland, America, and India itself; and from the year 1809 to 1826, also inclusive, there had been voted by the British and Foreign Bible Society, twenty-six thousand two hundred pounds, besides two thousand reams of paper, to repair, in part, the loss sustained by fire in 1812.

That an undertaking of this magnitude, to say nothing of its infinite importance, should have been accomplished at an average annual expense of less than two thousand four hundred pounds, is not the least extraordinary feature belonging to it; and to all who have paid any attention to such business, it can only be accounted for by certain memorable circumstances. The translators, Carey and Marshman, had not merely supported themselves, but translated, from first to last, without

salary or reward from any man, whether abroad or at home; not forgetting the printers, whether Ward or Marshman junior, who had followed their footsteps, and also executed their part, all along, at the lowest rate. Nor would even this account for an average amount so very low. The great expenditure of these men in founts of types, cut on the spot, and in the improvement of paper made in India, impervious to the worm, to which every sheet was before exposed, is not here included.[12]

That these translations of the Sacred Volume should have been deprecated, and assailed, can be no ground of surprise, for so it has happened from the beginning. We say nothing of one attack, no less impotent than arrogant, made upon them all, which was so ably demolished by the lamented William Greenfield. But it is neither to be concealed or to be forgotten, that by certain gentlemen in England, who live at home at ease, some of these translations have been spoken of lightly, as being of little value, when referring to those first versions least of all understood by Europeans. Such language, however, can proceed only from minds but ill informed in relation to first foreign versions, and more especially as to the history of their own English. It cannot be but with an ill grace that any Englishman, with *his* Bible in his hand, can ever so speak. He either knows not, or has forgotten, that he is reading a translation from the original, five times derived; and one, invaluable as it is, and has been, for its purpose, in which, after all, even grammatical errors and unnecessary supplements, have been suffered to remain for more than two hundred and thirty years; while *no* version upon earth of the Sacred Volume has, in former times, been printed in a manner

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12 This average annual expense may be farther explained. The entire amount contributed appears to have been £91,646, 11s. 4½d. From this we may first deduct £10,611, 1s. 11d., of which, in about *three* months only, £3148, 0s. 6d. was raised in England, and £2463, 1s. 5d. in Scotland, to repair the loss sustained by fire in March 1812, thus leaving £81,035, 9s. 5½d. for work done. Of this sum there had been furnished in money, through the translators, or at Serampore by *India* itself, £5439, 0s. 2½d.; by *America*, £4761, 0s. 3½d.; by *Scotland*, £26,332, 19s. 8½d., of which £19,832, 19s. 8½d. had been raised by the Christian public, and £6500 by the Edinburgh Bible Society; and by *England*, £44,502, 9s. 3d., of which £18,302, 9s. 3d. had been contributed by the public at large, and £26,200 voted by the British and Foreign Bible Society, making in all £81,035, 9s. 5½d.; the average for thirty-five years being £2315. But as the damage sustained by fire was less than the sum raised, the average may be taken at somewhat less than £2400. The very deep interest in this undertaking discovered by the Christian public *individually*, both at home and abroad, is a very memorable feature in its progress. It was individual Christians, and not any single or exclusive *body* of them, considered as such, who had carried forward the enterprise, and with a measure of cordiality and union never surpassed. Thus, even in England alone, though the British and Foreign Bible Society, about to be noticed, had voted altogether £26,200, the individual subscriptions and congregational collections had exceeded this, being £26,450, 0s. 6d. But in Scotland, while the Edinburgh Bible Society had voted £6500, the personal subscriptions and collections had been not less than £22,296, 1s. 1½d. On the whole, the public at home and abroad had contributed nearly £59,000 out of the total sum of £91,646; these Bible Societies having voted £32,700. The impulse, in short, was a *previous* one, and this shows the extent to which it had gone.

so slovenly and incorrect. The first translations of Tyndale, and the English Bibles of the sixteenth century, are patterns of correctness, when compared with thousands in the seventeenth and eighteenth. Modesty and patience are alike suggested by the history of our own country. But waving all these considerations, have such cool and easy, if not envious, objectors, ever adverted to what the *first* translation of their own English New Testament, and by far the most abused, actually *accomplished* for the country in which they now breathe so freely? No; every first version from the original has been, and, from the infirmity of our common nature at its best estate, must be imperfect; and yet it is an incontrovertible historical fact, that every such version, the production of a scholar, drawing from the original fountain, and himself acquainted with Christianity as there revealed, has been owned and honoured by the great Author of truth in a manner *peculiar to itself*. Witness only the translation of Tyndale, and that of Carey's very first, into Bengalee. It was under the influence of the former that the power of Rome was broken in this country, not so much by Henry the Eighth, although Shakspeare thus sung; and so it has happened in India, with the most ancient idolatrous thraldom in the world. It was under the existing power of Carey's first version that the chain of the *caste* was broken in Bengal. This is an honour peculiar to each, and one of which no subsequent version can bereave them. It is a memorable fact, and worthy of repetition, that the man who first broke *caste*, and who was afterwards a useful native minister, for many years, could scarcely ever overcome his peculiar attachment to the *first* version, even after it was revised again and again. It was by the first that he had been enlightened, and came to the knowledge of the truth. At the same time, no man in our day was ever so much, if *half* so much, impressed with the importance and necessity for carrying forward every version to perfection, as was Carey. His last revision of the Bengalee Bible entire in one volume, was finished in June 1832. Time, however, will show, and in a very singular manner, that every version, without exception, which came from his hands, has a value affixed to it, which the present generation, living, as it were, too near an object, is not yet able to estimate or descry.[13] Fifty years hence, we repeat, the character of this extraordinary and humble man, will be more correctly appreciated.

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[13] Only ten months after he was gone to his reward, this began to appear, and prove how far he had lived above his age. In 1819, the New Testament had been printed in the *Kunkun* language. Some time after, certain missionaries in the Bombay Presidency wrote to the effect that there was no such language in existence, and even a Brahman betrayed his ignorance by pronouncing it *no language at all*—thus seeming to make Carey a more extraordinary man than he had been ever before supposed to be. However, fifteen years after the book had left the press, and the next after Carey's death, a civilian, two German missionaries, and two Scotish, began to speak very differently. These were F. Anderson, Esq., Messrs. Leapold and Lehner, as well as Dr. Wilson and Mr. Mitchell of Bombay. "The translation," said the first gentleman, "is good, and understood by the pundits." "It is *invaluable* as the ground work of an improved ver-

The venerable friend of Carey survived him only three years and a half, and though "he bore the separation with more firmness than was expected, the dissolution of such a union, cemented by the noblest of all undertakings, and sanctified by time, made a deep and visible impression on his mind." The activity of that mind, however, continued, with some interruptions, till it was worn out, and on the 5th of December 1837, in the seventieth year of his age, Marshman sunk to rest, without pain, in the lively enjoyment of that hope which is full of immortality.

In merely glancing over the past, it seems impossible to resist the evidence that these two men were born for each other, in the highest sense of the term; the former on the 17th August 1761, the latter on the 20th of April 1768. Brought into existence within six years and eight months of each other, they met in India on the 10th of January 1800, after Carey had been six years and one month there; and devotedly attached, they were permitted to act in union for the long period of thirty-five years. It is also worthy of being now known that in their early mental struggle upon English ground, the one had followed the other, in exact correspondence to the distance at which they were born. Even from childhood, so keen a reader had Marshman been, that from 1778 to 1786, or from his tenth to his eighteenth year, he had devoured the contents of at least five hundred volumes. In 1783, at the age of fifteen, this thirst for knowledge appeared to be in the course of having more ample gratification, from his being sent to London by his father, where, in the shop of Mr. Cator, bookseller in the Strand, he expected to have enjoyed the opportunity of reading volumes, which he had never before beheld: but the intellectual drudgery of carrying parcels of books which he could not read, while it whetted his appetite, embittered his prospect of acquiring knowledge. Thus, at the *same* moments in 1784, while Carey, down in Northamptonshire, was sighing over the state of the heathen, Marshman in London, unknown to him, was toiling in anxiety after the improvement of his own mind. One day having been sent to the Duke of Grafton's, with three folio volumes of Clarendon's history, and several others, he was overcome with fatigue, and walking into Westminster Hall, he laid down his load, and began to weep over the drudgery to which he was subjected. "But the bitterness of his feelings soon passed off; the associations of the *place*, with which his *reading* had made him familiar, crowded into his mind, and filled him with new energy." From that

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sion." And as for the unknown language—"It is," said Dr. W., "the medium of *ordinary* intercourse among the *lower* orders, (the very classes whom Dr. Carey so longed to reach,) in a place no less celebrated than *Goa*, in general use 16 miles to the North, if not farther, and the language daily spoken by thousands of Goandese cooks and butlers in Bombay itself;" just as Welsh is spoken in Liverpool, or Gaelic in Glasgow, where they have the Scriptures and places of worship in their respective languages. The seat of this language had, however, been pointed out for years before, from Serampore.

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time he determined, in however humble a situation, to continue storing his mind with knowledge, till the opportunity might come for his emancipation.

In the same year that Carey began to write out his "Enquiry," already mentioned, the attention of Marshman had been turned earnestly to Divinity, in which, without any regard to the narrow limits of a sect, he made himself familiar with the best authors; and as for languages, little aware of what was before him, by his school at Bristol, and especially superior pupils taught at private hours, he was the more thoroughly prepared for investigating other tongues.[14] In one word, if upon leaving England, Carey was reading the Scriptures in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, French, Italian, and Dutch; in doing the same thing, Marshman had followed him in the three first languages, adding Arabic and Syriac, till he was greatly above mediocrity.[15]

Thus it was that three men, including Ward already mentioned, brought together, and placed by Providence in the Eastern world, in situations where they might easily have amassed wealth, and as easily retired to England to enjoy it, in the evening of their lives; with one heart and soul, chose a very different,—an unfrequented path to immortality. And having once girt their loins with lowliness, and walked the pilgrimage of Christ, at the end of their days, they successively enjoyed the honour and glory of dying *poor*. Most of Carey's library was sold, literally to fulfil his dying bequests; and as for his surviving colleague, he left not behind him more than a single year's income of his seminary in its former days. But throughout a long life, both having been equally "rich in good works, ready to distribute, willing to communicate," and that even the word of life; with equal foresight they had "laid up in store for themselves a good foundation against the time to come, having laid hold on eternal life." Had they lived in ancient times, like Jehoiada of old, the fraternal triumvirate might have been "buried in the city of David among the Kings, because they had done good in Israel, both towards God, and towards his House."

Two of the number, Ward and Marshman, had revisited Europe, but there was great propriety in their being laid to sleep in one spot, within the little Danish settlement, in which they had lived so long in harmony, and as in a sanctuary. The British dominions, large as they are, certainly contain not a deposit more precious, nor one to which they have been so deeply indebted. In generations to come, their graves will be visited by many a native; and as for any who succeed,

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[14] One of those pupils was MR. RICH, the British Resident at Bagdad, and author of the well known works on Babylon and Nineveh.

[15] While at Leicester for four years, Carey's constant habit was that of reading carefully one chapter of the Scriptures every morning, first in *English*, and then in all the languages with which he was acquainted. These were known to be at least *six*.

it will be well if, in point of fidelity, perseverance, and the noble devotion of their substance to the cause of God and his truth, they should ever attain to *the first three.* But if not, let the aim be to follow them.

The great object they had in view was not indeed understood by many, and as it was deprecated by others, they did not through life escape obloquy and reproach ; but still they were the wisest in their generation, nay, and lived above it, whether for themselves, or the best interests of millions around them ; and providentially, the successive rulers of India became of the same opinion. The deceased Marquis of Hastings, one day in conversation, thought proper to assure them, that, " in his opinion, the freedom of resort to India which missionaries then enjoyed, was owing, under God, to the prudence, the zeal and the wisdom they had manifested, when the whole weight of government in England and India was inclined to the extinction of the missionary enterprise."

With regard to the first mover in all these proceedings, however, the people in India, among whom he had lived for upwards of forty years, will be regarded as the most competent and impartial judges of his character and attainments, nor did they fail to express their opinion. Thus, among others, three weeks after his decease on the 9th of June, and at their first meeting, 2d July 1834, we find the following :—

" The Asiatic Society cannot note upon their proceedings the death of the Rev. William Carey, D.D., so long an active member and an ornament of this Institution, distinguished alike for his high attainments in the oriental languages, for his eminent services in opening the stores of Indian literature to the knowledge of Europe, and for his extensive acquaintance with the sciences, the natural history, and the botany of this country, and his useful contributions, in every branch, towards the promotion of the objects of the Society, without placing on record this expression of their high sense of his value and merits as a scholar, and a man of science ; their esteem for the sterling and surpassing religious and moral excellences of his character ; and their sincere grief for his irreparable loss."

We only add, that they were the literary exertions of his colleague and friend Marshman, which led to his connexion with the Royal Institute of France, as an honorary member of the third division—or " Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres." In 1826, at a meeting of the Institute in Paris, it was a gratifying sight to witness such a man sitting in company with more than one venerable head that had passed through and survived all the tumults of the Revolution.

In conclusion, therefore, and under all the circumstances, however imperfectly glanced at, we presume, that in this undertaking, as a whole, it is impossible not to recognise the hand of God, and much more so, when it is to be traced, as it has been, and must be, to the anxiety felt by *a single human spirit*—to a solitary young man *reading his English Bible*, or

afterwards expounding it in an English village, for less than twenty pounds a-year, and teaching a village school to eke out his support. Because that this man "received not the benefit of what they call *regular* instruction in the dead languages during the course of his early life;" nay, and belonged to a community "which is supposed to hold out no peculiar encouragement to the cultivation of literary attainments"—all that followed has appeared to some one of our Journalists at home, to be no other than an incomprehensible riddle, or story incredible; but whatever imperfections there were, every well-informed mind will naturally revert to what was said long ago—"God hath chosen the weak things of the world to confound the things that are mighty, and things which are despised hath God chosen, yea, and things which are not, to bring to nought things that are; that no flesh should glory in his presence." Nor will he forget that it was the same man, though inspired from heaven and miraculously endowed, who said of himself and his coadjutors—"So then neither is he that planteth any thing, neither he that watereth, but God, that giveth the increase."

Such an enterprise, so warmly supported from home, could not possibly fail to have a powerful *reflective influence* on the mother country, and more especially on the healthiest minds throughout Britain, who grounded their chief hope of permanent good on the Sacred Volume alone. To the Scriptures themselves, however, in these pages we are, of necessity, confined, and cannot be expected to notice various delightful proofs of the mind having become quite alive to *foreign* operations, as a duty imperative on British Christians. The inclination to look far beyond the limits of our own Island had shown itself, for ten years, in the formation of one institution after another, wearing a *foreign* aspect. But still the honour of an amount of UNION, and of union at home throughout, such as Britain had never witnessed, or any other nation known, was reserved for *the Bible alone, without note or comment.* We turn therefore to that movement, which marked the early years of the present century.

The BRITISH AND FOREIGN BIBLE SOCIETY had been contemplated, and spoken of, by a few individuals, for above fifteen months before any step was taken. Its origin may be viewed in one simple incident; but this incident occurring within the kingdom, it becomes more worthy of observation. Had the first proposal of this institution referred to the Bible in *English* only, it is impossible to conceive how such warmth could have

been immediately displayed. It was understood by all, that no country upon earth was already so richly supplied, and certainly not one had more uninterruptedly enjoyed, the free perusal of the Sacred Volume. It had even been supposed, that the English Scriptures then in existence, were equal, if not superior in point of number, to that in all the other languages of the world put together.

How then was it possible to make out a case in 1804, which should lead to any great result? It could not have been by immediate reference to the *English* Bible only, if at all. Certainly it was not. But then, within the shores of this kingdom, there had been spoken, from time immemorial, not fewer than four languages, very different from English. They all belonged to the Celtic or Iberian tribe, viz., the Welsh and Manx, the Gaelic and Irish. And what then? From the days of Henry VIII., had they not all been regarded as so many barriers to improvement, nay, as so many nuisances, to be swept away before the reigning power of our own English tongue? So they certainly had, by some men, not over-wise; but could any event have been more unlikely, not to say more humiliating, than that three hundred years after they had been so regarded, the *English* Bible should owe any collateral benefit to them? Had not two of these dialects, the Gaelic and the Irish, been denounced by the ruling power? And the whole regarded with feelings of contempt, as altogether unworthy of consideration? Not one of these vernacular dialects had ever been included in any one of the calculations of government, moral, political, or professedly religious; and as mediums of intercourse, they had long remained among "the things that were despised" throughout the kingdom. What then was to be expected, from the partiality, however natural and enlightened, of any one Welshman for his mother tongue; and though he should happen to meet with another man in London, of Welsh extraction, what could possibly ever come out of that? Meanwhile, there is to be no consultation of any human authority on the subject; nor did this signify. All these circumstances were now to form no objection, or any obstacle before an all-wise and invincible Providence. Quite the reverse. Among "the things that are despised" had been often found, "the hiding of his power," and so it happened here. One of these very dialects shall prove the occa-

sion of more *English* Bibles being printed than there had ever been from the day that any Englishman had first beheld one; or, in other words, far more issued from the press in about thirty years only, than there had been for above two centuries and a half before! A striking proof, by the way, to all Englishmen especially, whether at home or abroad, whether in India, in Britain, or Ireland, that NO *language*, though spoken by only half a million of people, is a proper or profitable subject of contempt. Let the gentlemen, wherever they dwell, who, without due observation of the past, happen to be smitten with the *Anglo-mania*, never overlook, or slightly regard, this memorable occurrence on their native soil.

The language alluded to was the *Welsh*, for it is generally known as an established fact, that the institution of the British and Foreign Bible Society grew out of this one incident—the scarcity of Welsh Bibles throughout the Principality. It is curious enough, that it was not the Celtic tribe which had been, all along, so grievously neglected, which now at last engaged notice. The destitution of the native Irish, was almost like the destitution of life itself. They had then no one to speak for them, and Britain, like the hard-hearted Levite of old, had ever passed by on the other side. On the other hand, the scarcity so complained of by the Welsh, was actually the result of previous supplies. But upon enquiry respecting these, we are led back, not to any authoritative or national movement, but simply, as in other cases, to *individual* benevolent exertion.[16]

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[16] Had the native Irish, or aborigines of Ireland, at this moment excited sympathy, it would have been nothing more than common humanity at last rising into exercise, after whole centuries of gross neglect. But *their* native tongue had been for 267 years under the ban of a pretious Act of Parliament passed by Henry VIII. in the year 1537. It is a circumstance never to be forgotten, that this Act was passed in *the very same year* in which that tyrannical Monarch was so singularly overruled to sanction the *English* Bible of Tyndale. The cruel, or rather *soul-less* policy, then first applied, has never been frankly and explicitly repealed to the present hour. Bent on the wild and fruitless policy of supplanting the Irish by the English language, the moral and religious instruction of millions had been sacrificed from age to age, leaving to the philanthropist of the day the eighth or ninth generation in succession, and in what a mournful state of destitution, as to the Sacred Volume in their mother tongue! In a similar strain did REGINALD HEBER lament over this policy, before going out to *India*. But if the *mania* within the shores of this kingdom for the last three hundred years, has been followed by such miserable consequences, let not the same disease now retard the progress of the human mind in other lands, and especially in any of the British dependencies. Let not souls be blindly thrown to the winds in *India*, as they have been in *Ireland*, through bigoted and stupid neglect of the tongue which their mothers gave them. Let theorists say what they will, but with the *people* as such, in every land, to begin the art of reading with God and nature, is no more than the imperative dictate of humanity and common sense.

There had been a scarcity of the Sacred Volume in the vernacular tongue of Wales, deeply felt and long lamented, but if any one search for the cause of this feeling, he will soon find himself, from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century, among the hills and dales of the Principality. During that period there had been dispersed, one hundred and two thousand copies of the Welsh Bible entire, chiefly in octavo, and at least eighteen thousand five hundred of the New Testament; but in accounting for this dispersion, three or four instances of individual exertion chiefly engage notice.

To say nothing of the New Testament in Welsh, first given to his countrymen, by William Salisbury in 1567; of the Bible entire in 1588 by Dr. Davies and others; or of the Standard Version in 1620 by Drs. Richard Parry, and John Davies; for the multiplication of copies, there was first, the well known Thomas Gouge of London. Once ejected from his pulpit in the Metropolis, he betook himself to works of benevolence and mercy. Though possessed of independent property, or a good estate of his own, after he had lost much by the great fire in 1666, had settled his children in the world, and been bereaved of his wife, he had but one hundred and fifty pounds a year left. Thus circumstanced, and now about sixty-five years of age, it was then that he began to compassionate the condition of Wales. For the next ten years of his life, he visited that country annually. His objects were to preach the truth, to educate the children, and disperse the Scriptures in their mother tongue. He preached, till they persecuted him from place to place, and at last he was excommunicated from the Church of which he had been so long a minister; but nothing could prevent his travels in Wales, nor his spending regularly, *two-thirds* of his annual income, and living on the remaining *fifty* pounds! To his bounty and personal solicitations, the editions of 2000 of the Welsh New Testament, in 1672, of 8000 of the Welsh Bible in 1678, if not also that of 1690, are chiefly to be ascribed. But he had to die, before justice was done to his character, when a funeral sermon was preached for him by no other than Tillotson, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury.

Then there was Griffith Jones of Llandourer, with his delicate state of health, who in the next century, from 1737 to 1760, was the superintendant in teaching at various schools, above one hundred and fifty thousand of his countrymen to read their native tongue, when more than thirty thousand of the Welsh Bible were printed and circulated. And then, at last, after a long interval, came Thomas Charles of Bala; or three men whose memories are still fragrant throughout the Principality. Thus it is, that in reviewing the past, relative proportion in the way of *individual* effort should never be forgotten. These were labours of which subscribers to a Bible Society, in these easy days, know little or nothing.

It was in December 1802, that Mr. Charles happened to be in London, lamenting, as he had often done, the scarcity of Welsh Bibles throughout the country. On Tuesday, the 7th of that month, at a meeting of the Tract Society, of which the Rev. Joseph Hughes of Battersea was Secretary, Mr. Charles was present, and the subject was introduced. Mr. Hughes, a member of the same community with Carey, had been acquainted with every step of his progress from the beginning, ten years before. After a long conversation, he stood

up, and suggested whether it would not be desirable to awaken the public mind towards a general dispersion of the Sacred Scriptures in all languages, or throughout the world. The proposal was warmly greeted, and at the request of all present, Mr. Hughes drew up his tract or pamphlet of thirty pages, on "The excellence of the Holy Scriptures, an argument for their more general dispersion." Of this tract, two editions were circulated throughout 1803, and, after various consultations, the result was, that on the 7th March 1804, that institution was formed, with whose title not a few are perfectly familiar in the four quarters of the globe.

In the first instance, it will be understood that it is mainly in its connexion with the *English* Scriptures that we are now called to notice the operations of the British and Foreign Bible Society; while, at the same time, the reader need scarcely be apprized, that the field now opening before him, in the history of the English Bible, embraces *a far larger surface*. Before and since the formation of that Society, the printing of the Sacred Volume in our vernacular tongue has proceeded to an extent which was never foreseen, never once contemplated, and that extent has now reached a point, of which but very few persons are at all aware. This extent, indeed, may, at first, be viewed by some with astonishment, but unlike many other events, it never can be with regret; not only as having been ordered by more than human wisdom, but because in conclusion, we shall find there is a *moral* involved, which will be found to demand the notice of the Christian community, individually and entire; and in the present day especially, more than *any* other to which it *can* be directed. The sphere occupied by the British and Foreign Bible Society, in the English department has been delightfully large, and this has been dwelt upon in a variety of ways so frequently, that it is in danger of diminishing the rate or pace of exertion, if not of filling the whole field of vision. But as it regards the English Scriptures printed within the last forty-four years, the field we now contemplate is far greater. Independently of whatever number of English Bibles and Testaments may have been dispersed through that one medium, we have to include those which have been printed in Scotland, and the general sale throughout the kingdom from 1800 to 1844. From these three sources we come to

the following aggregate of English Bibles and New Testaments separately:—

The British and Foreign Bible Society have issued, .	9,400,000
There have been printed in Scotland, independently, *above*	4,000,000
The general sales, besides these, have been considered to be more, but cannot have been less, than . .	9,000,000

or above *twenty-two millions* in round numbers! Now, wherever these volumes have gone, whether throughout England, Scotland, or Ireland, or to the British dependencies at the ends of the earth; we have here to do at first simply with the remarkable fact, and it may well serve to regulate exertion for years to come. But having once pointed it out, we are the better prepared to take up the institution referred to, as not merely an important subject of review, but as forming one index to the plain path, or the special course of *future* duty.

To those who are old enough to remember, with any interest, the formation of the British and Foreign Bible Society, and its immediate effects, the recollection must ever prove one of the most pleasing in their past lives. Its simple or exclusive object being to circulate the Sacred Volume; "the Bible, without note or comment," being its only motto, the effect was such as should be pondered still. Well does it deserve, and in *these* days demand, *reconsideration;* for no proposal on British ground had ever gone so directly to the heart, nor to the hearts of so many, throughout the empire. Founded on a principle so simple, so intelligible, so unexceptionable, the formation of the Society produced an effect altogether unprecedented; indeed the mere announcement ran through every denomination in the kingdom, and conveyed an impulse, at once the most powerful and the most extensive under which the Christians of this country had *ever* come.

Unquestionably it was the most *powerful,* in its visibly drawing to itself parties who, ever since their origin, had lived in estrangement from each other, if not in a degree of prejudice; though in their apprehension, of conscientious or consecrated separation. Many wondered why the proposal had never been before made, since it was one to which there was but one response. The most estimable and useful members of every community discovered the same cordiality, and vied with each other only in their zeal to advance a cause, which they all alike felt to be their privilege and duty. Upon British ground there never had

been an association of greater moral power. There might, indeed, be many others drawn in, as by a vortex; but still they were Christians, and these the most eminent and consistent, who led the van and formed the strength of the institution. No combination ever so earned for itself the title of *British*, for although the proposal first emanated from London, the Bible Society has never been a local, or merely a metropolitan institution, up to the present hour, and less now than ever it was. Its resources have been drawn from every corner of the empire; its strength has ever lain in its auxiliaries; forming, on the whole, the largest Christian circle that had ever existed in this country. To that circle, its single but sublime object conveyed a degree of invigorating warmth, which, as separate bodies, the Christians thus united had scarcely, if ever, before enjoyed. It was the discovery of a *new* influence. It was as if a finer sun had risen. Nor was this all. The institution had assumed the name of "The British and *Foreign* Bible Society;" and this one word, charged as it was with more disinterested feeling, brought with it a degree of animation greater still; and one beyond any thing of the kind, ever since Christianity had an existence within the shores of this favoured Island. But for *this* word, which, at that time, came like a refreshing breeze over the whole land, the number of contributors, the collections made, and the sums subscribed, had never been what they were, then or since. Hence it was that the most powerful impulse became the most *extensive*.

The title assumed was, in short, tantamount to this,—that the Sacred text, the Divine Record, standing by itself, as it always ought to have done from the beginning, and ought in due reverence to do, in all time to come; or, in other words, that THE BIBLE, WITHOUT NOTE OR COMMENT, was not only *all-sufficient for the people of Britain, but for every* OTHER *nation under heaven, or for all the world, far as the curse was found*. British Christians had seized at last, upon a simple principle, of imperative and infinite value to our common humanity, in all its dialects; and in these days, by solemn, public, and often repeated acknowledgments, *they were never to stop short of its* UNIVERSAL *application*.

The men who then lived are now rapidly passing away, but those early friends who yet survive certainly owe it to themselves, in connexion with the generation they are so soon to leave, to inform it fully of the deep sensation then felt, and the joy with which this simple proposal respecting the Sacred Volume was then hailed throughout the kingdom. They can explain to their families to what extent this proposal was

felt by every denomination of British Christians, as conveying life to themselves and sympathy for the world; how it smoothed the asperity of discordant sentiment, and absorbt the best feelings of the heart in favour of the Oracles of God. They can tell them, that no sooner were the terms simply announced, than they were felt as a summons from on high, far above the regions or spirit of party; for all right-hearted men came out to obey the call. But why need we thus speak? The palpable results are now before us, and with these the existing generation of Christians have to do. They speak in language which our countrymen, less than forty years ago, would have regarded but as some visionary prospect or pleasing dream. Of these results *then*, they had no more expectation than they had of those of steam-power, or of the benefits about to spring from the atmosphere around them, by the discovery of gas light. We repeat, therefore, that there is *no subject to which the attention of* ALL *Christians* can be more profitably RECALLED; none upon which, in the present state of our country, and of the world, it can be more *profitably fixed.*

To give any history of the British and Foreign, or of any other Bible Society, is here altogether unnecessary; but there are several statements which are now essential to our knowing with some degree of accuracy the present position of this cause, whether in relation to this Island, or its very singular connexion with the rest of the world. Independently of the general sales, as there has been already expended in money, even by these Bible Societies, considerably more than *three millions* sterling; it is time to report progress, and far more than time to mark the relative proportion, or rather disproportion, between home and abroad; or between the Scriptures printed merely in the languages of Britain or Ireland, and those in the languages of all other nations put together.

There has been received by the British and Foreign Bible Society, from every source of supply, up to May 1844, the total sum of £3,083,436, 18s. 8¾d.; of this amount, not less than £3,036,698, 0s. 3d., have been expended, according to the last or Fortieth Report, leaving a balance, upon which the Committee were under engagements to the amount of £41,469, 12s., 7d.

Before, however, turning to the expenditure, and especially to its

connexion with the *English* Bible, the various items of this large receipt are not only observable in themselves, but they are of value in retrospect, with special reference to that broad path now opened up, and still opening, before this country, as well as to all future exertions in that path. The parent Society itself, therefore, independently of all its auxiliaries, claims the first notice. The amount received by it, on the whole, has been, £537,831, 5s. 5¾d.; and it should be remarked as a proof of zeal on the part of the early subscribers and friends, that the largest aggregate amount of pecuniary aid has come from them. At the same time, this becomes apparent, not so much in their contributions when alive, as in what they left behind them; though, when these are taken together, we have striking evidence of their deep interest. The legacies have amounted to £193,222, 4s. 5d. This forms, in fact, by far the *largest* item of receipt, but it comes like a voice from the dead to the living; for it is not only far more than all the donations from the living, but it is more than *double* the amount of all the annual subscriptions from first to last! Had this singular disparity been diminishing, it might have been allowed to pass, but, on the contrary, it has ever been upon the increase, and especially of late. Thus, since 1830, or for the last fifteen years, the annual subscriptions have come to no more than £28,763, 9s. 5d., whereas the legacies in that period have amounted to £135,836, 4s. 7d. Nay, during these fifteen years the entire amount afforded by the living, whether in subscriptions, donations, or congregational collections, only comes up to £106,794, 18s. 4d., so that still the deceased friends have contributed £29,041, 6s. 3d. more! Or, finally, if we look back only at the *five* last years, and allow the living to have the credit of all that they have done, they have yielded £29,726, 16s. 9d., but the legacies have been £38,339, 13s. 7d., so that those who survive have fallen short of the departed by more than £8500, or £8612, 16s. 10d. It must not, indeed, be forgotten, that legacies have come to the parent Society from *various* quarters, and in regard to the annual subscriptions, that powerful auxiliary societies have been formed in London and Middlesex; and if these circumstances would account for this disparity or decay, it is well; but we suspect that they will not, at least fully. These remarks, however, may be of some service to the cause. At the same time, there are but very few persons, eager for the diffusion of the Scriptures throughout the world, who will not be startled when they once observe that the annual subscriptions to the British and Foreign Bible Society, properly so called, though existing in by far the richest city in the world, have not, for these last fifteen years, averaged *two thousand pounds*. The average has been £1910, 17s. 4d., and last year these subscriptions amounted to no more than £1854, 10s. 1d. In reference, also, to the entire amount received, it will be observed, that after deducting what has come by legacies, we

have only £344,609, 1s. 0¾d. to account for; and even of this, there turns out to have been no more than £262,654, 3s. 2¾d. in money proper, or considerably below the *half* of the whole receipt; nearly £82,000, or £81,954, 17s. 10d. having been derived merely from interest on stock and dividends, draw-backs, and insurance received, or Reports sold.

These few particulars, while they demonstrate the deep interest felt by old and early friends, can scarcely fail to rivet attention, and the following abstract may be of use in farther explanation of the preceding remarks.

Legacies to the Parent Society,	£193,222	4	5
Donations received,	119,119	3	6½
Annual subscriptions,	95,855	9	1
Congregational collections,	31,518	3	2¼
Negro special fund,	16,161	7	5
	£455,876	7	7¾
Interest on stock and dividends,	54,693	1	7
Drawbacks and insurance received,	25,432	18	1
Reports and abstracts sold,	1,828	18	2
	£537,831	5	5¾

But of the large amount received, from whence then has the remainder been derived? In proof of this being no local institution, it has come from the auxiliary societies. They have contributed not less than £2,545,605, 13s. 3d. Of this amount, however, it requires to be observed, that £112,657, 13s. 3d. have come from *abroad*, in return for Scriptures sent; and of the remainder, the auxiliary societies have demanded no less than £1,117,373, 15s. for Scriptures at home! Leaving not more than £1,315,574, 5s. at the free disposal of the Society.

For all the purposes of comparison, therefore, the entire receipt may, we presume, with sufficient accuracy, be thus stated, viz.—

Received by the Parent Society,	£537,831	5	5¾
„ -from auxiliary Societies,'	2,432,948	0	0
„ from abroad, chiefly Europe,	112,657	13	3
	£3,083,436	18	8¾

But whatever else might be said respecting the amount received, it is to the declared *expenditure* that every one must look as to the guide for all future operations. Gathered as the supplies have been from the kingdom at large, it may be supposed, that not only in the character, but the direction of their outlay, the contributors at large will now be interested.

The entire expenditure, according to the last, or fortieth Report, has been £3,036,698, 0s. 3d. Naturally enough, one of the first questions will be; "how much has been spent in the *British* and how much in the *Foreign* department?" Or, in other words, "how much has been spent upon the Scriptures in the languages of Great Britain and Ireland *only*, and how much on the Sacred Volume in the languages of all Foreign nations, whether in Europe, Asia, Africa, or America?" To these questions the following may be received as the first reply:—

Expenditure in the *British* department, on the languages spoken within Great Britain and Ireland, . .	£2,004,726 12 10
Expenditure in the *Foreign* department, upon languages spoken throughout all the rest of the world, no more than	1,031,971 7 5
	£3,036,698 0 3

At an early stage in these exertions, it may be remembered that a cry was heard, not unfrequently, though from no friendly quarter, as to the *folly of collecting and sending such large sums* OUT OF THE COUNTRY, and that more attention ought to be paid to our own. But although such a cry was rather intended to divert from any effort whatever, it must now be confessed by all, that the British Lion has, all along, enjoyed the Lion's share.[17] Such a disparity as this, however, courts enquiry, and, for futurity's sake, it may be supposed to interest the great body of contributors.

It is not then to be supposed that these two sums entire have been spent upon the Scriptures themselves. The expenses of management and distribution, of course, remain to be deducted, and these involve a material reduction of the total amount.

For if the whole amount of expenditure has been	£3,036,698 0 3
The expenses referred to, turn out to have been .	433,284 8 7½
Leaving for the Scriptures, whether at home or abroad, not more to be accounted for than . .	£2,603,413 11 7½

Before proceeding to the relative expenditure, therefore, it becomes necessary to explain the relative expenses, and the following Abstract will serve in explanation of the particular items, as taken from the annual reports published.

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[17] A very foolish proverb, too great a favourite with the penurious, was then often quoted—*Charity begins at home*—which it never does, and never can. *Duty* reigns there, unquestioned and alone, not charity. In the sense attached to charity, it can only *begin* abroad, and BRITAIN it is hoped, warned as she has been by the States of HOLLAND and their descent, never intends to follow such an example. See p. 536 of this volume, Note 3.

Depository and warehouse, clerks, porters, and taxes,	£54,981	5	6
General disbursements and postages, fire and light, . .	23,806	19	10½
Insurance of depository and warehouse, with stock, . .	10,993	4	4
Stationery, account-books, and stamps, ...	4,664	1	11
Society's library of bibles and testaments, &c. . . .	789	16	1
Expenses connected with the annual meetings, . . .	2033	14	5
Poundage for collecting annual subscriptions in London, .	4613	6	2
Salaries paid in London, ...	78,056	11	0
Travelling expenses in England and Wales, . . .	32,236	4	10
Salaries paid throughout Europe, ...	38,394	13	6
Travelling expenses throughout Europe, ...	13,608	13	2½
Salaries paid in Asia, South America, Canada, and West Indies,	16,052	9	6
Travelling expenses in Asia, S. America, Canada, and W. Indies,	5044	7	11½
Freight, sea insurance and packing, chiefly for abroad, .	47,398	6	3
For annual reports and monthly extracts, . . .	100,610	14	1
	£433,284	8	7½

The disproportion between our own country, only, and all the world beside, is no less significant in these items than it was before ; but the difference between *home* and *abroad*, may be more briefly stated, thus—

Depository, warehouse, and library, with general disbursements and postage, stationery, and insurance, ...	£95,235	7	8½
Salaries, poundage, and travelling in England and Wales,	114,906	2	0
Annual reports and monthly extracts, circulated chiefly at home, with the expenses of annual meeting, .	102,644	8	6
	£312,785	18	2½
Salaries, and travelling in Europe, Asia, America, &c. .	73,100	4	2
Freight, sea insurance, and packing, as chiefly for abroad,	47,398	6	3
	£433,284	8	7½

To whatever reflections these figures may in future lead the friends of this great cause, certainly no person can charge them with parsimony. No individual engaged here, remains to be thanked for what he has done, as there can be no question now, that every man has been paid, and well paid, for his time and labour, whether when stationary in the capital, or travelling through England and Wales. At the same time, whenever we advert to the size and population of our own Island, as compared with the four quarters of the earth ; even in this sum of £433,000, the disparity between home and abroad, deservedly merits consideration in time to come.

To the positive expenditure on the Scriptures themselves, however, we now turn. The sum total, as now reduced, and to be explained, is £2,603,413, 11s. 7½d. ; of which there appears to have been spent

On languages spoken in Great Britain and Ireland,	£1,691,940	14	7½
On all others spoken throughout the world, only	911,472	17	0

As soon as this is observed, the extraordinary disproportion, will probably excite regret in those who are truly interested, that so very little, comparatively, has *yet* been done, for destitute foreign nations, or the world at large; and the question, the important question, as to whether this disparity shall be suffered to continue any longer, is one which will certainly come upon us with great force, before we have done. But, at this moment, the eye must on no account be diverted from the history of the *English* Bible. Let that subject, above all, be here *first* fully understood, and then no mystery will remain as to the imperative obligations of British Christians for many years to come. We have not yet before us the whole field of action. Far from it. *Then*, every English Bible will prove a monitor.

Before, however, looking at the broad surface of England and Wales, it would be doing injustice to LONDON and its immediate vicinity, as the centre of action, were we to pass unnoticed, the sum spent upon the Scriptures by the auxiliary Societies even there. What share have they enjoyed in this general expenditure? It is only twenty-eight years since the distinction was drawn between money contributed, and Bibles received in return, but since then more than seventy-six thousand pounds, or £76,704, 15s. 8d. have been expended by them, in the distribution of the Sacred Volume, and at the reduced prices. This upon an average throughout has been £2739, 9s. 1½d. annually, and so far from this diminishing, the issue is greatly upon the increase. Thus, in the last fourteen of these years, £43,841, 1s. 10d. have been actually thus spent, which presents an annual average of £3131, 10s. 1½d. Nay, within the last five years, the annual average has been £3398, 3s. 11d.; Bibles and Testaments, separately, to the amount of £16,990, 19s. 8d. having been put into circulation by these auxiliaries, and all within the compass of London and Middlesex alone! In other words, in the *first* fourteen years, Scriptures to the value of £32,863, 13s. 10d. were disposed of; in the *last* fourteen, the amount has been not less than £43,841, 1s. 10d., or together, £76,704, 15s. 8d. What a contrast is presented here to PARIS, VIENNA, MADRID, or indeed any other city in Europe! Nor must we forget that those expenses of management, already noted, which have been paid on the spot, has been an advantage in favour of the capital, inciting, as it ought, to greater exertion. These, when added to the sum now mentioned, form a total sum amounting to £436,889, 0s. 1½d., which has been expended in the British metropolis.

If we now turn from the Parent Society and these London auxiliaries, to the kindred Societies throughout England and Wales, we find that, independently of their free contributions, or £1,128,762, 7s. 8d., they have spent on the Sacred Scriptures, in their various localities, not less than £962,863, 3s. 8d. Additional supplies for England, Scotland,

Ireland, and the British Colonies, will account for the entire amount defrayed by the parent institution, in its British or home department.

But the general reader must be perfectly aware, that there are many Bible institutions, in Scotland and Ireland, which, during almost all these years, have been exerting themselves independently of the British and Foreign; while, at the same time, their main strength has been spent upon our native land and colonies, through the medium of the English Scriptures; so that, look wherever we may, in regard to money spent, precisely the same echo is heard.

And even still, justice is not yet done to the subject before us; nor, in comparison with all other nations, can either its magnitude be seen, or its importance felt, except we turn from pounds sterling, to the *Scriptures* themselves. Confining the statement, therefore, only for a few moments longer, to this British and Foreign Society; in their Report for 1844, they tell us that they have issued fifteen millions, nine hundred and sixty-five thousand, and twenty-five, volumes of Bibles and Testaments. But then of these, how many have been in the languages of our own diminutive country alone? More than *ten millions and a half;* or 10,523,157! Thus leaving for all the world besides, not equal to *five millions and a half*, or 5,441,868! And even with regard to the *home* department, or the languages spoken within this kingdom, what proportion of these Scriptures have been in the *English tongue* alone? Not fewer than nine millions, seven hundred and thirteen thousand, seven hundred and sixteen, Bibles, Testaments, Psalms, and Gospels.

In addition, moreover, to the disparity exhibited by these millions, as compared with the scanty and inferior supply yet sent to all other nations; it is greatly heightened by another consideration. Every one must be aware that an English Bible or New Testament has never *cost* so much, as almost all in foreign languages; and that, consequently, every single pound has gone much further at *home*, than it could by possibility have ever done *abroad*.

Thus, at the distance of not less than forty years from its commencement, or more than the space of an entire generation, it is now evident, that the formation of the British and Foreign Bible Society, with that of all its auxiliaries, as well as all the kindred institutions in Scotland and Ireland, was a movement, not so much with regard to *foreign* lands. It was one, up to the present hour, mainly, though not foreseen, with reference to the Scriptures in the *English* language, throughout the United Kingdom and its colonies. It was, in truth, the same gracious Being, whom we have beheld from the beginning, still pursuing his own wondrous way towards this

country, which he had pursued so long; and stirring up a part of the population to accomplish that of which *not one among them had the slightest intention at the outset!* So entirely providential, because above the purpose of the original movers, has the result been, that if any one man, in the room at London, on the 7th of May 1804, had *proposed* to do, what has actually been done; whatever might have been thought of the state of his judgment or reason at the moment, the proposal must have been viewed, as not only the height of extravagance, or selfish policy, but altogether absurd. Had any person risen and said—

"Gentlemen, you have met to make a commencement indeed, but it is mainly in order that you should print the Scriptures in your own *English* tongue, and that not for sale at their original cost only, which they *never* have been before, but for distribution at a reduced price, and to the extent of more than *nine millions* of Bibles and Testaments."

Would not such an announcement have been fatal to this, the very first meeting, and consequently to the design of the secret mover of them all? Is it to be imagined, that the speaker would have found any person present ready to second him, since no one there or elsewhere had any such purpose in view? Meanwhile, all were unanimous, cordially unanimous, as under one impulse, and they obeyed it, having no conception whither it would lead them, and thousands more. They began, but least of all imagining that they had combined to do more for their native land *only*, than for all the world beside!

Such an amount however having been expended on the whole, it is evident that the proportion of Scripture in the English tongue has been immense; and yet though many may wish that a larger share had fallen to nations in far greater need, let this only operate the more powerfully *after we have done;* but in the meanwhile actually no room is left for *regret* as to the English proportion, when the entire subject, or field of operation, comes into view. This money is gone, it is true; it has been so spent, and yet considered as an event past, perhaps its most extraordinary feature is this, that it is an event, for which, as no particular person is to be blamed, so no one can be applauded, since not a single individual either foresaw, or ever intended it! It may be true, that there is absolutely nothing precisely similar to this in

the history of British expenditure, during the last forty years, if ever before; for certainly it is not usual for an institution to work in a direction, by no means originally contemplated; and more especially to such an extent as to swallow up the great proportion of its funds. This, however, should only win for the event itself now, the more deliberate consideration.

For let us suppose only once more, and on the other hand, that by any means such a course as has been taken, had been contemplated or proposed from the beginning, certainly the astonishment must have risen higher still, could any zealous friend have addressed them, and said—

"Go on, Gentlemen, and with growing energy, by all means—let your Society now formed do its utmost, through the length and breadth of the land—but the multiplication of the *English* Scriptures will still proceed, and even to a far greater extent than *you* will ever be able to overtake, *and that without any Society at all*. Go on, he might have added, and exert yourselves, print, and put into circulation, more than nine millions of Bibles and Testaments in your own vernacular tongue, but this will not prevent thirteen millions more issuing from the press! At the end of forty years' exertion, the *sales*, united to the efforts of other congenial parties, will far exceed your circulation!

In relation to the Scriptures in English, therefore, let it now be specially observed, that, in the operation of these Bible institutions, there has been actually nothing which can, correctly speaking, be denominated *excess;* since, all along, in the usual current of national affairs, Divine Providence has been going far beyond it, and effecting far more by men *separately*, than by men *combined*. The latter, it is true, have issued above nine millions of English Bibles and Testaments, but the former, without its being *annually* noted in any way, have produced a larger number. The men combined may have spent a million and a half sterling, and in the English tongue alone, but this is far from approaching even the *half* of what has actually been expended on the whole. Besides, in the latter case, the Scriptures have been sold, they have been purchased at a price, yielding to the bookseller his profit; in the former, they have been dispersed at reduced rates; but when both methods are combined, they form a retrospect, certainly of the most commanding character. The Divine blessing has, without doubt, rested on these united voluntary efforts; but still the hand of Him who "instructs the ploughman to discretion," has been upon the printer, and the purchaser also, and even to greater extent all the time! There

is a vast difference between even ten or eleven millions of volumes issued according to the former method, and above twenty-two millions on the whole, as already explained. In conclusion, if we look at this subject with reference to money, how few persons throughout the kingdom have ever observed, or been aware of the fact, that since the present century commenced, an amount equal, at the least, to *four millions sterling* has been spent upon *the Sacred Volume in the English tongue?*

Such might have been the conclusion of the present work, and, but little more than four years ago, probably must have been, but for an event, altogether unprecedented, which then took place. Happening without any previous intimation, it took every man by surprise; though now it forms, if not the top-stone to the present history, that which, in a few years hence, will be regarded as the stone *next* to it. But even now, or rather every moment since it took place, it has added more than double emphasis to all that has been stated, respecting that immense mass of *English* Scripture printed and circulated in our day. The event conveys a meaning, from which there is no possibility for any Christian, or even the nation, to escape.

Long before this time, the reader is perfectly aware, that for many generations back, the English Bible has been printed by the authority of what has been styled a Patent from the Crown. Now, whatever may be said respecting the merits or demerits of patents in general, or of the benefit or injury resulting from such royal grants; it will certainly be singular enough, if, on looking back, it should be found that all these *Bible* Patents have taken their rise from what was once distinctly understood, and pronounced to be *illegal.* In other words, if it shall be found that these Patents actually rest upon one granted by Queen Elizabeth in 1577, and then styled a PATENT OF PRIVILEGE. It was upon the strength of this that Christopher Barker first printed the Bible for nearly twelve years. But that was a description of patents, which, when submitted to the Attorney-General of the day, he distinctly ruled that they *could not stand with the laws and statutes of the realm.* Various such patents, therefore, fared

accordingly. They became null and void, though by way of marvellous exception, this of Barker's remained untouched! But more strange still, Elizabeth, either not recollecting, or not adverting to the distinction already drawn, but quoting the patent of *privilege* by way of *precedent*, granted another with her own hand in 1589.[18] Thus, the course began, which has been discussed, and re-discussed, in courts of law, not unfrequently, at great expense, both in England and Scotland, again and again.

In our day, however, this Patent for printing the Bible, must be somehow made to stand out in distinction from all others that had ever been issued, or indeed any other Patent now in existence. The history of the English Bible has been peculiar for its providential character all along, and in this final event, that character is fully sustained. *Look at the existing English Patent.* No legal steps are to be taken to destroy it. There is to be no formal appeal to Parliament, or to the Crown, in the matter. But as this patent is the last which, it is next to certain, will ever be issued, it appears as if it had not been fit that it should maintain its strength, to the end of its appointed existence; nor fit that it should die suddenly, by either regal or legal hands. It must rather expire, as it were, by a lingering consumption. In the order of events, it must be neutralized, long before the time fixed for its duration. Yet who could have anticipated that the Patentee himself would come forward, and suddenly do as much; or that he would appear before his brother patentees in all other departments, as though he had laid violent hands on his own vested rights? Yet so it has come to pass.

But certainly it is something to be able to record, at the close of such a history as the past, that her Majesty's Printer, in the spring of 1841, came forward and reduced the value of his patent, to such a degree as to create astonishment. It would be saying too much, that it became of no more value than waste paper, or a piece of old parchment; for still he is secure of certain advantages, with relation to the Scriptures, in large size. But in regard to many smaller editions, as it appears now that as he could, so he actually did, nearly merge the trade in the nation, by placing them almost on the same footing.

There is no occasion for any minute detail here, in proof of a fact so very well known to many. But by way of brief illustration, it may be stated; that in the close of 1840, the Patentee advertising five different sizes of the Bible, viz., twenty-fourmo, duodecimo, octavo, quarto, and folio; and thus presenting a Bible in *twenty-four* distinct editions, the united price charged was £20, 1s. 6d. Early in 1841, he came forward, and by a list of prices, offered the whole for £9, 14s. 5d.! The largest, or folio Bible, for which before he charged £4, he had now reduced to £1, 10s.! The smallest, formerly charged 8s., was now only 3s. That which before cost 5s. 6d., was now to be no more than one shilling and twopence! A similar reduction was advertised upon nineteen editions of the New Testament. Single books, gospels or epistles, printed separately, which had been charged sixpence, were now to be sold for *three half-pence!* So much for February 1841, but even this would not suffice for the very next month of March. The surprise and satisfaction felt at the for-

[18] See the more particular explanation, pp. 343-350 of this volume.

mer reductions had not subsided, when there came farther reduction still, and upon ten different books. Thus, the edition which in January was nine shillings, and in February only six, was now down to four shillings and sixpence! And so in proportion with various other editions of the English Bible.

In England, however, not only does Mr. Spottiswoode possess a patent for printing the Scriptures, but the University presses of Oxford and Cambridge enjoy what are styled concurrent *rights*, to do the same. The exhibition made by these three parties was such as could not fail to attract the notice at least of the discerning few, who were deeply interested in the charges hitherto made. These were three very powerful houses of business, and it is worthy of observation by those who are not aware of the fact, that Oxford did more business than Cambridge and London united. In other words, and in our own day, no city in the kingdom, or on the face of the earth, has been so distinguished as OXFORD, or the spot where Tyndale first flourished, for the *printing of the Scriptures*. The Queen's printer and Cambridge united, were doing but little more than two-thirds of their business. Only, as there was something not right, common to them all, it was not surprising, if at this crisis, they were not all of the same mind. Oxford was said to have turned Queen's evidence against the other two presses, and more than hinted a great reduction of prices, but the largest establishment faltered, and confidence in her prices was shaken. This, however, like every thing else, when the time arrives for any great change, was of no moment. Her Majesty's own patentee came forward, and, as already detailed, prodigiously reduced his charges.

In the history of English literature, there never had occurred any event at all approaching to this, nor could any thing similar *ever* have taken place in any *other* branch of printing. Of course, it showed to demonstration, that all along, and especially in our own day of unwonted zeal for the circulation of the Scriptures, there had been something passing strange, in the relation which had subsisted betwen the *purchaser* and the *printer* of the Sacred Volume; and yet the Englishman, through many years, had passed on, without adverting to the fact, that he was paying, and especially for the largest Bibles, far more than double price! And even when the change did take place, and the extraordinary inferior prices came to be made known, would that we could have added, what Cowper said of the Bastile—

> "There's not an English heart that did not leap
> To hear that they were fallen at last."

This, however, should only secure for the subject, in all its bearings, the greater attention now. For though unknown to millions at the moment, unobserved afterwards by far too many, and, alas! a point of perfect indifference even still to many more, an event had occurred, which, in one day, *doubled* at once the ability and the responsibility of every man throughout the kingdom, at all concerned about the diffusion of Sacred writ. It enabled him to do more than double the good, at the same cost.

Enquire not *how* this could possibly *be* done. The patentee himself best knows this. He had, indeed, accomplished that, which no other man in the kingdom could have done, and did it in the style already described; but every one else knows also, that he could not be bent upon his own ruin. For our present purpose it is sufficient to record the fact; and, when looked at in its consequences, it is by far the most memorable deed of the day. *Why* it was done, is another question, and since the reader may wish to be informed, and the question admits of a brief historical reply, perhaps the present will suffice.

It was in the year 1831 that Parliament began to inquire into the working

of this patent, and abundance of evidence was taken, yet all this died away, or was permitted to sleep for years. It was afterwards to be of value, but this was to be in other hands, and of these but very few. By way of preserving inviolate the integrity of the history of the English Bible, already so distinguished for its independence of character, Parliament, as such, was to accomplish nothing. Thus, let it be observed, at the very close of our narrative, are we reminded of all previous authoritative interferences with respect to the Sacred Volume; and the present instance comes to us, very appropriately, by way of peroration.

The patent of Mr. Spottiswoode was not to expire till the year 1860, but that granted for Scotland was then near its end. Evidence was, therefore, called for in reference to it; and wise, at last, in the doctrine of *non*-interference, but without foreseeing what were to be the very remarkable results, that patent was allowed to expire, without renewal, on the 19th of July 1839. This printing establishment being at the moment in possession of many advantages as such, to her Majesty's former printers for Scotland was thus transferred the honour of being the first free-traders in that part of the kingdom since the days of Andrew Hart, or two hundred and thirty years ago, nay, and the first in Britain since the reign of Edward the Sixth.[19] As, *then*, when any respectable house applied for a license to proceed, it was forthcoming, so it came to pass now in Scotland, simply by an application to the Lord Advocate; a mode of procedure of which other printers immediately availed themselves. A board had been appointed, of which he was the official organ. Perhaps out of charity to England, or care over her vested rights, this might be considered as the utmost extent to which, at that moment, it was expedient to go; while the parties in Parliament could have no conception of what would be the effect of their expedient, for it was nothing more.

Only a few months had elapsed when the Committee of the British and Foreign Bible Society began to wonder at an *impulse*, for which, they informed their subscribers, in May 1840, they "could scarcely account." It arose from an earnest desire for the Scriptures, and at a more moderate price. This led to an offer on their part, of a Bible and a New Testament, separately, at a much lower rate than they had ever been presented; but the step they had taken showed, and in a very short time, that if persisted in, it would, at the prices then paid to the English patentee, soon swallow up their free income entire. In six months, by this single step, they had thus spent, or lost, £13,000! They paused, and suspended the offer. Meanwhile, the free-trade prices in the north could not remain a secret, and before the close of the year, the people of England were paying for their English Bibles, from one hundred and fifty to two hundred per cent. more than those in Scotland.

In England, however, all parties still remained actually dormant. The pressure from without happening not to have originated there, so long as no voice was raised against the enormous difference between the two sides of the Tweed, the English patentee held fast by his prices, affirming, in print, before all his countrymen, and that even so late as November 1840, that "equal efficiency and cheapness could not be obtained upon *any other* system." The people of London, also, or of the south generally, still appeared as though they believed this, even though her Majesty's Board for Scotland were reporting

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19 Three years, however, before the Scotish patent expired, and precisely three hundred years since the martyrdom of Tyndale, it is singular enough that this *name* appeared in the imprint of the title page of the English Bibles printed in Scotland; but the circumstance is the more worthy of notice, in that the respected gentleman referred to, (O. Tyndall Bruce, Esq. of Falkland,) claims some affinity with the most conspicuous of all our British martyrs.

the reduction of prices there, and the advantages which had arisen from the happy change. "Besides," said they, "it is not merely a question as to the amount of reduction, but whether a vast number of individuals are, or are not, to be put in possession of the Sacred Scriptures?" "The difference of a single *penny* in the price of a Bible, determines, year after year, whether the Word of God is, or is not, to enlighten and gladden thousands of families."

Now, had any other of the perishable commodities of this transitory scene been at stake, or in similar circumstances, the masses would have been in motion, and there would have been requisitions in all our Cities, numerously signed, and public meetings held, till the press had groaned under the account. But there were to be no such proceedings; no petitions to Parliament respecting the enormous price charged for the "bread of life," in one part of the kingdom as compared with that in another; nor did any Member rise, in either House, and for once advert to the very singular existing disproportion between the Scotish and English market. Nor was it at all requisite that he should, or that there should be any commotion. At all events, there were to be no more mere Committees of inquiry in the Commons' House of Parliament; nor was this necessary. The Secretaries of the British and Foreign Bible Society, too, at this crisis, came forward, and begged "most distinctly to say, that they would not touch the question of the monopoly at all." Nor was it necessary that they should. The Bible Societies throughout the kingdom amounted, by this time, to three thousand four hundred, of which number there were two thousand five hundred in England and Wales. Every one of them professed to be, or rather, as far as funds were concerned, positively were, interested, in a *cheap English Bible*, and, when taken on the whole, to an immense amount. If *they* did not feel and act as one man, it may appear altogether unaccountable to posterity, since to many it already does now. But they did not. Not one, even in London, Edinburgh, or Dublin, moved. Nor was it necessary that they should. In this most mechanical age, when so much is ascribed to the "million" in union, these Societies altogether had formed the too fond boast of many as the grandest machinery of the day; but though they had assisted materially in supplying the nation with the Scriptures, as a larger number had been furnished in the usual course of a benignant Providence, they were not now employed. Although every one of these institutions was just on the point of being placed in a position entirely *new*, every thing was to be done *for* them, and nothing *by* them. Though to see the whole, without exception, stand by, silent, as if paralyzed, and at such a time as this, was a sight to which there has been nothing similar in the usual current of human affairs. These, in short, and all other bodies, seem to have been *too many* for Him, who once so spake to Gideon of old: and upon looking back throughout the present history, the reader will see at once that any multitudinous proceeding would have been indecorous. It would have been inconsistent, or not in perfect keeping with the usual procedure for these three hundred years. If the Majesty of the throne, and that of Parliament, had been declined and kept aloof, so also must the majesty of the people.

The royal Patentee, it is true, might speak, or even print, as he had done in November, but without saying more, he was to *act* very differently, and in little more than eight weeks, or in February 1841, as already stated. When reviewing, another day, what will appear very remarkable, the sudden and prodigious fall in the prices of the Sacred Volume, posterity, if not informed, might be apt to conjecture that the monopolist must have been roused to act so by the nation at large,—but no; nothing more was requisite than that three individuals only should move, and the unprecedented reduction followed.—Followed also very

quietly, and, contrary to all custom in this advertising age, without any boasting, or the slightest ostentation on the part of the Patentee himself. Since the day that business of any moment was done in Britain, such a thing, in *business*, was never so done. One Englishman, indeed, with two natives of the north, must, it is granted, feel deeply interested in the subject, and to many now it may be unnecessary to mention their names,—Mr. Childs, of Bungay, the Rev. Dr. Thomson, of Coldstream, and the Rev. Dr. Campbell, of London. The first gentleman had corresponded with the second, but, without farther detail, it so happened, that into his mind had come the idea, that as these "Living Oracles" had been originally committed in charge, as a sacred deposit, to the people of God as such; so it ought to be an object with them to present the Scriptures to any, or to all, at no higher price than the simple cost of their production; or, in other words, that they ought to be redeemed out of the usual channels of commerce altogether. But in these days, when it seems as if no individual expects to accomplish any enterprise single handed, what was styled a Board must be formed. In the present instance, but for the artificial state of society into which Britain has wrought herself, this might have been dispensed with, and it appears to have been of no other moment than that of directing attention to the efforts of an individual. The prices of Bibles and Testaments, then, thus advertised, were so low as to appear incredible; while the London patentee became so adventurous as to affirm that under the whole affair there lurked some fallacy. Meanwhile, all that became necessary was that this gentleman should move from the banks of the Tweed to visit the north of England, where, having once explained his views, and exhibited certain specimens of Bibles and Testaments, at their affixed prices, many eyes were opened. The reception given was cordial, nay, enthusiastic; nor did he require to visit the metropolis at all. The third individual, however, who was residing there, was now required, and both meeting at Liverpool, and elsewhere, both spoke and wrote, and both were listened to, and read. Nothing more was required, and though neither of these friends to the cause they advocated could expect to meet with that applause which, in our day, has been so often awarded to men for doing little or nothing, an impulse more powerful had been felt than either the one or the other had anticipated. The royal Patentee evinced penetration and wisdom to a degree seldom, if ever before, exhibited in such circumstances. He had spoken out once, as already mentioned, but proceeding no farther, he presently issued his delightful and most extraordinary reduction of prices. The patent itself, it will be remembered, has not been abolished, but, sixteen years before its natural termination, it has been, to a great degree, effectually neutralised. Ever since, competition has been at work, and all in favour of the purchaser. Into the merits or demerits of this competition as to price between the patentee and the free-trader, there is no necessity for us to enter here; though it must be evident to all, that so long as the patent, and these concurrent rights of Oxford and Cambridge continue, the sales throughout the Kingdom cannot arrive at a healthy or natural and desirable condition. Meanwhile, the public at large is happily left to judge for itself; but that such an immense circulation as that which had taken place should have been suddenly followed up by such a vast and unprecedented reduction in price, is an occurrence far from being the least remarkable among the multitude of events which it has been our aim throughout impartially to record.

Such then have been the mysterious, and, compared with every other nation under Heaven, the majestic outgoings of

Him who has been with this cause, all along and so evidently, from the beginning; and who having now brought it to this stupendous height, will, to a certainty, not leave it in its present state or position, or ever be turned aside from his own high purpose and ultimate design. We have said, *mysterious* outgoings, because the cause as such, may be compared to a path without an end; that is, an end worthy of the path; an end in unison with the present condition of a nation, where the number of the copies of the Sacred Record, actually outnumbers the souls that are in it, but where thousands still contemn the proffered gift! The reader of the previous history, it is true, has travelled a very singular and eventful journey, and all the while, for more than three hundred years, he has been ascending to the eminence, on which he now stands; so that according to *this* time, he may be exclaiming—"*What hath God wrought!*" Yet the exclamation is no sooner uttered, than it seems to excite in every considerate mind but one question—WHAT IS HE ABOUT TO DO?

Were the public mind in this kingdom once brought to such a state of watchful enquiry, although to answer such a question is not within the province of human foresight; yet there is one point connected with the present position of our English Bible, and only one, to which we may advert, before bidding adieu to the history itself. Whatever Providence intends to accomplish, and whatever obscurity may rest on the future, it is already evident that an Almighty hand has been, and is now proceeding, on a scale far beyond the limits of our sea-girt island. Some of our legislators have recently begun to ruminate over what they call *systematic* emigration; but that Providence, which perfectly foresaw what would be the condition of the inhabitants of Britain for some years back, in which every time the clock has struck twelve, another thousand has been added to our population—that Providence has already and long been at work, with His own word, for such as go away, or have gone, never again to see their native land; and the printing press, which is now more busy than ever it was, both in England and Scotland, can very easily keep pace with the emigration, let it increase as it may. Now this, it is confessed, so far as the Scriptures in the *English* tongue only are still to be concerned, may be the next legiti-

mate sphere of action; but, at the same time, every one must perceive, that this can never involve more than a fraction, or not so much as approaching to a tithe of our future and imperative obligations.

In point of responsibility as a nation, we have been exalted into circumstances of which many before had little or no conception; nor had they been at all aware, that we have been placed in a condition, involving duty and obligations, from which there is no escape. The very rich supply of Sacred Scripture peculiar to our country even before this century began, will be held in remembrance; more than twenty-two millions of volumes have since been added to the number, and still the printing press is as urgently plied as before; so that an amount of above four millions sterling has been spent upon *our own* version! After an entire generation has been thus so peculiarly distinguished, that there is nothing approaching to it, on the face of the earth; to rouse us from slumber, as but too visible, in our unequal dealing with the world at large; all at once, and in the quarter where it was least of all, or last of all, to be expected, there comes, in one day, a great, an immense *reduction of price* with regard to the Sacred Volume in *English*, and let it be particularly observed, in English ALONE. What though no real voice, no sound, was heard? No man accustomed to think at all, will presume to say that in an event so unexpected, and altogether so unprecedented, there was nothing intended for the ear, or rather the heart of those who are daily deriving light and counsel from the sacred page. Taking the entire previous history into account, and the broad field of action now full in view; is it not, to say the least, as if Providence had sounded a pause?—an authoritative pause, calling upon us to do the same; and, at last, review his footsteps? Calling upon us to observe, more deliberately, His procedure, and then putting the all-important question—"*How, or in what manner, will it become the Christians in Britain to act* NOW?

We are perfectly aware, that some of our men of "profit and loss" may be disposed to detain us, by fretting over this prodigious fall of price. Something, indeed, may be mooted in reply, as to a gradual fall in the price of paper, if not other materials, but this will, by no means, satisfy others, who have looked more deeply into the circumstances. "Why, at these

present prices," says one, "we might have dispersed more than *double* the number of Bibles and Testaments, and is there any man who can now deny it?" "But what is more to be deplored," says another, "at these prices, we might have been, all these years, expending upon destitute *foreign* nations, eight or nine hundred thousand pounds, *more than we have done!*" While, independently altogether of these former high prices, a third party meets us with his complaint, as to the expenses incurred at home, throughout England and Wales, and more especially within the last twenty years. But weighty as these murmurings may appear to some minds, they are actually of *no consequence*, when compared with the solemnity of our present obligations, or that momentous position in which Providence has now placed us. In truth, they only press our one question with greater urgency. Besides, standing, as we do, in the midst of a nation, which has but recently paid twenty millions of money, for the liberation of not nearly one million of men in bondage; it would be idle to suppose that, as a people, we have been thus strikingly summoned to pause, merely for the purpose of murmuring over the past. Certainly they are not to be envied, who exacted such prices from the benevolent public; but as for those who have paid them, every moment now is lost, if spent merely in lamenting over the outlay. The supremely important, the urgent, and the only question at present is—*How, or in what manner, and to what extent, will it become the Christians of Britain to act* NOW?

At the close of the present history, therefore, it so happens that there are several points left for deliberate and general consideration, every one of which will be found to bear with accumulating force on this one question.

CONCLUSIONS,

DRAWN FROM THE PRECEDING HISTORY.

THERE is a frequent propensity in the mind of man to run every thing into *one* thing. But even after all that has been said, it will not be supposed that the renovation of man is anticipated by the present author, from the mere multiplication and dispersion of the Sacred Volume throughout any country whatever. If but one native of Britain has ever so dreamed, the present state of his own land may now awaken him to the painful reverse. No nation has ever enjoyed such opportunities of discovering its devotion or hostility to the Book of God, and in none is there to be found the two extremes in greater strength. Yet, if the past history has referred to only *one* subject, it has been because of its supreme importance as the basis or ground-work of all moral improvement. To prevent confusion, we have proceeded on the principle that it is necessary to consider only one thing at a time; and that in applying the same incumbent remedy to the world around us, it is of importance to understand what *has been* the history of Divine Revelation in our own tongue, and what *is* the existing condition of our native land.

In surveying the cause to which these volumes have been devoted, from an origin of the most unpretending character, it has grown to a magnitude as already explained, which meets us in the very threshold to all reflection. One leading feature of the history itself will then invite some notice. After this, the visible and uninterrupted progress, or effect produced, must not escape observation. Thus, as a community, however dispersed, yet the most important, because most influential upon earth,—"*the present readers of the English Bible*" naturally come before us; for here, and in these times most happily, they must be regarded in the light of but ONE body. Though, after this, the *responsible* position of this wide circle, but especially at its centre, on British ground, cannot fail to lend a tone of deeper solemnity to the unwearied footsteps of that gracious Providence, which so visited at first, and has so

watched over this land ever since. In conclusion, only one question will remain,—How, or in what manner, shall becoming gratitude to God be expressed and proved, by far more vigorous action?

The Magnitude of this Cause.

Considered in the light of a conspicuous public undertaking, if there be any thing in the *magnitude* of an object fitted to attract or interest and fix the mind, it is found here. The cause of Divine Revelation admits of no superior authority in any land; but in ours, it has assumed an appearance visible to any, if not to every eye. As such, this cause has reached a height more than sufficient to silence any opponent. Of infinite importance in itself, and, at the same time, by far the largest movement in our day, possessing all the attributes of a fixed or invincible Divine purpose, the difficulty lies in duly apprehending or grasping it. In casting our eye upon only one of these millions of volumes, every page of which is the voice of God to man, and every man is interested in its meaning, it would here be out of place to dwell upon the Scriptures themselves—upon the majesty of their style—the solemnity of their matter—their comprehensiveness—their correspondency to the spirit of man, whether as corrupt and depraved or regenerated and renewed—on their peculiar efficacy, or obvious design. By all who duly prize them they are confessed and regarded to be the only standard of unerring wisdom—the only means of rousing effectually the human mind—containing the only ground of hope before his Maker for the burdened or wounded spirit—the unfailing source of solid comfort, peace, and joy—the only effectual medium of strength for sustaining the trials or performing the duties of life. Nor let it ever be forgotten, that this Sacred Record, in our vernacular tongue, wherever it be found, near or afar off, whether in Britain itself, or, as it actually is, at the ends of the earth, enjoys this unspeakably glorious privilege—*there its divine Author is present, specially present, with it!*

But when, instead of one book, we turn to those millions of volumes, as all given to *one* people, and look upon the whole, in their only true character, that of a DEPOSIT—a deposit, given in custody, and in every instance to be accounted for another day; and when, from these volumes themselves we turn to their actual dispersion, till we are lost among the numbers that are now reading the same book in the same language, every hour of the day and every hour of our night, in the four quarters of the globe; then, in point of magnitude, as well as importance, there is no other object, as an object, to which the native of Britain can direct his eye, that will allow of any comparison. When one contemplates his Country, as thus "exalted to heaven" in the midst of the nations, as by

far the most conspicuous *custos*, or keeper of Divine Truth, and in a language upon which the sun, as already explained, is ever shining, it seems next to incredible that the great body of British Christians should not have been more alive to this, as, by way of eminence, THE *sign of the times*. If they had been found gazing upon it, and watching every step in advance; suffering no inferior, no local, no limited party interests, to divert them away; this would have been nothing more than its supreme character has long demanded; and the more so, as there can be no question, that as a sign, it is an undoubted "token for good," approaching good, in more senses than one, and of good extending far beyond the narrow limits of our island of the sea.

Nor should the singular manner in which this cause has risen to its present majestic height now pass unnoticed. This, however, is matter of history, and however briefly reviewed, it will be found to deserve corresponding attention from all who revere the sacred page, whatsoever may happen to be their own particular views of social religion exemplified.

One leading feature in the preceding History.

Whatever imperfections may be detected in the preceding pages, there is a peculiarity of character belonging to the history as a whole, of which it is not likely ever to be bereaved. This feature of distinction is now visible in a long and uninterrupted series of provable events. Whether any importance will be attached to the disclosure and proof remains to be seen; but as there was a commencement made, in spite of all human sanction at first, and an unceasing progress, in superiority to all human control ever since, it seems as if there were *still* some special homage to be paid to the sacred Volume; and more, much more, than there has ever yet been. The very imperfect and scattered notices hitherto given of the English Bible, have been too often bloated with unwarrantable assertions of a species of interference, direction, and control, which the authentic history disowns.

For some years past, a very strong, or insatiable, curiosity has been felt and displayed, in searching into the origin and character of all British interests, whether sacred or civil; and hence the reprinting verbatim, of what have been styled, by way of courtesy, writers of *authority*, has proceeded to an extent altogether unknown in any preceding age. Whether this revival of all these old writers, for once, in an improved form, be any thing more than a prelude to their descending again, in a more decent dress, into oblivion, time will show; but it is no disparagement of all human authors, without exception, to affirm, that a revived, a superior, or rather a supreme, attention to Divine authority, as first issued from the press in our native tongue, and so wondrously continued

ever since, would be found of infinitely higher benefit to the Nation at large, and especially in its present condition. During a crisis, or that moment of time when affairs have come to their destined height, the most important point of all has not unfrequently been neglected; and whether the present era, but especially the condition of Britain as full to overflowing with Divine Revelation, does not very loudly call us from men to the Divine Being himself, it now remains for the reader to consider, and resolve for himself.

We have seen that the history of the Sacred Scriptures, as printed in the English language, for more than three hundred years, has a character of its own, and such a one, as even common reverence suggests, ought to be observed and studied *by itself*. Hitherto it has been considered by historians as a theme which scarcely came in their way, and when it did, it has either been loosely glanced at, or treated as a subject with which they had but little or nothing to do. On the contrary, we have looked upon the first entrance, and singularly continued possession, of these Scriptures, as involving by far the highest point of national interest and responsibility, while the history itself seems to invite, or rather demand, attention and remembrance, both as to its *commencement* and its *continuance*.

With reference to the former, taking its rise at a period before the existence of any denomination of Christians afterwards known in Britain, the history comes before us with an exclusive claim to *primary* consideration, whether in England or Scotland. Hitherto, indeed, but little has been known of this period, but if additional light has now dawned upon us, from original and authentic sources, it seems to be here alone that we can lay hold of our subject, as Lord Bacon has said, by "THE RIGHT HANDLE." The principle of combination, of action by joint forces, or associated numbers, so common in our day, no doubt has its value, but if it be imagined that such union alone is competent for a great purpose, we look for it here in vain. To those who have been born, and now dwell, in the midst of what are styled "institutions," and who but too fondly ascribe every thing to their power, to begin otherwise may not be so inviting, but there is no remedy. To all who speak our mother tongue the commencement of this history employs the same language. "Never forget this origin. Look to the humiliating condition in which your entire country once lay. Forget not the darkness and superstition which then reigned, without a rival; and should any one section of your countrymen ever swell out into any foolish pretensions, or fancied superiority over their brethren; but, above all, should any party have the arrogance to talk of this Bible as *theirs*, by way of eminence, or of their production, your answer is ready at hand, and perfectly explicit. You have only to point to the genuine history of the volume itself, and then inquire,—

> Who brought the lamp, that with awakening beams
> Dispell'd thy gloom and broke away thy dreams?

No, all alike, without any exception, must be perfectly satisfied to begin after the actual manner, and that is, with the interposition of the Almighty, through the medium of only *one* man. In the midst of darkness, as darkness itself, and in the most thoroughly Italianised part of England too, where it was least of

all to be expected, we found certain discussions arise at only one spot, and carried on with but one man. The disputants never could agree, and parted; but this man, full of compassion for his Country, remaining firm as a rock, and fixed in his opinions, no power on earth could turn from his purpose. The result, then, was nothing more than the premeditated design of a solitary individual; but once so rooted in his heart, the consequences were to extend to many generations, or, as in our day, literally to the four quarters of the globe. In this point of view, the indomitable purpose once formed, the resolution once taken, must now be regarded as the greatest national event of the day; though it was then but a secret infused into a single mind, and that the mind of a man who had been "rated as a dog," in the county where he dwelt. Here, however, it was, that we first met with a hidden or secret spring, which began to well out, and from the manor-house of Little Sodbury, in Gloucestershire, it has never failed us, down to the present day. Time there was, it is true, when the cause, like the water of Siloah, went softly, and even after that, it might be compared to nothing more than some little tinkling rill, which any man could step across, without heeding it; but it has grown and swelled into a place of broad rivers and streams, a river that cannot be passed over. No man can now sound its depth, or tell the nation whither, or how far, it will go and yet gladden the wide earth!

Resolutely bent on the execution of his purpose, we beheld Tyndale leave his native country, never to return; and some time after, we saw his earliest production, the New Testament in English, arrive on these shores. We had heard the bitter foreign enemy of divine truth, in every vernacular tongue, Cochlæus, forewarning Wolsey and his Royal Master to stop every inlet, to lay an embargo on every seaport, and prevent its entrance: yet have we not observed it, coming to our ancestors across the sea, before there was any fixed form of opinion, save that of hostility, either in England or Scotland? And long before there was an Institution of any name, professing to bow to its authority? Yes, come it did, and with powerful effect; but what was its reception from many, and especially from men of authority, for more than ten years? Can any other Nation be now specified that discovered equal, or such persevering, hostility? And if in this hostility Britain stood pre-eminent, so much the more ought never to be forgotten, the first presentation of the Divine Record. It is a feature in her national history, which so enhances the self-moved goodness of God, as to render all that has occurred since, worthy of the profoundest adoration. We have witnessed, very distinctly, that the most deadly opponents were men who had arrogated to themselves, exclusively and by way of eminence, the title of "the spirituality." Have we not beheld those individuals, moved with mingled terror and indignation; and united, as one man, from their Primate downwards, however vainly, to purchase, and then destroy the New Testament of our Lord and Saviour, because it was in the language of our common country? In their heartfelt alarm, have we not observed them apply to a civilian, the phœnix of his age, that he might put forth all his strength, and his power of sarcasm, in opposition? In the north as well as the south, a common sense of danger had prevailed. A general call to arms was, as it were, the order of the day. The masses, with their leaders, were banded together in hostility. But still, month after month, nay, year after year, we have seen the dreaded Book arrive, in many ways, though by channels inexplicable, and then brave every species of opposition. Authority could not command it away. Neither could skill devise an antidote, nor power banish it from the land. Terror proved itself to be impotent, and all the threatenings of vengeance were in vain. Surely this strange commencement, this early and emphatic page in

the history of our own English Bible, is never to be forgotten, much less, consigned to oblivion.

The reader may have perused Foster's powerful Essay on Decision of Character, at the close of which he has said—"I am sorry, and I attribute it to defect of memory, that a greater proportion of the illustrations which I have introduced are not as conspicuous for *goodness* as for *power*." Martin Luther abroad, and John Howard at home, are there indeed not forgotten, and let them ever enjoy deservedly their own high place; but let England, at last, do justice to one of her own sons! For goodness and power united, now that his history is better known, we may be permitted to hesitate, whether this Country ever produced, or even Europe at the moment, a more valuable, because influential instance of decision of character, than that of William Tyndale, who died in triumph at the stake, above nine years before Luther expired on his bed! Luther, it will be remembered, was never expatriated, never from under the kind protection of his Elector; and in his literary undertakings he ever enjoyed the benefit or assistance of scholars, at least equal to himself. He had Melancthon, Justus Jonas, and others, with whom to consult and advise. Tyndale stood alone, literally alone, whether at the outset, or at the close of his career. Generally speaking, he was destitute of every support or encouragement. "The lonely individual was placed in the alternative of becoming the victim or the antagonist of the power of the empire." He never had a patron, and when hunted by English spies, or English ambassadors, he had no Electoral authority to shield him from his Monarch's wrath, or the vengeance of his Ministers. *His* Melancthon was taken from him, and slain upon the high places in England, when he might indeed lament over him, as David did over Jonathan; yet still *he* must plough through the deep as before, or fight on—and live—and die alone! Though one of the noblest of mankind, he expired at the stake, as an outcast from all human society. The world was not his friend, nor the world's law. Leaving, however, his labours to be gathered up into the Bible of 1537, he had effectually laid the foundation of all future versions or editions of the English Scriptures; and these ten long years, from 1526 to 1536, now appear to be unquestionably, among the most important, as influential, in the subsequent history of this Island.

But if these years stand distinguished by a commencement and early progress altogether irresistible; an *extended* course began, not less worthy of observation when the Bible entire arrived. Tyndale and his translations, whether of the New, or of the Old Testament, had been bitterly opposed, though in vain. The hostility was distinctly and frequently expressed by the King and Cardinal, by the Vice-Gerent or Vicar-General, by Primate and Bishop, with all their underlings, by his Majesty in person, by his Privy Council as a body: but now, though the Translator be gone to his reward, his labours having been preserved, incorporated into a folio volume, and imported into his native land, it was meet that all these adverse authorities, without exception, should be signally overruled. The course thus begun was never to be abandoned. Intermeddling there was. A shew of nominal Royal authority, though never of any other, might and did occur; but, substantially, all parties must either stand aloof, or be overruled, down to the present day. Henry VIII., indeed, might waver, but not until as many Bibles had been printed, as might serve, somewhat like Joseph's corn in Egypt, during the famine. His adverse policy, too, then had but little power, nay, the capriciousness displayed, was only calculated to whet curiosity. Every one can now see that a book *half* interdicted, must have been looked at with the keener avidity in private. The King talked of his power to give and to restrain the Scriptures, but these

were only vain words. He confessed his impotence before he died, and this was the *only* department in which Henry ever did so. In the reign of EDWARD VI., however friendly in his own person, as neither the Convocation or Parliament of the Father had ever been permitted to banish the book entirely, so here they must not interfere at all. Divine truth having free course was glorified ; and though MARY succeeded with her husband PHILIP, we have seen that neither the one nor the other were ever allowed to issue any official denunciation of the book of God. No doubt the Scriptures were then consumed, as they had been under the father of the Queen, but the great majority seem to have been preserved. Many were carried away ; many were concealed, and even built up, till a better day. Besides, these few years were the season appointed for revising the translation, and once revised, the English monarch was once more to be still more signally overruled. ELIZABETH who ruled over every thing else, in every other department, must yield here, and never, throughout her long reign, speak one word to the contrary. Her own patent printer, too, shall be the instrument for supplying the people with that version of the Bible for which they called, and which they continued to read, both in England and Scotland, long after her successor, James VI., was in his grave. To the proposal of our present version, that monarch had acceded, at an anomalous conference, with a few men, *before* he was recognised by Parliament, as King; but though fond, even to ostentation, of proclamations, as he then never issued one respecting the Bible, and did not live to witness its general adoption, nor his son either, the same character for independence is stamped upon the version ever since in use. That version, as already noticed, only became the Bible of this island entire, at a period of all others the most impressive and significant, as to all the authority residing in poor human nature. It was when there was no king within our borders, and many other authorities were for the time extinct ; but the Sovereign Disposer of all events, the Unseen Ruler, was there. King and Convocation, Lords and Commons, for the moment set aside or laid low, surely He intended that *his* hand and power should have been *then* observed, nay, and remembered, from that time forward. And, finally, to come down to our own day, when so much has been done, and so much said, respecting the circulation of the Scriptures, it has not been at the bidding of any human authority whatever, whether civil, or what is called ecclesiastical. At a period when combination, or association under patronage has been all the rage, and the highest that could possibly be procured has been aimed at, as a great affair ; still, of the Bible Society, out of four Sovereigns in succession, on the throne, not one of them has been a member, nor has any Primate, or Prince of the Blood, ever presided at its annual meeting. It has been a movement of the people, as the people, irrespective of all their divisions ; and yet, on the whole, God has been accomplishing far more by men separately, than by men combined : more in the customary course of his kind Providence, than by what has been called the Bible Society.

With regard to legislation, it is true, that as Britain has been charged with excess of interference, in almost every thing, successive attempts we have witnessed, even here ; and there have been patents for printing, of which due notice has been taken ; but still, all along, the integrity of the history of the English Bible has been most singularly preserved, and the distinct line of an overruling Providence has been quite visible, from first to last. In holding on, throughout its entire course,

ever independent of all associated bodies, as such, even the *history* of our Sacred Volume comes clothed with a prerogative, or sovereign authority, above every thing else, in the shape of religious history.

Irrespective of all reference to internal evidence in the Scriptures, we point simply to the providential history of the book itself. It has been kept distinct, or, as it were above, yet among, this people, for more than three hundred years ; and never was the highest favour which God has bestowed so long, more conspicuous and abundant, than at the present moment. If, at such a time, there should be any, or too many who seem to be wholly engrossed, whether by ecclesiastical self-righteousness, or mere party spirit ; still, it is altogether in vain for any Community, as such, within the shores of Britain, to talk of its superior importance here. All other questions, are absolutely local, and subordinate. All communities, offer to the eye, but a section of the people, or an inferior circle. Every one of them is here not only spoken to direct, but all alike are here providentially over-arched. Not one, without exception, can rise and lay claim to the glory of that *bow in the clouds.*

Changes in sublunary things, there have been many ; divisions and sub-divisions as to its meaning, but never has it been permitted to fall under the power, much less into the keeping of any one circle. Never has it been allowed to become the badge, or the partizan of a single party. Not one could ever address another in the style of the Venetians to the Roman pontiff, and say—*that Book is ours.* An historical event, therefore, extending over three centuries, with immediate reference to our vernacular Bible, may certainly be presumed to carry *some* significance beyond the external fact. But if so, that cannot be any thing of trivial moment, which speaks to all alike, and for so long a period. It is true, only one simple principle may be all that is involved, though it must be one worthy of this high and long-continued course of procedure. After all this then, some, if not every intelligent observer, may now be disposed to pause a little, having verified this anomaly in our national history. The boon bestowed he has long felt to be *Britain's best hope*, though never before presented exactly in this light ; and if the peace and tranquillity of his country has been supposed to depend upon the harmony and stability of the Institutions within her shores, he may begin to apprehend that season, if not past, may be passing away. But again he turns to the highest gift bestowed on all alike. In its history it now appears as if it had been uninterruptedly calling upon every circle, without exception, to look up for superior light ; or in waiting for its own peculiar place in the wide community below—waiting for a supremacy to which it has been all along entitled.

Why then should not such a long and patient suspension of this Sacred Record, held beyond the grasp, or above the head of a whole community still divided in opinion, not now lead to a more thoughtful consideration

of that place which Infinite Wisdom seems to be determined it shall one day occupy? This might prove to be an *end* worthy of the long *way* to it; since, in the sufficiency and explicitness of the Holy Scriptures, the sovereignty of God is alike involved. Beyond all question, a writing *is* capable of being so complete, that it needs no addition, and shall this completeness be any longer denied even to the Divine Record? One man in this country, it is granted, has long and frequently been lauded as immortal, simply because of his having said, that "The Bible, and the Bible alone, was his religion." But from his lips, as well as from thousands who have quoted him, what has this been more than a mere saying? Or more than a proof that even thousands may be governed in speculation, by a theory, which in practice they reject? It is quite possible that *here* may have lain the real secret of our Sacred Volume having been so long locked up in what is called a Patent. Perhaps we have not been trusted with it, and are not to be, till we are able duly to estimate its character and value as a perfect standard of faith and practice.

It has indeed been frequently said, that the Christians of Britain can never be one people, till they become a people of only one Book. But unquestionably, if they do insist upon having two centre-points in a circle, all the lines drawn from both, must of necessity cross each other. And so it ever must be till the day when, as one man, they contend for the Sacred Scriptures as the common centre against *all* antiquity.

We are now, however, able to account historically for the majestic height, or the magnitude of this cause. That Sovereign Book, in addition to the supreme authority of its contents, has become visibly the Sovereign also, even in point of number and dispersion; an event, which may never have been sufficiently regarded, as containing in itself some distinct and very significant meaning to all who read this version, whether at home or abroad.

Three hundred years ago, in many parts of Europe, but particularly in this country, both in England and Scotland, the high and keen dispute was, whether what they called the *Church*, or the *Sacred Scriptures* were uppermost, or which was to be regarded as supreme in point of authority. For ages preceding, it had seemed to be the former. At least, a body, usurping that name, had long wantonly reigned over them; and the use they made of that daring assumption is well known. It brought on that night of pitchy darkness which so long brooded over Europe. They had taken away the key of knowledge, and substituted other keys. They had

not only closed or contemned the Sacred Volume; they denied to the people at large the use or even the possession of it. But the time to favour Zion, the set time was come. The Almighty vindicated his own cause in this our native land, by way of eminence; and after a peculiar manner, by the power of his *own word*, rescued it out of the hands of those, the profane rulers of darkness. This was His *first* note of interpretation, which, for illustration's sake, we ventured to compare to the key-note in music; and it really seems to vibrate in the ear now, as distinctly as it did in August 1537.

Now, in this kingdom, where so much has been said about the Church, ever since, perhaps more than in all the world besides, at present it becomes worthy of universal observation, that God, by his high providence, has all along, never permitted his Word, in a single instance, to fall into, much less under, the power of any Church, so called, of whatever form, or whatever name. The supreme authority of the Scriptures he has visibly demonstrated, before the eyes of the nation at large, by carrying them, in point of numbers and dispersion, far, very far above the capacity, and beyond the narrow bounds, of any Church so named, or of any single community within our shores. The supremacy of the Divine Word, though still far from being understood even on British ground, a watchful Providence has not left to expositors, to spell out or explain. God has been his own interpreter, and he has made it plain. This is one great lesson, which the Sovereign Ruler has been reading to this kingdom entire, for more than three hundred years.

Hence it is, at the present most eventful crisis, whatever may betide the country as a whole, or whatever may await any of its more limited interests, that His own cause stands out before us, healthy and strong, and in vigorous operation; far more vigorous than at any previous period, and by far the highest undertaking of our day. Forming, therefore, as it does, such a commanding providential event, or a voice so significant and so loud; there may be impending danger to all subordinate interests throughout the land, in disregarding it any longer, or in its not occupying that high place in the national mind, to which it is entitled.

We need not to be informed, that, under the influence of the present low estimation in which some appear to hold the

Scriptures themselves, they may reply—"But what is all this array at the best, save an *array of means?*" It is even so, though we might first say; but look again and consider; it is *such* an array, and of *such* means! After perusing such a history of the past, let us have a care how we estimate the divine provision for millions. Substitute or exchange all these volumes for men, right-hearted, and what are styled able *men*, and then point out the difference. What would *they* be, though full in view, but an array of means? Or before God, only so many ciphers, without an unit, or the root of numbers, before them?" "*For who is Paul, or who Apollos, but ministers by whom ye believed, even as the Lord gave to each of us? I have planted, Apollos watered, but God gave the increase—These things brethren, I have applied to myself and to Apollos for your sakes; that ye might learn in us, not to esteem any one, any teacher, above what hath been written.*" No, every thing is beautiful in its own time and place. The minister of truth is never to be undervalued; but the Word of God is the sword of the Spirit, and that is a sword, which is only to be wielded with effect, by the arm of conscious weakness. In both instances, whether of the Sacred Volume, or the man of God, the life-giving Spirit is *all in all*. Meanwhile, at such an array of means, it will not be safe to wink. The event is auspicious, and calls for deeper reflection.

The uninterrupted progress, or effect produced.

In the year 1526, Tyndale's first editions of the New Testament had reached both England and Scotland, and to enumerate some of the visible consequences of the arrival on these shores of this blessed book, has been the object of the preceding pages; but there is *one effect* by way of eminence, which, even in our own age, and in the present state of Great Britain and Ireland, imperatively demands notice.

Almost immediately after the introduction of the Sacred Volume in our native language, we saw it at once *divide* the people, whether in England or Scotland into *two* bands. Scarcely a month seems to have passed away, before this result became visible. At first, indeed, one of these divisions embraced but few in number, and an appearance so feeble as to be doomed to destruction. They were despised, as Benhadad of Syria did the Israelites, and the words once employed of old, might seem not inapplicable. "The children of Israel pitched before them, like two little flocks of kids: but the Syrians *filled the country*." It will now be remembered, that in those early days the names given to

these two parties were, "the Friends of *the Old Learning*," and "*Friends of the New*." They are titles, to which, without entering into any petty controversy, we had not only no objection, but adopted them, and for certain reasons, we prefer them *still*. They convey nothing violent, nothing offensive in sound, and if their actual import be understood, they serve perfectly well to indicate by far the most momentous division of this empire. In observing it, we need to fetch no compass, for in a straight and uninterrupted line, we have still the two parties standing before us. They are, as they have ever been, *for* and *against* the Sacred Scriptures in the vulgar tongue, and their being given to all, without note or comment. This division, as being the first, and therefore the most ancient, is one from which the public mind ought *never* to have been diverted. It possesses the advantage of great or perfect simplicity, nor throughout the long war of opinion, is there any other by which a more distinct understanding can be obtained.

In the beginning, or from the first moment, the friends of *the old learning* were opposed to the importation of the Scriptures in the vernacular tongue, and above all things deprecated their being given to the people. They hunted after them, as we have often witnessed; they ordered them to be given up; burnt them, and even those who read them, or possessed them and refused to surrender. Right or wrong, the first translator traced the misery of the day, *chiefly* to this opposition. On the other hand, the friends of *the new learning*, eagerly sought after the hated book; they read it with insatiable avidity, and cleaved to it in the face of threatening, cruelty, and bitter death. By them it was prized, as the book of life and salvation, as the voice of God, as the book of the *soul;* and still it went on to prove, as it had declared, "mighty in operation." Even its first arrival had served to shew its power, though we need not now to say any more of its having so agitated the men of the Metropolis, and both the Universities; of its rendering altogether abortive the magnificent and deep-laid scheme of Wolsley, at Cardinal College, Oxford, to set "learning against learning;" or of its having so moved the students at Cambridge and Oxford, as to cause the Primate of England to wail over the change. We have only to remember the many other minds, on which divine truth took so deep a hold, and these belonging to no professed seat of learning. The thirst seemed as if it never could be satisfied. The common people heard, or read gladly.

In process of time, however, the gentlemen of "the old learning," finding that all threatening and denunciation were in vain; having failed to exterminate the Scriptures themselves, and failing in power to consign their opponents to the flames, it was not long before they had brought forward what they styled other *authorities* to be obeyed, beside that which was daily proving itself, and so powerfully, to be

SUPREME. In fear of losing their influence, and with it their emoluments, other weapons must be employed. They talked learnedly about *antiquity*. They mooted the authority of the *Church*, even such as it had been in their own hands, and the authority of ancient doctors, styled the *Fathers;* upon which, far too many of their opponents with blind simplicity followed them ; whether by way of argument or in the way of compliance, to prove their skill in polemics. Certainly these, though the professed friends of the " new learning," had never intended to weaken or betray the rising cause for one moment, and much less for generations to come ; but in thus acting, they but little knew what they were about, or what they had done. As yet far, very far from being sufficiently grounded in the paramount, the exclusive authority of the Word of God, they were not alive to the fact, that there, and there *alone*, they were impregnable. Had they but firmly maintained, that the *testimony of God* was the exclusive basis on which belief, as an imperative or religious duty *can* rest, the only evidence by which the truths there revealed *can* be established, and that all obedience must be regulated by the same divine and unerring standard ; then might they, in a state of perfect serenity and assurance, have waited patiently for Jehovah, as being his own interpreter. Then and there, all the darts of the enemy must have proved as stubble, and they might have smiled at the shaking of any spear. But once drawn aside, once moving away from this first principle, whether for the mere sake of argument, or in vain hope of conquest, they were upon *forbidden* ground ; and every act of compliance proved to be an instance, not of child-like, but of childish simplicity, only far worse in its consequences. Had they possessed no more than a just apprehension of the Divine Majesty, that is, of his supremacy in power and efficacy, they must have remembered, that of nothing is He more jealous than of his sovereignty ; but that by such a course the Sacred Volume was virtually *dethroned*. " The only book left us of Divine authority, not in any thing more Divine than in its *all-sufficiency*," was thus not treated with reverence due. And what then ensued ? Have we not seen gentlemen, leaders, or professors, of *both* " learnings," met at one common table, and discussing these several *authorities ?* And have we not witnessed too many following their example ? The Sacred Volume, it is true, had been given to the people providentially, and independently of *all* these men, and its progress to the present hour has been conducted after a similar fashion ; but it is to this sad, this heedless and mistaken movement, that we are to ascribe in a great degree the history and mystery of these *two* classes within this kingdom. Thus it was in the beginning, that, under the shew of argument, the adherents of the old learning contrived to maintain their ground, nay, and prolong the existence of their " learning ;" for precisely so have they acted, from time to time, as occasion has offered, *ever since*. The party, indeed,

cannot now boast that they are one and indivisible, any more than their opponents, for it is under more names than one, that the *old* learning has still lingered throughout the land. From generation to generation, its votaries have survived, and certainly they have been over-ruled to serve one valuable purpose; that of ever and anon recalling, if not driving, the friends of the new learning, to their first fundamental principle. That principle was the *supreme authority and all-sufficiency of the Sacred Volume;* and had this only been regarded as the pole-star, and followed fearlessly, long before the present day, though not upon a sea which knows no storms, the natives of Britain must have been under a clearer sky. On the contrary, too many of the adherents of the new learning, though never done with repeating their favourite maxim respecting the Bible, and the Bible *alone*, have ever since treated it chiefly as a sheet anchor, and as if it were to be resorted to only when assailed by a storm; though it was given them also as a chart to guide through all the perils of the deep. A grand and fundamental first principle, nay, the very highest, carrying with it more than the certainty which characterizes the principles of any science or art, has never *yet* been duly revered or followed out. On the contrary, there seems to have been for ages a secret dread of its being brought into use; although never till the authority and completeness of Divine Revelation be better understood, can there be less than two opinions, or parties; and these two, as maintained hitherto by not a few who have received the Scriptures, leading to many more. Such, however, was the first great controversy in Britain, and as it took precedence of all others in point of *time*, so, as first in point of *importance*, even in our own day it is abundantly manifest, that all subsequent, all subordinate points of difference, submissively *wait* upon its progress, and upon its decision even still.

On looking back throughout these three hundred years, it now becomes worthy of careful observation, that whenever the question of *authority* has been revived, aside from that of Scripture itself, or whenever the authority of what is called Antiquity, Tradition, the Fathers, or the Church has been brought forward, with whatever appearance of modesty, and in language however imposing; this has uniformly turned out to be no other than either a disparagement of the Sacred Volume, or a covert attack upon Divine Revelation itself. Had the friends of the new learning, instead of too often slumbering or sleeping, not merely brandished their first fundamental axiom, but in good faith, and as in duty bound, *acted upon it;* the mere mention of such authorities would have roused them. Instantaneously, they must have augured that the gentlemen of "the old learning" were nigh, that the hand of their ancient enemy was upon them. Or in other words, that the all-sufficiency or supremacy of the Sacred Volume, was about to be impugned. The votaries of the old learning, it is true, have long left this designation behind them; they have often since also made their bow to the Bible, and spoken of it in terms of apparent respect; but he must be but a novice in the tactics practised, so often and so long, who does not at once perceive that the profane idea of the *insufficiency* of the Sacred Word to settle every point of faith and practice is cherished

still. Indeed, whenever, at any period, this controversy has been revived, this bad and baneful sentiment has not merely been cherished, but expressed with as much bold impiety, as it was in the sixteenth century.

Of this early and mistaken movement, and its former injurious consequences, many proofs might be adduced, for we must still, at this hour, rigidly insist upon our *two*-fold division of the people, whether in England or Scotland. Whatever names, professionally, subsequent disputants might and did assume, whenever they symbolized with the gentlemen of the old learning, to prevent all mystery or mistake, and see clearly how the nation has stood, or stands at the present moment, they must, in *historical* propriety, ever be ranked under the same general title.

Perhaps one of the most learned and able Conferences between the old and new learning party, was held in 1584, by the very same man who proposed our *present* version of the Scriptures at Hampton Court in 1603.[20] But to pass by intermediate instances, if we come down to the next century, or more than a hundred years after the reception of the Sacred Volume, it was with this pernicious confusion, of Divine with human authority, that MILTON, among others in his day, seems to have been so much annoyed. "As if," said he—

"As if the Divine Scripture wanted a supplement, and were to be eked out, they cannot think any doubt resolved, and any doctrine confirmed, unless they run to that indigested heap and fry of authors, which they call Antiquity. Whatsoever time, or the heedless hand of blind chance, hath drawn from of old to this present, in her huge drag-net, whether fish or sea-weed, shells or shrubs, unpicked, unchosen, those are the Fathers. Seeing, therefore, some men, deeply conversant in books, have had so little care of late, to give the world a better account of their reading, than by divulging needless TRACTATES, stuffed with specious names of Ignatius and Polycarpus; with fragments of old martyrologies and legends; to distract and stagger the multitude of credulous readers, and mislead them from their strong guards and places of safety, under the tuition of Holy Writ: it came into my thoughts to persuade myself, setting all distances and nice respects aside, that I could do religion and my Country no better service for the time, than doing my utmost endeavour to *recall* the people of God from this vain foraging after straw, and to reduce them to their firm stations under the standard of the gospel; by making appear to them, first the insufficiency, next the inconveniency, and lastly the *impiety* of these gay testimonies, that their great Doctors would bring them to dote on."

Such confusion in debate, however, such departure from our "strong guards and places of safety under the tuition of Holy writ," it is well known, was not

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[20] "The Conference between John Rainolde and John Hart"—first published in 1588, again in 1610; and attested by his opponent to be "the faithful report of that which passed in conference between them." Rainolde maintaining the *supreme* authority of Scripture, as well as its being *the only touchstone of truth in religion;* and once bowing to this authority as revealed in Scripture, its believers, he insisted, were a free people, having neither *visible* altar or *visible* sacrifices to lay thereon. But "with their spiritual sacrifices of praise, they may now sing the songs of the Lord in all places. To them no land is strange; no ground unholy. Every coast is Jewry, every town Jerusalem, every house Zion, and every faithful company, yea, every faithful body, a temple in which they may serve God." What then would Rainolde have said, had he lived in our day, and witnessed the wondrous dispersion of the version he proposed? In his view, at this moment, he would have had every one of the devout readers of his English Bible, whether abroad or at home, near or afar off, to have felt his true elevation, and all to have united in one chorus—

"To me remains nor place nor time; My country is in ev'ry clime,
I can be calm and free from care—On any shore, since GOD is there."

then to die away. The "mistress island of all the British," as Milton styled it, has had its share of panics, and for two hundred years, has been more or less so agitated ever since. The living heirs or representatives of the gentlemen of "the old learning," still survive, and though under *other* designations, not only hold the precise sentiments of their forefathers with as firm a grasp, but with as much of speciousness, as they ever displayed. Never, at any previous period have they succeeded to such extent, in beguiling away the minds of many from the *main* question, so held up by God for ages before this nation, and from that vital *two*-fold division, which has existed down to the present hour. In proof of this, it may only be observed, that, in reference to Christianity itself, there is a point, which, in these eventful times, has been supposed by thousands, and even of the "new learning party," to have *no* superior. It has therefore been frequently referred to by them, as "the question of questions," relating to what is called the *Church*. A short time now, may discover the mistake, for there *is* a point superior, and being one where God *alone* is specially concerned, sooner or later it must have the precedence, and the sovereignty belonging to it, by itself alone. Throughout all Europe, but especially in this country, there is a *previous* question, and if so, it must be first settled, before confusion can cease. After a controversy of more than three hundred years, standing upon British ground may we not cherish the hope that He will "magnify his *word* above all his name!" Here seems to be the question, which must be more fully met, than it has ever yet been, and in a far different manner, before the general surface of this kingdom can exhibit any thing superior to "the working of the sea before a calm," rocking itself to rest.

On glancing backward, we have already witnessed, for about forty years, all the heart-stirring activity displayed in circulating the Bible, without note and comment, more especially in the English tongue; while those who were thus employed have been very slow to believe that there would be, or *could* be, any reaction, in such a country as this; and now that it is bubbling up, and rising to the surface, many have expressed great astonishment, that such a thing should be found in all England. They must have been slumbering, however, nay, sleeping, for even still their eyes are far from being fully opened. Our own particular interests, our own religious circles, have seemed to be all in all. "It is especially necessary, in the present day," says one party, "that we should look to our *own Church* as our divinely-appointed guardian and instructor; as light, and as, consequently, refuge!" And so, too many appear to have felt, till the enemy is actually at the gates; nay, and within the gates. The truth is, that, after their own ancient fashion, the gentlemen of "the old learning" have been up for years, and working with unprecedented activity. Whether unobserved, or not rightly understood by the friends of Divine Revelation, the reaction in this kingdom is now of above *twenty-seven* years' standing, and in regular progression.

As long ago as the year 1817, a learned and acute disciple of the old learning, though living on the continent, then foresaw the rising of this cloud, and hailed its appearance with joy, as certainly to advance in the direction of Rome. "O noble England," said he, "you formerly were the first enemies of unity; to-day the honour of bringing it back in *Europe* devolves upon *you*."[21] Without entering into the grounds of his prescience, a few leading

[21] Count de Maistre in his work entitled 'Du Pape'. 1817, pp. 423-428. The Count died in 1821.

facts may be left to speak for themselves. Only three years before this, it is true, the cause of Divine truth appeared to wear a very different aspect, at least in the eyes of one man, Herbert Marsh, the late Bishop of Peterborough. "I have long since," said he, "abandoned the thought of opposing the Bible Society. When an institution is supported with all the fervour of religious enthusiasm, and is aided by the weight of such powerful additional causes, an attempt to *oppose* it, is like attempting to oppose a torrent of burning lava that issues from Etna or Vesuvius." Yet but a very short period had elapsed, when three English Bishops, Tomline of Lincoln, Law of Chester, and Goodenough of Carlisle, had declared their sentiments, as adverse to this *mode* of circulating universally the English Bible, without note and comment. What would these parties have said, had they been aware of the fact, that Divine Providence, at the moment, was accomplishing as much, or more, in the way of dispersing the English Bible by sale, *without any mode at all different from the usual current*, for centuries?

It so happened, however, that the opposition from abroad was simultaneous. Since the year 1816 three pontiffs, out of four, in succession, have not failed to speak out, again and again, rallying the votaries of "the old learning" to action.[22] At the same moment in which Count de Maistre was publishing his sentiments, another English prelate, Sparke of Ely, had spoken out, besides other men of inferior grade, both in England and Ireland. This leaven must then be left to ferment and fester for years, till, at last, the good people of England were to have their attention very gradually directed to specious TRACTATES once more. In these, too, as in Milton's age, the names of "Ignatius and Polycarpus," with many others, were to be introduced in due season. The garb of great ceremonial sanctity was to be assumed, and the danger of being polluted by the touch of the ceremonially unclean was to be explained. The prevailing irreverence of the age was to be condemned, and none of the popular and bad ways of the world were ever to be theirs. We employ only such terms as they have themselves afforded; and yet with singular inconsistency, all these years have they been carrying on their cause anonymously, through that once hated, and often much abused engine—the printing press. They commenced cautiously, with no more than four pages, at the easy charge of *one penny*, rising by degrees, in quantity and price, as their readers were able to bear them, till they reached to more than five volumes octavo, in the course of ten years. Editors of newspapers and proprietors of reviews, have been in constant requisition, to say nothing of poems and travels, nay, and even *novels* and books for children. Though resident in England, in the nineteenth century, nay, understood to be friends of the new learning, but certainly living on its emoluments, it is curious enough, that these writers actually moan over their situation, as analogous to that of "the Jews in Babylon;" while it is worthy of notice that they have been in constant anticipation of some great approaching conflict. For the ten years referred to, they have been mustering their forces under this expressive motto—"If the trumpet give an *uncertain* sound, who shall prepare himself for *the battle?*" Such, in our day, are the gentlemen of the old learning.

Now, notwithstanding this singular motto, in the entire compass of the English language it would be difficult, if not impossible, to find any five volumes octavo, so fully charged with sentences of *uncertain* or ambiguous meaning, to

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22 The Cardinals Chiaramonte, Della Genga, and Capellari, passing under the titles of Pius VII., Leo XII., and Gregory XVI., as to be mentioned presently.

say nothing here of other qualities. Whatever may be thought of the trumpet, "uncertainty of sound" has been the perpetual complaint of readers not a few. This, however, need to have awakened no surprise, now that these writers, in their fifth volume, have, at last, divulged that in *their* system—*mystery* and *reserve* are two cardinal points.

So far as Christianity itself is concerned, the confusion which reigns throughout these Tracts, between what is external and internal, between bodily service and the operations of the mind; between repentance towards God, or faith towards our Lord Jesus Christ, and obedience to revealed positive institutions; between the rest, the perfect rest to the conscience which the Saviour *gives*, upon believing in Him, and the rest to the soul which the obedient believer *finds* in his service; the radical distinction between objective and subjective religion, or between the glorious work of the Redeemer wrought *for* us, and the glorious work of the Spirit to be perfected *in* us—On all these vital points, so far from any certainty of sound, the confusion is so frequent, so uniform and complete, that no more than *one* question can present itself to the intelligent Christian. *What is the cause?* For after ten years' labour, some presiding cause there must be.

Their long-drawn lucubrations, partaking so much of the darkness of the night, on all other subjects, are only effects, while it is with the cause alone that the nation, as the nation, has been concerned from the beginning. Posterity may, and probably will, enquire with surprise, what had become of the friends of "the new learning" *all this time*. Were it not to substantiate that infinitely important point with which the admiring readers of the English Bible have to do, no consideration whatever could have induced us to quote one sentence; but if the sickening sentiments of these writers have made such progress from the heart of England, and in the middle of the nineteenth century, it would be doing injustice to the history of the SACRED VOLUME, were we not to verify all that we have asserted. Uncertainty of sound, may have perplexed many readers, in reference to other points; but there is unhappily no ambiguity whatever with regard to the ORACLES OF GOD.

"It is enough," say they, "It is enough that Scripture has been overruled to contain the whole Christian faith, and that the early Church so taught, though its form at first sight might lead to an opposite conclusion." "Yet, while we admit, or rather maintain, that the Bible is the one standard of faith, there is *no* reason why we should not *suppose* the overruling hand of God to go farther than we are told it has gone." "Both the history of its composition, and its internal structure, are against its being a complete depository of the Divine Will, unless the early Church says it is!! Now the early Church does not tell us this. It does not seem to have considered that a complete code of *morals*, or of *Church government*, or of *rites*, or of *discipline*, is in Scripture; and therefore so far the original improbability remains in force!!"

The reader will mark here the artful though absurd distinction, drawn between faith and practice, or between what we are to believe and "how we are to behave ourselves in the house of God," or even anywhere. But, again, and as if they had admitted too much, even respecting faith, they say—

"These extracts show not only what the Anglican doctrine is, but, in particular, that the phrase 'rule of faith,' is no symbolical expression with us, appropriated to some one sense; certainly NOT as a definition, or attribute of Holy Scripture. And it is important to insist upon this, from the very great misconceptions to which the phrase gives rise. PERHAPS ITS USE HAD BETTER BE AVOIDED ALTOGETHER. In the sense in which it is commonly understood

at this day, Scripture, it is plain, is *not*, on ANGLICAN principles, the rule of faith ! !"

Thus, with a degree of boldness which might well have startled all England, so much do these men take it upon them to say, on *Anglican* principles, only lamenting over the "very great misconceptions" and "common understanding," which do not comport and agree with their pernicious sentiments. But this is not all. The Sacred Volume itself has been disparaged by them, nay, arraigned and spoken of in a style as dangerous to the community as any which has ever been employed these three hundred years. The original *burners* of the Bible spoke out, and were not misunderstood. There was neither "mystery" nor "reserve" in them ; nor did they, like our modern friends of the old learning, plead hard for any. Warham and Tunstal denounced the New Testament in English as "pernicious poison." Gardiner, Bonner, and others, raved against the Scriptures in the vulgar tongue as "dangerous," but these writers, in our day, have had the profanity to assail the very style and structure, the explicitness and adorable fulness of Divine Revelation itself. Like purblind men, out of humour with the stars in the firmament of heaven, for want of *system*, they are so much so with the Volume of Inspiration itself, that it is impossible they can sing, we do not say without reserve, but without hypocrisy, even the nineteenth Psalm. Levelling the Oracles of the most high God with the opinions of frail men, what is the language they have presumed to hold in the ears of their countrymen ? In love to adoration of their "Fathers," they tell us,—

"If the Fathers contradict each other in words, *so* do passages of Scripture contradict each other ! !" Nor will this suffice. "I have above insisted *much* upon this point," says one of these men, "*that if Scripture contains any religious* SYSTEM *at all, it must contain it* COVERTLY, *and teach it* OBSCURELY, *because it is altogether most* IMMETHODICAL *and* IRREGULAR *in its structure!*" Nay, pinched by an expression, which even Tunstal and Gardiner, in their early day, had allowed to pass, viz.—"Scripture contains all things necessary to be believed to salvation ;" this insidious, but withal weak writer, cannot permit it to stand, without this profane comment. "Doubtless," says he, "Scripture *contains* all things necessary to be *believed;* but there may be things *contained*, which are not *on the surface*, and things which belong to the *ritual* and not to *belief.* Points of faith may lie *under* the surface, POINTS OF OBSERVANCE NEED NOT BE IN SCRIPTURE AT ALL ! !"

After language such as this, spoken and printed in England in the nineteenth century, and much more to the same awful effect, and after betraying egregious ignorance of the meaning of many passages of Scripture itself, is it marvellous that these anonymous writers, by good words and fair speeches, should have been trying to deceive the hearts of the simple ? They have been more than artfully insinuating that *the free circulation of the Sacred Volume among the people is* UNNECESSARY *or* INEXPEDIENT, *nay, even of* DANGEROUS CONSEQUENCE ! ! Here, then, beyond all question, we have before us no other than the gentlemen of "the Old Learning" once more. They have been overruled, upon British ground, in past days, to hasten forward the cause of God, and they will be so again, but to a more glorious extent than ever. For above ten years they have been sounding their trumpet, far as their feeble breath could carry it, and the only marvel has been, where are the friends of "the New Learning ?" Here there need to be no mistake. There is now no mystery, no reserve, no uncertain sound. To turn aside after any subordinate point, to linger with such opponents, on any subject whatever, relating to the *credenda* or *agenda*, to faith or practice, would be not only time lost, but worse than wasted, or out of place. This was, in fact, the original, the old and sad mistake committed in England, as already explained ; and these

mystical writers, for a little season, may have succeeded in misleading a few abler men away from "their strong guards and places of safety under the tuition of Holy Writ." There they might have exposed the old enemy, and the root of all confusion, and have "recalled the people of God from this vain foraging after straw." But our present and main inquiry is after the veritable lineal descendants of the early "Friends of the New Learning." Let them only give once again the ancient and "certain sound," and let it be clearly seen who they are that are "prepared for the battle." The *first* was for the possession of the Book itself, and a more memorable one was never sustained upon British ground; let the *last*, and far more noble contest, be for THE ABSOLUTE, THE SOLE AND SUPREME AUTHORITY OF THE WORD OF GOD.

Meanwhile, it is evident that Count de Maistre, in 1817, had not been altogether without data, when he hailed Old England as his forlorn hope. The sentiments of these writers had afforded some gleams of comfort, and for some years past they have occasioned more heart-felt joy to Old Rome than her pontiffs and cardinals have tasted for ages; but, strange to add, far more than she has received from any *other* European nation of the day! And if so, what have been the sentiments issuing from that quarter for more than twenty-eight years past? The pontiffs themselves will explain.

The first man who sounded the alarm as to the dispersion of the Word of God, was Cardinal Chiaramonte, or Pius VII. A prisoner of France till his enlargement in 1814, in two years after he began to speak out. By his papal brief, dated 1st June, 1816, the Bible Society was "a most crafty invention, by which the very foundations of religion were undermined,"—that is, it is here acknowledged, of *his* religion,—"*a pestilence*," he adds, "*and defilement of the faith, most imminently dangerous to souls!*" This is precisely the same language which the reader heard coming from the pens of Old Warham and Tunstal, three hundred and eighteen years ago. On the 5th of May, 1824, out came an Encyclical (circular) Letter, from Hannibal della Genga or Leo. XII., his successor, denouncing all such institutions as "strolling with effrontery throughout the world, contemning the traditions of the Fathers," though not speaking one word about them. But then the Bible Society was "labouring with all its might to translate, or rather pervert, the Holy Bible into the *vulgar* language of *every nation*." And now, only last year, or the 8th May, 1844, Cardinal Capellari, or Gregory XVI., has issued his zealous Encyclical Letter, following up his predecessors. "We confirm," says he, and by *Apostolical* authority renew, the aforesaid directions already issued, concerning *the publication, distribution, reading, and retention, of the Holy Scriptures, translated into the vulgar tongues.*"—"At the same time it will also be your duty, Venerable Brethren, to *seize* out of the hands of the faithful, not only BIBLES translated into the vulgar tongue, published contrary to the directions of the Roman pontiffs, but also proscribed or injurious books of every sort, that the faithful may be taught by your monitions and authority, *what* sort of pasture they should consider salutary to them, and *what* noxious and deadly!"

Nor is this all,—see votaries of "the Old Learning," in our own Country, joined hand in hand with this old man, just verging on the grave, at the age of seventy-nine, in the "Association" for the propagation of such sentiments, under his own immediate patronage, and in conjunction with his vicars in Britain. "The bond of union amongst its members is simply to recite a very short prayer every day, and to subscribe *one half-penny* a week to the funds;" in the distribution of which, "Scotland and the English colonies have largely participated." Or witness "the College for Foreign Missions" established in Ireland, and now taken under the wing of the Propaganda at Rome. Mass is offered up every

day for the *subscribers*, living and *dead*, and they are all promised a special share in all the masses, the prayers, and conversions, which may be the fruit of this institution. They are looking as far as the wide world for their field of action, and talk of five hundred millions of their fellow creatures as "buried in the darkness of *idolatry!*" In one word, at no former period in the history of the western world, have the gentlemen of the Old Learning been more upon the alert after one object. To a man, they all fight under the old banner, though by no means after the same fiery fashion; but the inscription unfurled is precisely the same as it was three hundred years ago.—"*No Bible is to be given to the people of any nation upon earth in their vernacular tongue.*" To give it, say they, would not only be "profane effrontery," but uniting to spread "pestilence" and "defilement" through the earth!! Let the words be noted down and remembered, for when all this is taken into account, as coming from the puny lips of dying men, the long-suffering of God with Europe, at this late day, is certainly by far the most marvellous feature in his government of the world. If men will go on after this fashion, as ripe for judgment, they must be left to their inevitable doom.

It is with our own countrymen, however, that we have mainly to do, and when, in conclusion, one is constrained to turn his eye to that particular quarter, in England, from whence this sympathy with "the Old Learning" has proceeded, what associations are these which crowd upon the mind! It seems as if the spot had been selected, in order to *rouse* the public mind. Among all the cities in Britain, was this that one which became the seat of the very *first* printing press set up in this kingdom? So it has been affirmed; but be that as it may, there are other associations more than sufficient to awaken the mind and rivet the eye of every reader of his Bible in the land. Here it was that the morning star first rose in England, and so, over Europe; when our own Wickliffe first opened to the people of his country the treasures of Divine Truth in their mother tongue. Here it was where the immortal Tyndale first gave his lectures on Scripture, and then proceeded on his way. And not to mention others, here it was where, a hundred and eighty years ago, there was one resident at Oxford who so nobly met the sophistry of his own day, in disparagement of that Sacred Volume, which he regarded with such intelligent and profound reverence. All that profane and sophistical verbiage which has been repeated since, he seems to have more than answered, by anticipation.

"It has," said he, "been a common saying among the ancients, that even Jupiter could not please all. But by the objections I meet with against the Scripture, I find that the true God himself is not free from the imputations of his audacious creatures, who impiously presume to quarrel, as well with his Revelations as with his Providence, and express no more reverence to what He hath *dictated* than to what He *doth*."—"For some of them are pleased to say, that Book is too *obscure;* others, that it is *immethodical;* others, that it is *contradictory* to itself; others, that its neighbouring parts are incoherent; others, that it is unadorned; others, that it is flat and unaffecting; others, that it abounds with useless repetitions. And, indeed, so many and so various are the faults and imperfections imputed by these men to the Scripture, that my wonder

at them would be almost as great as my trouble, if I did not also consider how much it is the interest of the great Adversary of mankind, and especially of the Church, to depreciate composures, which, *if duly reverenced*, would prove so destructive to his kingdom and his designs."

In oppositon to the polluting and profane sentiments so arrogantly put forth by these more modern objectors, O, how different was the view taken of his Bible by this illustrious man !

" He that shall attentively survey that whole body of canonical writings we now call the BIBLE, and shall judiciously in their *system* compare and confer them with each other, may discern upon the whole matter so admirable a contexture and disposition, as may manifest that *Book* to be the work of the same Wisdom which so accurately composed the Book of Nature, and so divinely contrived the vast fabric of the world."

" When I reflect on the Author and the ends of Scripture, and when I allow myself to imagine how *exquisite a symmetry* Omniscience doth, and after ages probably will, discover in the Scripture's method, I think it just to check my forward thoughts, and am reduced to think that economy the wisest that is chosen by a Wisdom so boundless that it can at once survey all expedients, and so unbiassed, that it hath no interest to choose any, but for its being fittest."

But notwithstanding " the Bible loses much by not being considered as a *system*." " And as the Word of God is termed *a light*, so hath it this property of what it is called, that both *the plainest rustics* may, if they will not wilfully shut their eyes, by the benefit of its light direct their steps ; and *the deepest philosophers* may be exercised, if not dazzled, with its abstruser mysteries. Thus, in the Scripture, the ignorant may learn *all requisite knowledge*, and the most knowing may learn to discern their ignorance.

And I use the Scripture, not as an arsenal, to be resorted to only for arms and weapons to defend this party, or to defeat its enemies, but as *a matchless temple where I delight to be, to contemplate the beauty, the symmetry, and the magnificence of the structure, and to increase my awe, and excite my devotion to the Deity there preached and adored.*"[23]

To that of Robert Boyle, we might have added, for the last age, the testimony of one of the most eminent Oxonians that university ever produced. We refer to Sir William Jones, who would have started with horror at some recent expressions said to have come from that quarter. But every reader must be familiar with his language, and his devoted admiration of that Inspired Volume, at which men of far inferior information and attainment have sneered. After one of the largest surveys which has, perhaps, ever been taken by one mind, he regarded the Scriptures to be the very KEY OF KNOWLEDGE.

It would, however, be doing great injustice to Oxford, and that throughout our own times, did we not discover something there in which there is neither " mystery" nor " reserve," nay, something happily far superior to any testimony from men. If sympathy with " the *Old* Learning" has been oozing out from a certain class, through the medium of the press, and though the friends of the *New* may have been bordering upon slumber, has there been no overwhelming echo from the Oxford

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[23] See that admirable book,—" Considerations on the Style of the Holy Scriptures, by *the Hon. Robert Boyle.* 8vo., 1663. A *Latin* translation of it was printed, intended most probably for the students at OXFORD. Oxoniæ, Typis W. H. Impensis RIC. DAVIS. 1665.

press itself? If, in times long since, that City stands distinguished by deeds so memorable in the history of the English Bible, and sentiments so due to the majesty and perfection of the Sacred Volume; in coming down to the present day, has there been no busy, no perpetual, no palpable proceeding there? Has there been no course of action, regular as the rising sun, and reminding us of that Providence which we have so often observed, in such varied forms, for three hundred years? Let us look, and see.

It is in this locality, for more than ten years, that certain anonymous writers have been very busy; but has nothing been doing there, in multiplying the Sacred Record of which they have thus dared to speak? On the contrary, and above every other spot upon earth, has there been a work proceeding, from week to week, in favour of those Scriptures? Assuredly there has, and even future generations will be exulting in the effects, when writers on the times are mouldering in the grave. Among the cities of this kingdom, or of the world, the point of distinction at Oxford is confined to one, and that one connected with *the English Bible, without note or comment.* During these years it has been affirmed to be within the power of its noble printing press, that they could print a Bible entire, in *one minute!* But be this as it may, the power possessed has been employed in giving existence to the Divine Record, in our native tongue, and to such an amount, that it has exceeded that of the presses of all the cities in continental Europe put together! Even London and Cambridge, with all their myriads of copies, have not been able to keep pace with Oxford alone!

If, then, there has been an enemy in this quarter, threatening, however feebly, to come in like a flood, is no significance to be attached to the singular fact now stated? Or rather, in the very camp where he has been so long sounding his trumpet, has not a standard every morning been lifted up against him? In the conflict to which his motto has so often invited, although he intended but a local and far inferior one, since the stress of battle, before long, must bear on this one point—the Sacred Volume and its all-sufficiency, whether for "the plainest rustic" or "the deepest philosopher;" then will it be remembered, as at least some encouragement, that no spot on the face of the earth has been so distinguished as Oxford, the school of Wickliffe and Tyndale, for the multiplication of the English Bible.

If, however, the ancient contest between the Old Learning and the New is ever to be revived, not only must all "mystery" and "reserve" be dismissed, but all other consequential points be lost in the grand one. By the New Learning, as in days of old, is to be understood,—*the Bible, without note or comment, in our vulgar tongue;* and surely, if the history of the past is admitted to be any guide for the future, and if there be any tide, or any *voice,* in human affairs, the Ruler of nations appears to

be summoning the mind of Britain, and above every other nation, to his *own* highest movement. If, then, this summons is ever to be obeyed, if the devoted admirers of Divine Revelation are once more to be favoured to engage in this, the highest of all warfare, might it not, as a preliminary, prove to be the exercise of a sound discrimination or discerning wisdom, if, turning away from all inferior or subordinate sources of turmoil and confusion, the British mind were afresh directed, with unmitigable energy, to that *one* division of the people which has in reality existed throughout all the past, or from the beginning ? Sometime after the introduction of the Sacred Volume in our native language, other divisions of the community in Britain there were, and others since, far too many, but all these with only *one* exception, have been transitory or evanescent, as far as this life itself is transitory. To all these divisions, the people at large, and in succession, have bid a final adieu, upon the silent solemn shore of that vast ocean we must sail so soon. Nay, by living survivors, all these have been often laid aside at the mouth of the grave. Not so the one uninterrupted, the permanent division, to which we have all along adverted, and now allude. Amidst the times that have passed over us, and many changes, this has alike concerned every generation, and the people entire have passed away in succession in one of only two characters,—"*Those who had received, and those who had* NOT *received, the love of the truth, or the truth in the love of it.*" At first, in the sixteenth century, this division soon became palpable or visible to every eye. As if it had been expressly *intended* to explain to all posterity its infinite importance, to save from all delusion or mistake in time to come, it was marked in a manner never to be forgotten. It was a division of the community then accompanied by distress in every form of persecution, of imprisonment, and death by fire. It seemed meet to Infinite wisdom to permit, that this line should be drawn in *blood*, by the awful instrumentality of the rack and the stake, by the flames and their ashes, or pining death in prison ; and though all these horrors have passed away, this line now stands out, thus glaringly, in authentic history, as a division of the entire community, from which the eye of Omniscience all along has never removed, nor ever will.

To this, the original division of the nation entire, we are, by the present narrative, happily confined : and if, to be understood, even the history of our Bible requires to be studied by itself, in distinction from all other things in the shape of a book ; so unquestionably does this momentous division of our countrymen, as their individual highest concern.

In these circumstances, as far as the history of our Vernacular Scriptures is concerned, to the existing generation the last half century appears to form but one season, and one now calling for no transient retrospect. An impressive period it has been, not merely full of importance,

or distinguished for its awakening character, but teeming with events, many of which have been fraught with consequences. They have been germinant or prospective events, and the present result is, in those who think at all for their country, a disposition to look *forward*, and in not a few, to look *after* what is, or may be approaching. Now, with immediate reference to Scriptural Christianity, and far apart from all party considerations, one cannot fail to be struck with a remarkable change of feeling in the reflecting community, as prevailing throughout the *first* ten or fifteen years of this period, and the *last* ten. The feeling has been the same, and may be described as one of thoughtful expectation in all. In some over-anxious and undisciplined minds, it amounts to a feeling of apprehension as to what *may* transpire, and they have been looking round about to consider what has been, in time past, the only *sheet-anchor* of their native Island.

During the first ten years, the over-anxious eye turned to France, during the last ten, strange to say, it has done the same to Italy. During the first ten, Rome then so depressed, and by France about to be laid lower still, excited no apprehension whatever for a single moment; but every post from Paris was regarded with anxious avidity. Infidelity, associated with a species of fearful immorality, formed the subject of general apprehension *then:* the revival of what we have all along styled "the Old Learning," with its pernicious cloud of superstitious observance, is deprecated *now*. The first ten years, therefore, with those which immediately succeeded, may afford to the existing age, some invaluable lesson, in reference to the last ten. Some safe and deep instruction may, at present, be drawn from that emphatic summons of awakening. For instance, it cannot fail to be distinctly remembered, that it was not any of our "Institutions," endowed or unendowed, the imagined guardians or bulwarks of public virtue, nor all of them leagued together, which were able to roll back the tide of infidelity, or prevent its incursion *then;* and to every discerning mind it must be evident, that they are even less able to deliver the nation, if in any crisis *now*. Without exception, they are engrossed in looking after their own stability or existence. Deliverance, therefore, or a brighter day, must *now* arise from some other quarter, as it did *then*. The human pen also, from the year 1792, was no less busy in trying to stem the progress of infidelity and foreign manners, than it has been in our own day, to meet certain blind, though, to some minds, specious propensities. But it will be remembered also, that the writings of men, however able and triumphant in reply, were but of little avail *then*, and so they have proved *now*. No, after more than ten years of serious apprehension of infidelity, and its invariable consequences, as well as able discussion against both, after apologies for Christianity, nay, an Apology for the Bible, and after the rights of man had been confronted with "the rights

of God"—it was no ingenious theory, no new device, no Essay of commanding eloquence, that brought relief, but the mere fulfilment of a plain and incumbent duty. It was action alone, or, properly speaking, the Bible alone, that gained the day. The simple proposal to *disperse the Scriptures without note or comment, at home and abroad, followed by the active and harmonious zeal in doing so,* brought deliverance. Providence also, as we have seen, has been working wonderfully, in the *same* direction, without calling for any one to look on, or applaud. By men combined, has been accomplished, what not one among them ever contemplated from the beginning; by men separately, what they were led on to do in the course of business. By both agencies in combination, the mighty purpose has been effected; but perhaps the most striking view to be now taken of the whole is this—that one *main* intention of *that* crisis was *the multiplication of the Scriptures in the* English *tongue,* not in foreign languages. Such, at all events, has been the result. Here we are, with a mighty and altogether unprecedented amount of the Divine Word in our native tongue, dispersed throughout the kingdom and its foreign dependencies; and yet at the same time also, here we are, as a nation, once more in circumstances so peculiar as to be felt by many, if not confessed by all.

At such a crisis as the present, therefore, when not one intelligent Christian, of whatever persuasion, can imagine that *his* party, as it stands, like Aaron's rod, will ultimately swallow up all others; what can be the existing purpose or intention of an overruling and ever watchful Providence? Full, to overflowing, with Divine revelation, the mere multiplication of the Scriptures in *English* cannot possibly be the main intention now. The identical course pursued from 1804 *cannot now be pursued.* We have been brought forward to an advanced stage, but it is a stage only in preparation for what is to come. We may look back, but must look forward. It is only a breathing time, which now calls for some vigorous and *corresponding* exertion, but it must be elsewhere. At this point, also, let it not pass unheeded, that the whole of the adjoining continent, with France included, is in the act of rousing us to duty. They are as eagerly bent upon the advancement of their "old learning," as France herself once was upon the spread of her philosophy. Abroad, even still, and though it be one of the darkest marks of a pernicious system, to make religion emanate from *man* himself, the old figment of an universal Church founded on tradition, is again held up, unblushingly; and before the eye of a nation that for more than three hundred years has been in the uninterrupted possession of the "living oracles of God." Nay, and the land of their chief deposit, certainly for some specific reason, has providentially become the main point of attack. Naboth's vineyard was "hard by the palace," but though so far distant from the palace of the Vatican, this

Island, like that little vineyard in the eye of Ahab, seems to be coveted above all other possessions. What can possibly have been doing in this kingdom, to excite a cupidity, too fondly imagined to have been long since extinct? Have we lost, in any degree, the pertinacity which adheres to its purpose? In the dispersion of the Scriptures Britain has been distinguished for thirty years, both for persistance and perseverance. There has been no lack of *persistance* in her *continual* efforts, as to the English Bible. But has there been any relaxation of *perseverance* in her *separate* efforts, throughout her own foreign dominions, or the world at large? We must, of necessity, immediately inquire.

So far, however, as the present history is concerned, the actual state of things appears to be this: There is no sectarian movement now before us, nor does any thing which can be so denominated come in our way. But with all her imperfections in the administration of the affair, and, confessedly, there have been many imperfections, and far too many tokens of self-applause; still Britain, by her activity in multiplying and dispersing the Sacred Record, has drawn the eyes of the world upon her, or, happily, far more than the eye of old Europe. With what have been styled "missions," therefore, conducted by whomsoever they may, the Pontiff, personally, does not *seem* to interfere. These he may counter-work, he imagines more effectually, without a bull. Not one does he hold up and denounce by name, except it be one, though little more than proposed, to Italy itself. But it is *the* Sacred Volume *in the vernacular tongue, any where and every where,* upon which, in our own day, he discharges his gall of bitterness entire. Thus it is, whether British Christians become more alive to the fact or not, that three different Pontiffs, out of four, in regular succession, have been permitted to signify to them, above every other people, *where* lies the strength, the best or the chief hope and mainstay of Britain, and the only ground of security as to her vast dominion.

Time there was, when the thunder of one bull would have sufficed to fix attention in this country, but though three in succession have failed to excite much notice, and many have never heard of one; still, if there be any relaxation, if any thing bordering on mere party-spirit, within our shores, these documents may well be regarded as so many distinct intimations, that we are neglecting the highest of all duties, and one which ought to be common, as well as dear, to every circle in the land. There may be those, it is true, whether few or many, even within this country, who are sympathising with the enemy of truth beyond seas; others, for the sake of pelf, or blinded by superstition, ready to sell the best interests of their native soil; and even some but too much resembling that Roman Emperor, who is said to have been amusing himself with his violin, when his capital was in flames; but in reality the friends of Divine truth may feel obliged to these three successive Pontiffs; and

as the present one, from his age and infirmity, must soon cease to live, there may be a fourth frown on the same cause presently. It is allowable to derive instruction even still from the old European enemy. His opposition once contributed to the supply of Britain herself, and why may it not now help to the supply of even the world in general? No believer in Divine revelation, it is true, need to feel any undue apprehension at these things, but it is strictly within his province, to observe the signs of the times. His only question must ever be,—"what is the duty of the day?" And if he tread only in the footsteps of the Word of God, he need not to fear any mere ripple in the waves, any apparent reflux in the advancing tide.

In the meanwhile, since the reigning Pontiff, unlike his predecessor, Paul II., is no more wandering into the printing office at Rome for his amusement;[24] but as it is THE VULGAR TONGUE *in every land*, which is now, as it has ever been, the grand object of dread in the eye of the enemy, let us first turn to its actual aspect, as it regards the Sacred Scriptures in our own native language. As a preliminary to renewed, but far greater exertion, this is so animating, that every reader of the English Bible should be made thoroughly aware of it; and more especially, as the sight may prove to be of value, many days hence, in regard to all future and foreign operations.

To the present Readers of the English Bible.

After such a history as the past, and in the existing state of our Country and its dependencies, the writer must own, that he is drawn, irresistibly, and with deep respect, to those, upon whose shoulders, as instruments, all hope for future exertion must depend. Of course he alludes to the admiring and devout readers of our common version, whether at home or far distant. At present we regard them all as but one community, and the most united upon the face of the earth; possessing certain points of attraction to each other, for which we search in vain throughout the world. Although the most widely diffused branch of the family of man, except the Jews, yet they alone are in firm possession of the entire Sacred Volume; and once contemplated as a community —before the eye of Him who never slumbers, it cannot be said, at any given moment, that its members have ceased to peruse or to search the same Divine Record. At any hour of the twenty-four, or rather any minute, the eyes of some among this body are in the act of resting on the *same* Book of Life, and that, from the beginning of the year to the end of the year! To be found in the midst of a people of the same tongue, now approaching to fifty millions, and in possession of Divine

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[24] See Introduction to the first volume, pp. lviii., lix.

Revelation to an extent which serves as a contrast to the world; these favoured individuals, of both sexes, from youth to old age, are hourly drawn to the same heavenly centre of attraction; and however far apart, there alone they all alike find their best and their happiest moments.

The present age, with all its faults, has been designated "the age of Bibles;" but then, in the Readers we now address, having this divine and sovereign authority before their eyes, every page has reached the heart; and no people upon earth so feel the necessity for the Author's presence; or in other words, for special influence to accompany and sanction their reading. Already, however, the Divine Spirit has been with His Word, and as a preliminary to every other step, the observance of which is fitted to diffuse a friendship, or mutual interest, never yet felt; let us, whether at home or abroad, near or afar off, turn to that more distinguished *weekly* homage paid to the Volume we alike revere. Here is the point, the one point, in which we all meet, and it is enough. Even in times such as the present, it is all-sufficient. Our common centre of attraction, is the only immovable centre of repose. It has been said and sung in Britain, in reference to the world at large, but merely as one of the blissful visions of futurity—"The time of rest, the promis'd Sabbath comes." To us, however, one has already come. As one Community, we may turn to it, one day in seven, and in the view now to be presented, the results of doing so it is impossible to foresee or calculate. Perhaps, in future, the season should never pass unnoticed as a day *by itself*—a day which we shall here distinguish as—

THE SABBATH OF THE ENGLISH BIBLE.

A modern French writer, much in rapture with the world of nature, and anxious to interest his readers, has thus inquired—

"Is it not wonderful, that while you are admiring the sun plunging beneath the western waves, another perceives him rising from the regions of Aurora? By what inconceivable mystery is this ancient luminary, which retires to rest weary and glowing in the dust of the eve, the same youthful orb that awakes, bathed in dew, behind the white curtains of the dawn? Every moment of the day, the sun is rising, glowing at his zenith, and setting on the world; or rather our senses deceive us, and there is no real sun-rise, noon, or sun-set. The whole is reduced to a fixed point, from which the orb of day emits, at one and the same time, three lights from one single substance. This triple splendour is perhaps the most beautiful incident in Nature; for while it affords an idea of the perpetual magnificence and omnipresence of God, it exhibits a most striking image of his glorious trinity."

But before the eyes of the vast Community we now address, though scattered over all the world, there has already been presented a superadded

and a superior light, a gift inestimable, where the orb of day, and the firmament he inhabits, is celebrated in language infinitely surpassing this. There also the boon bestowed is spoken of, and before going farther, as no unsuitable introduction to the Day, now supposed to be dawning, in succession, upon us all, let us listen to what is there said of itself, and of its infinite value to man.

> "The law of the LORD is perfect,—converting the soul;
> The testimony of the LORD is sure,—making wise the simple.
> The statutes of the LORD are right,—rejoicing the heart:
> The commandment of the LORD is pure,—enlightening the eyes.
> The fear of the LORD is clean,—enduring for ever:
> The judgments of the LORD are true, and righteous altogether.
> More to be desired are they than gold, yea, than much fine gold; sweeter also than honey, and the honey comb. Moreover, by them is thy servant warned: And in keeping of them there is great reward."

Or take only one description from the New Testament, against which our ancestors fought so furiously for more than ten years complete, and to the force and beauty of which, many in our own day are still alas! but too blind—

> "From a Child thou hast known the Holy Scriptures, which are able to make thee wise unto salvation, through faith which is in Christ Jesus. All Scripture is given by inspiration of God, and is profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness; that the man of God may be perfect, thoroughly furnished unto all good works."

In our world, men of letters have sometimes sighed after an universal language, as the medium by which the contemplative or thinking men of all nations might obtain possession of every new discovery, and transfer them, in succession into their own tongue. But here, as yet, is the nearest approach to it, and it is the more to be observed and revered, as being the language not of man, but of God. Situated as we are, on the morning of this day, what though oceans wide do roll between us? We are but one people, looking to one common Standard, one unerring Guide—the *only* Standard, and ultimately to be so in all tongues. To us it has been given to be the first, and, as yet, the only people, repairing to it, on one day, in every quarter of the globe we inhabit. Below the heavens, we know no aspect of humanity more touching and significant than this. Surely it is more than sufficient to awaken some deeper sympathetic feeling, and feeling for good, than there has ever yet been cultivated.

That period of time to which we now advert, as recurring at every seventh revolution of the sphere, embraces one day and night entire; and once begun, to the admiring readers of the English Bible, considered as a body, in some resemblance to the sun in the firmament, there is no twilight; no evening shade. Before the Sovereign Author of this extraordinary distribution of one people, in possession of the same Sacred Record, it can in truth be affirmed—*there is no night there.* Nor is He ever more present with them all, than when they look to Him through this divine medium.

It will, of course, be understood, that we now cast an eye not at

Britain alone,—a light in which no intelligent man of the present day should *ever* regard this kingdom. We look also at her dominions, now held by but one imperative condition, or that of being subservient to the designs of Providence. And here, as the day we contemplate is a day of rest and reading, of worship and inquiry, it has no parallel in any other tongue. The great majority of reflecting admirers is, no doubt, to be found in Britain, but long before they have ceased from the cares of business, at the end of the week, the Lord's-day has already begun ; and long after they have once more drawn the curtains and retired to rest, there are many in the far west, who are yet to go on for hours, exploring the same sacred page. We have traced the English Bible as being certainly in perusal above an hundred and seventy degrees east, and about an hundred and eighty west of Greenwich. The half-hour out of twenty-four, which may yet easily be ascertained, is, for the present, of no moment.

Should this very memorable day, however, be thus taken into frequent consideration, there is another which will not be forgotten, and it is of equal length. It is the day before. This is perfectly well known, and even to the most influential members of this singular community. With them it is a day of research as well as of reading the same common standard. Here there is a positively ascertained effort of mind, of twenty-four hours' duration, an uninterrupted mental aim after " rightly dividing" the same " word of truth." The object in view is that the trumpet may give one certain sound, for these men are to lead the devotion of myriads on the following day. The ascertained fact, therefore, is this, that for a space equal to not less than *forty-eight hours*, every week, the devoted attention of the same people is directed to the same Sacred Volume.[25]

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25 But confining ourselves to the Lord's-day itself, within the British empire: any Saturday evening, were we to place ourselves in England, at London, Oxford, or Cambridge, or in Scotland, at Edinburgh or St. Andrews, we can see what is sure to occur. To these Cities the reader will first remember how singularly were conveyed the Scriptures of the New Testament in 1526, as well as that from that time to the present there has been no interruption to this great work. And what is one of the ascertained consequences in our day? At the close of the week, and some time before the dead of the night, the eye of the English reader, not only from England, but America, is already fixed upon our Sacred Volume, and, as if it were in echo to the mother-country, it is at a spot but recently taking its name from our reigning sovereign, Victoria, in Hong Kong, on the coast of China. Reading the Scriptures, and worship in the language of the largest associated population in the world, the *Chinese*, will not fail to follow; but from the moment they commenced with *English* in the morning never will many eyes be removed from the same sacred page, till the orb of day passing over India, the Cape, Greece, and other parts of Europe—Britain rises—then America, and the same blessed Book will not be laid aside till the Sabbath-Sun has reached the far west, beyond another London or Oxford, or Toronto, in Upper Canada. By that time our great Metropolis has resumed the business of the ensuing week! An hundred such heart-stirring recollections might be added. But wherever this far-spread Record is perused in a *Family* it might answer some valuable ends, not only interesting the young, but stimulating the old, were there drawn out a distinct Horologe *of the English Bible*, embracing night and day, or the twenty-four hours entire. The numerous localities being accurately ascertained and marked, with a moving centre-piece, or sun, attached to the card, the eye might turn at any hour, and know, almost to a certainty, one day in seven, how others were engaged all over the World! Once furnished with the materials, we have no doubt that some London artist is ready to take the hint, as well as to execute the thing in his best style.

Now, it cannot be that such a community, whom it is possible thus to select, and thus address, has yet fulfilled the providential purpose of its wide extension. By no means; for here may already be descried the twilight of a brighter day than Britain has ever witnessed. Whether they be in Old England or New England, in Scotland or Nova Scotia, in Middlesex and Braidalbin at home or Middlesex and Braidalbin abroad, in Canada or the Cape of South Africa, in India or Burmah, in the Indian Archipelago, the Pacific, or on the coast of China, this favoured people of one language, have been thus scattered, certainly not in wrath, but in mercy to mankind. "Thou hast scattered us among the heathen" was the mournful complaint of the ancient Jew to his God, because this was the token of his frown—the ruin or the *death* of Judaism; but this unprecedented dispersion of one Gentile nation may, and probably will, prove the *life* of Scriptural Christianity. It was the providential dispersion of the first community at Jerusalem of old which gave birth to the very name of *Christian;* and in this vastly greater dispersion of one people, why may not untold or unprecedented good be involved?

There is only one circumstance which remains to be glanced at, in reference to this select day, so observed by one people on both sides of the globe. Their common language happens to be the *only* one in Europe in which the doctrine of the seventh part of time, as well as the joyful occasion of its observance, has been so fully comprehended and observed. For these three hundred years the day has been differently regarded by all the nations on the Continent; so that, with all our faults, there has been, as remarked by Guizot, a moral as well as an insular separation. Let us hold fast by the distinction, and improve it now in both hemispheres. The neighbouring nations may have smiled at these Sabbaths, and wondered at our weakness or simplicity in having so multiplied the vernacular version of our Bible; but they will not deny, that to a people remarked for these peculiarities, there has been conveyed an empire far more extensive than any that has ever existed. But for these, there had been no such singular community as that which it has been our object to address, and our desire to interest more deeply in each other, and *then*, in the world around them. After this, would it not be well for the adjoining Continent, were these nations now to take both the Volume and the Day into more thoughtful consideration?—The circulation of the one?—the observance of the other?

To many, it is true, probably to many thousands even in this country, the remarkable existing facts to which we have alluded may be altogether new. Even among such as are, and have been, interested, it may seem as if a mist had risen and dispersed, exhibiting an assemblage of their countrymen hitherto unknown. Yet we have dealt in no vague suppositions. This is no imaginary picture. It may be viewed by

any one, with equal precision, at the greatest distance or near at hand, every week throughout the year. We have thus dwelt upon it, simply from a desire to promote this habit. It is *moral* influence especially which is now demanded, and we cannot regard such a habit as a mere gratification or soothing reminiscence. It would recall absent friends and stimulate to action. Out of its indulgence would spring a thousand benefits, such as cannot at present be foreseen, and need not be described although they were.

It is now not unworthy of notice, that the nation which, with all its faults, has been most distinguished for the observance and the mental occupation of the Christian Sabbath, has proved to be the most energetic and enterprising upon earth. It has lost nothing by *resting* one day in seven. In its own place, that day has been found to be equally invigorating with nocturnal repose. So far from any interruption to business, it has proved itself to be the economist of time, nay, of human life itself; and they are but superficial minds who have not frequently observed this. By the season, however, that the Sabbath of the English Bible has come to its termination in the west, business has already commenced in Britain for the ensuing week, and the printing press is once more in requisition. For many years no Monday morning has returned in which the compositor has not repaired to his wonted occupation, and certainly not the least observable result has been this—though the book, and even its readers, have been dispersed over an area of such vast extent, that, compared with it, the whole of Britain is but an insignificant island in the western seas, a mere speck amidst the waves, yet in that Island have almost all these volumes been prepared. With the single exception of those but recently put forth in America, in Britain alone have all those English Scriptures been printed, and here the great mass or majority are now to be found.

It is the fact as thus stated, which lends such a commanding voice to all who have been so engaged, but especially to those in this country, who have this cause at heart. The high and peculiar ground on which Providence has placed the British Christian, calls for some corresponding reflection at any moment, but for supreme consideration, should there be any thing ominous in the times themselves. The highest character he sustains is *not* that he belongs to this or that community, but that to him have been committed "the Oracles of God." No object whatever whether civil or even sacred, can justify his attention being withdrawn, diverted or allured, from the *highest* design of the Almighty in lending to this country its wide and commanding influence. But the history of His Word in our native tongue having never before been historically made out, the peculiarity of its character must now be added to

the immense number of its existing copies ; and these together appear to be more than sufficient to justify the supreme attention of all Christians in this kingdom, being invited at the present moment to a reconsideration of the entire subject before them.

THE FINAL QUESTION, OR PATH OF DUTY.

Our existing circumstances as a nation, in connexion with the Sacred Volume, whether relating to the height of privilege, or the amount of duty, we have all along felt our inability to describe, or express in words. There is a certain crisis in the history of nations, as well as in the life of man, fitted and intended to provoke or draw forth the activity and force of every agent. That our present circumstances are critical, is the persuasion of all thinking men. But then they are the critical circumstances of a strong and favoured nation, when so far from repose, or even relaxation, the condition of other countries never so favoured, must be taken into consideration, after another manner than they have ever yet been.

The present times are distinguished by a number of peculiarities. The nation most happily has imbibed an aversion from all war; its enterprising spirit has sought and found vent in peaceful and profitable directions. This, it has been said, is " the age of improvement—the age of social advancement,—it is a mercantile age, and the wealth of the world is poured into the lap of Britain, while its inhabitants are living in the midst of discoveries which have almost given life and breath to material nature." In all this the enlightened Christian patriot cannot but feel and take an interest. But still, in his sober and deliberate judgment, by far the most momentous and significant point in the state of this country, consists in the abundant possession of Divine Revelation, however lightly it may be regarded, and the prodigious reduction in price of the Sacred Volume. Consequently, the question which he desires to be resolved is this —What is the present duty? What are the obligations thus imposed on British Christians?

This subject of enquiry, as the final question, is one which,

on the part of the author, it is here confessed, has never been absent from his mind for years past. And though it was to be amidst a thousand interruptions by professional engagements, it seemed to be above all things else desirable, to ascertain the actual state of our country; not as containing *this* or *that* particular form of *ecclesiastical polity;* but the state of Britain as the distinguished depository of Divine Revelation: and consequently the paramount duty of a people so enriched by the possession of the Sacred Volume. It then occurred to the writer that there was no other method so likely to present in their due force, the imperative obligations of his country to the rest of the world, as a distinct and impartial record of what had actually been done for it, from the beginning. Out of the wide and wonderful wilderness of "religious privileges" so called, in the possession of which so many seem to be satisfied to live and die, there appeared to be no way of escape, but by fixing upon the Sacred Volume itself, without note or comment; and following it rigidly as the day-star, or surest index, far above all party, all local, narrow, or limited considerations; following it, till one could see clearly, and look round on the state of our native island as such. A more certain clue to the responsible condition of its inhabitants he did not know, and he may now, perhaps without presumption, be permitted to suppose, that, in this point of view, our real position among the nations, has never before been fully understood.

It is now twenty years ago, since it was said of this Kingdom, that "no cloud in summer was ever more fully surcharged with electricity, than it was with moral energy, and that it needed but a conductor to issue out in any given direction." It was described as having become "the capital of a new moral world—the eminence on which intellectual light strikes, before it visits the nations—the fountain-head of the Rivers, that are going forth to water the earth." It was then affirmed to be "in the *option* of Britain, to have well-wishers in every country." If such was its condition then, what shall we say, and especially of its responsibility, now? For ever since, the Sovereign disposer of all good, has been pouring his precious Word in far richer abundance upon Britain. When the language now quoted, was employed by its intelligent author, Mr. Douglas, not above *one-third* of these Sacred Volumes had been issued from the press. *How then, we repeat, will it become British Christians to act now?*

In seeking for a wide and imperative field of future exertion, there is no necessity, in the first instance, for going even out of the Empire. But in passing beyond seas, instead of proceeding to action within the wide compass of our own dominions, there has been a tendency, amounting to infatuation, to go elsewhere, and intermeddle. That our ancestors should have been inveigled by their nearest neighbours on the adjoining Continent, is not so marvellous ; though the utter fruitlessness, not to say the expense of doing so, was early perceived. It was lamented even by the original translator of our Bible. " We," said he, " having nothing to do at all, have meddled yet in all matters, and have spent for our prelates' causes, *more than all Christendom*, even unto the utter beggaring of ourselves ; and have gotten nothing but rebuke, and shame, and hate among all nations, and a mock and a scorn thereto, of them whom we have most holpen." But this language, at the distance of more than three centuries, will bear to be repeated even now ; for this tendency toward the European continent was not then to cease. Taking possession of even the Legislature, and with all the strength of a natural principle from age to age, it had burst forth in all its power within our own times ; and that also during a period when an overturning and over-ruling Providence seemed to be calling, not only the Friends of divine truth in this country to depart, and go far hence to the long neglected, but the nation at large, to mind her own business, within her own foreign possessions.

It was, indeed, an old mistake, into which, as a people, we had fallen ; an infatuation not without precedent. The only wonder has been its long continued prevalence. Ancient Babylon is said to have been " a golden cup in the hand of Jehovah, intoxicating all the earth." The nations that had drunk of her wine are described as taking balm for her pain, if so be she might be healed. Constrained at last to confess —" We would have healed Babylon, but she is not healed ;" they then immediately said, " Let us go every one into his own country—come and let us declare in Zion the work of the Lord our God."

In our case, therefore, to posterity it cannot but appear strange infatuation, after the snare was broken, and we had escaped ; after the battle of divine truth was fought, and the victory so decidedly given in our favour ; that instead of continuing to strengthen our independent position, we should have gone, simply to be embroiled in fighting the battles of these continental nations. But it will appear stranger still, when it comes to be observed, that in this course we had incurred a *debt*, amounting to hundreds of millions sterling—at the self-same period that an Empire four times the extent of our native Island, was gradually coming under our sway ; and one, which when the subject is properly understood, in point of money, has absolutely cost us *nothing*. Such a contemporaneous contrast between mistaken human

policy in Europe, and the footsteps of an over-ruling Providence in Asia, is not to be found in history.

This infatuation, however, as a national feeling, happily seems to be on the wane, and let us hope that it may have expired for ever, with its last prodigious efforts. Its revival, at all events, has been often of late most earnestly deprecated. "This country," says the author last quoted, "appears to be intended by Providence for the enjoyment of perpetual peace. There is, at least, every thing in our situation favourable for the permanence of our tranquillity, and for preserving uninterrupted amity with every other country. If we would give up that vain idol, the preservation of the balance of power in Europe, that Moloch which we have been besmearing for a century past with human blood, we might sheath the sword for ever, as far as Europe is concerned. A certain number of changes are necessary there: no arm of flesh can prevent them; but these changes, if we remain quiet, will turn out for our benefit, and for the advantage of the world."

Foreign wars, however, once laid aside, times of general and profound peace having come, but Europe still being the favourite and fashionable resort, it was not to follow that no traces of our prolonged confabulation with that continent were to remain behind. "Evil communications corrupt good manners," and the leaven of this long intercourse was found to be lurking within the kingdom; though it had not occurred to many, that battles abroad once over and gone, they were then to be invited to skirmishing at home. It was not anticipated, that British Christians, already so richly furnished with the Scriptures, were to be called upon, and for years in succession, to return and travel over ground which had been fought and won, decidedly won, centuries ago: or that they were to be challenged to come once more forsooth, and fight over again "the battle of the old learning." Now, had *they* only been more *fully* bent upon conveying Divine Truth itself to the nations afar off, while a gracious Providence was even pouring it over their own land, they at least might have safely remained deaf to all such idle and endless interruption. But the fact is, that zeal for diffusing the Oracles of God through foreign lands had declined—*decidedly declined*, as we shall see presently. Meanwhile, so far as the public mind became entangled by certain votaries of "the old learning," it was a descent indeed from the high ground which British Christians, as such, ought to have maintained. To every such call or challenge they were in possession of a reply—

"We can afford time no longer to occupy such low ground as that of merely PROTESTING against error. We admit the operation of positive principle, and *must* propagate THE TRUTH. Once, indeed, we were entangled in our progress by your Apocrypha, but the single object to which our utmost energy must now ever be devoted, is the Sacred Volume without note or comment. Too long have we neglected this imperative duty, though we have not, of late, been unmindful of Europe; having there already spent more than *double* of that we have done, even on Asia, Africa, and America combined. Meanwhile, go back first, and attempt a conclusive an-

swer to what was written, long ago, with far deeper research than the present day affords.[26] But we are about a great work, so that we cannot come down. *Why should the work cease, whilst we* LEAVE *it and come down to you?* The cause in which we are engaged, is one of supreme duty, and admits of no interruption. Our fellow men, nay, our fellow subjects, elsewhere, are perishing for lack of knowledge, and by thousands in a day. But, besides, "it is becoming and seemly, that the grand, ancient, and received truth, do sometimes keep state, and no more descend to perpetual jangling."

The timid, it is granted, who are chiefly moved by things near at hand, and who do not comprehend the position of their Country as connected with her dominion, may tell us—"But though we have witnessed a French Revolution, and happily escaped, we seem to stand upon the brink of even a European one." Perhaps we may, but although we should, and even though Europe were in flames, this actually would not change either our position, or our obligations to the World. Our passage, or path of duty, would still be clear, perfectly clear. Even such a catastrophe need not, for one day, retard Britain in that onward course to which her insular situation, her extended rule, and her unequalled possession of the Oracles of God have so long called her. Within vast dominions, which have come under her sway, without any laid plan on her part, without any previous settled *design* on the part of her Government, without any *desire* on the part of her people at home; Providence has presented space enough to go and spread the knowledge of the true God, in regions where the Sun of Righteousness has but lately risen; and where there has been no such abuse of the Sacred Volume, no such virulent resistance to the Divine Record as there has so long been in Europe. Though, ere long, even Europe may lend its aid.

Looking, therefore, at that Britain in which we dwell, and to which this previous history has immediate regard, furnished as it has been with the truth of God, the real position of the Island cannot be too strongly enforced. By the Sovereign Disposer of all events it has been gradually encompassed by an area more than *thirty* times the size of itself! an area peopled by above one hundred and forty millions of our own species, the great proportion of whom are our fellow subjects. The sails of the mother country whiten every sea; the smoke of her steam-vessels has filled with astonishment the people of many lands. Our men of commerce, brought into contact with all these parts, breathe after more free and frequent intercourse; while the sons of science are not less eager after an accurate acquaintance with the earth, and especially with the whole Eastern World. The measurement of the meridional arc, extending to more than 1500 miles, from Cape Comorin to the Himalaya Mountains, begun in 1822, after twenty years' application, has

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[26] Among others to begin with, these moderns might have been directed to the learned Greek Lecturer, and afterwards President of Corpus Christi College, OXFORD, the successful proposer of our present version of the Bible. See before, pp. 369-372, 643, *note* 20.

been completed ; the atlas of India, engraving in London, upon more than eighty sheets, is approaching its conclusion. In India itself, under the present Governor-General, the leading aim of his policy is *peace*. They talk of their rivers being soon covered with steam navigation. Railroads are spoken of, and one is hinted at as most desirable from Calcutta to Mirzapore, and so forward to Delhi. But above all, there is a renewed attention to education in the *vernacular* tongue. The principle is openly admitted by the authorities, that the instruction of the *body* of the people through the medium of their *own* tongue is one of the essential duties of Government : a body amounting to above thirty millions in Bengal, with fifty millions more adjoining. And there too comes CHINA, with her three hundred millions, and the adjoining nations, all, as it were, stretching out the hand especially to Britain—a happy and an amicable arrangement which is still the subject of wonder to men of all opinions. All this is at once propitious and animating. But can it be here at home imagined by any one, that an Over-ruling Power has brought these vast regions into such intimate connexion with this distant Isle, for any *lower* purpose than that of presenting them with a faithful rendering of his own Sacred Word in all their different *vernacular* tongues ?

When reflecting on this peculiar, this untransferable responsibility, of our country, but especially of all within it who believe in DIVINE REVELATION ; in any man's vision there must be some great defect, if he cannot discern what is involved in her *dominion*. Upon the manner in which this is conducted, her actual safety must now depend. Britain has not received authority, or even influence, over so many millions of our species, with liberty to act by them as she pleases. Nor does she hold in North America, an area double the size of all France, to neglect or foster it, just as fancy or ambition may suggest. No, *if property at home has its duties affixed to it,* SO ALSO HAS DOMINION ABROAD. The world entire, it is true, demands the swell of pity, and it is not without special claims upon us ; but to avoid being lost in generality, let us at least endeavour to understand the dominion which Providence has affixed to our native land, whether in Asia, Africa, or America, and allow no power on earth to beguile us from its cultivation. Dominion, therefore, we repeat, and however distant, has its duties affixed to it. But *distance*, which, twenty years ago, used to be stated as accounting for the apathy of Britain, can now be mentioned no more. To this country has been granted not only the knowledge, but especially the application of the power of steam, by which the whole Island is growing into one vast Metropolis, while a path in the sea has been given to her. Whether we look to the west, or to the east, regular communication is now brought nearly within the compass of every fortnight, or twice a month, and a monthly intercourse with China has almost already commenced. Pro-

vidence is introducing us to the wide earth, or causing the World to draw near and come, but especially to this island. Its position is altogether unprecedented, and enough to rouse the most unthinking stupidity. Dominion so *vast*, and brought so *near* at hand, the world has never witnessed. In all previous history there is no resemblance. Space and time were never so abridged to the hand of any earthly power. Every other acquisition of territory or dominion by any nation, shrinks before it. The conquest of South America by Spain was not equal to a fourth of the extent, in which more of human blood was shed in a short time, than there may have been in India from the beginning. The Roman or Mahometan conquests will not bear comparison. To this vast field of action, over which an overruling Providence has given us influence, not to mention other frequent opportunities of intercourse, we shall soon have *twenty-four* direct or stated channels of communication every year. These, like so many distinct incitements, call us to go out, or send out, and double our diligence in conveying to all these populous regions, *certainly not the peculiarities of our different indigenous religious systems*, upon which some are so blindly bent, but the unsophisticated BOOK OF GOD, without *our* notes or comments, but in translations, if possible, at least equal to our own. This, we cannot but imagine to be the highest end for which such wide dominion has been bestowed, and the duty, by way of eminence, assigned to this country.

By some individuals, however, it may now be said,—"But why all this? Where is the shadow of necessity for any such pleading? Are we not already thus engaged, and *busily*? So, no doubt, many have imagined, hearing it said, but too frequently, how *much* had been accomplished. Why have we not been told annually what has been done for the circulation of the Scriptures *abroad*, as well as at home, nay, and from month to month, what is doing? Certainly we have, and it appears now that more than One hundred thousand pounds have been spent on the information. And was there ever an object respecting which so much has been spoken, as well as printed? Perhaps never. Yet, though the degree of activity displayed has cheered many a heart, there may have been some great and even general mistake as to its amount. Besides, upon a deliberate review of the whole, it turns out not only that the public mind, from some cause, has been weakened, and that the impetus has declined, but that many are in danger of turning away to other and far inferior objects, under the delusion that all things are going forward to a triumphant issue. Whether this may, in any degree, be traced to the manner of reporting progress, we know not. But if, instead of dwelling chiefly on what was already done, there had been an annual and improved exposition of the deplorable state of other nations, demonstrative of what remained *to be* accomplished, perhaps a different result might have followed.

Meanwhile, having now come forward to a new era, a retrospect is due to future effort, and though it should afford nothing to cherish the vanity of a single mind, nor any ground as yet for mutual congratulation, nay, though it may surprise not a few to find how little has been accomplished out of Britain; all this may warn us in future of being too easily diverted from what was originally proposed to be done, as well as preserve us from turning away our eyes

from the regions of the blind and the weary-hearted. We have styled the present an *era*, partly because of the extraordinary and happy change which has taken place in the *price* of the English Scriptures, since the time in which the Bible Society held out certain *privileges* to their subscribers of *one guinea*.[27] And it may well be styled an era, and a happy one, because, if we except only *one* language within the kingdom, the British division of the Bible Society is rapidly approaching its termination.[28] The object of this Society was originally declared to be that of "circulating the Scriptures through the British *dominions*, and, according to its ability, extending its influence to other countries, whether Christian, Mahomedan, or Pagan."

First, then, there is reason to apprehend that far too high an idea has been entertained, and even expressed, in regard to the sum total that has been expended, from the beginning to the present day. We have not confined the attention of the reader to the British and Foreign Bible Society, but taking it as unquestionably the largest index to the past, the entire expenditure at the close of forty years, has been upwards of three millions sterling. This may be considered as the main strength of British Christians combined in favour of the Sacred Volume, both abroad and at home. Yet is it now extremely doubtful whether this sum be equal to the amount which was collected and spent, not in forty years, but in about one-*tenth* part of the time, by our neighbours the French, in spreading the tenets of their baneful philosophy before the Revolution of 1792. If this be anything near the truth, then Latimer's text before the Bishops in 1536, may even still be quoted—"The children of this world are in their generation wiser than the children of light." But at all events this is more than sufficient to put an end to any more out-bursts of self-applause and mutual congratulation.

Of the three millions, however, now expended, there must have been not a few perfectly astonished to find that about *two-thirds* of the whole sum have been exhausted in the HOME department, and only *one-third* in the FOREIGN; or in other words, that the former have been spent upon our own languages, chiefly English, and no more than one-third upon the tongues of all foreign

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27 Formerly a pocket Bible, which had cost the Society *5s. 2d.*, and this was below the cost to a bookseller, was offered as a favour to subscribers of one guinea, at *4s. 2d.*, and a New Testament which had cost *1s. 7d.* was offered at *1s. 3d.* But without subscribing one farthing any where, a pocket Bible may now be *purchased* by any person for *9d.* and a New Testament for *4d.*!

28 One language under the *British* division of operation has required long and earnest pleading to obtain for it the requisite attention. Even the duty of preparing and printing the Sacred Volume for this people, though admitted, is ever and anon meeting with some sad interruption. Of course we allude to the vernacular *Irish* tongue. If the benevolent in Ireland itself be attending to this, in however small a degree, it is well; but by the Reports of the British and Foreign Bible Society, it may be observed that there has again occurred some unaccountable, because unexplained, hindrance in printing the Word of God for the Irish people. By their Report of 1839, they told us that nearly 100,000 (99,400) Bibles and Testaments had been printed in the native Irish language, whether in the *English* character, as at first, or more appropriately in its own character afterwards. Now, since 1539, they have reported above 2,320,000 as printed for the ENGLISH; and even for the WELSH above 109,000; but for the NATIVE IRISH, of Bibles or New Testaments, *not one copy*. Whatever may have been the hindrance it cannot be insuperable, and we are persuaded that the disparity only requires to be pointed out, and will not be forgotten. At present the WELSHMAN has his choice of *five* editions of the Bible; and the peasant may purchase one for *1s. 6d.*, or a New Testament for *6d.* The ENGLISHMAN may purchase a Bible for *9d.* or a New Testament for *4d.* The IRISH Bible, in its own character, costs *7s. 6d.* and the New Testament *1s. 3d.* to Subscribers of one guinea! Yet, of the different classes throughout the United Kingdom, there is not one that has discovered a more ardent attachment to the Sacred Volume than the *native Irish*. The work going on there is an exact parallel to what took place in England and Scotland,—but that was above *three hundred* years ago! See also p. 606 of this volume, *Note* 16.

nations! If any fact may be supposed capable of stopping the mouth of calumny, this one is quite sufficient to put an end, in time coming, to all vague and unfounded statements, as to large sums of money having yet been sent *abroad*, to any nation whatever. Nor is this the only use that may be made of the fact. For if the expenditure of British Christians, at the close of *forty* years in spreading the Oracles of God among all other Nations has been a million sterling, this is but little more than there was raised and spent in the short compass of *one* year in spreading error and delusion through France alone.

But again, looking at the four quarters of the globe, and after all that has been rung in the ear respecting Heathen nations, in what proportion have *they* shared in this money collected and spent? It is particularly observable, that when we look at what has been transmitted to Old Europe, and add that to the amount exhausted on and in Britain or her dependencies, we find that the far greater part of these three millions sterling is gone! Divide the entire sum into thirty parts, and how stands the expenditure? Why, that by the languages of our own Country, of course including the management of the whole concern, we have engrossed full *twenty* parts out of these thirty! Nearly six and a half have gone over to Europe; while with regard to the other three continents, Asia, Africa, and America, there have not been assigned to them *all*, three parts out of the thirty, not a *tenth* of the entire amount!

No doubt, it will now be pleaded—"But is the zeal of British Christians, and of the *present* day, to be tried by only one standard? Or is it to be measured only by this single department? Have not all communities been engaged in propagating Christianity according to their several views of that subject? Certainly they have, and their interest in the dispersion of the Sacred Volume is only to be judged of *proportionally*. But then what has been called the Bible Society is one to which they have *all* presented the homage of their warmest regard, and one to which they have all been, and now are, indebted. It is one, therefore, which has been long understood to embrace the strength of them ALL *in union;* and we are now in the act of contemplating the result of their united efforts, at the close of forty years. Unquestionably, the last half century has been happily distinguished by greater zeal in this our country for the propagation of Christianity. But upon a wide and impartial survey, it is a very grave consideration, and one more than sufficient to arrest attention.—That, as far as the Bible Society in the widest sense is concerned, that is the British and Foreign and all its Auxiliaries, with all others, whether in Scotland or Ireland; more, far more has been expended by the several communities in propagating *their own particular views* of Christianity, than by *the whole put together*, in conveying to other nations *the Sacred text*, the Word of God itself, which alone lies at the foundation of all permanent spiritual good! Surely such extraordinary disproportions as all these, only require to be pointed out for the better adjustment of Christian zeal, in a course which all alike profess to hold sacred.

But perhaps the most material, because humiliating, circumstance of all, is one at which we have only hinted. We have said that zeal for diffusing the Oracles of God through *foreign* lands has declined—*decidedly declined;* and are we now READING, OR RATHER REAPING, THE CONSEQUENCES? British Christians, "careful and troubled about many things," have in this, their highest walk, "grown weary in well-doing." This is so painfully evident, that it only requires to be exhibited in figures. We give the amount of money spent on the Sacred Scriptures at home and abroad. The first column, almost wholly *English*, includes also the Celtic Scriptures. See how it holds on, nay, rises in amount. Observe how sadly the last column declines.

From 1820 *to* 1829 *inclusive.*

HOME DEPARTMENT.	EUROPE.	ASIA, AFRICA, AND AMERICA.
£482,502 11 5	£192,784 14 2	£117,780 7 10

From 1830 *to* 1839 *inclusive.*

£528,819 17 6	£189,950 13 8	£57,909 16 4

Thus, while more than one million, eleven thousand, and three hundred pounds were absorpt at home ; and above three hundred and eighty-two thousands were sent into Europe ; all that Asia, Africa, and America received, was only about one hundred and seventy-five thousand pounds ! But in the latter column, there is that which is far more distressing, than even the prodigious inequality. The last ten years did not amount to the *half* of the former ! And then observe, the last five years, when, notwithstanding the immense fall in the *price* of the English Scriptures, the defalcation becomes still more painfully striking.

1840,	£53,513 4 10	£26,719 1 4	£13,981 12 8
1841,	81,524 10 5	24,556 1 11	11,574 10 8
1842,	46,068 7 4	22,137 12 11	8,000 2 9
1843,	44,856 18 1	20,996 5 7	6,818 3 11
1844,	38,330 9 10	24,464 4 4	5,942 18 0

The latter column embraces all that has been doing for the Heathen and Mahometan nations ! For Asia, Africa, North and South America, and the West Indies combined ! We have often read of " ten thousand times ten thousand, and thousands of thousands," safely landed in a better world. Here we have a larger number in this vale of tears. Of them more than *nine thousand myriads* are actually, as under the same sceptre, our *fellow subjects*, but thus they all, and many more than they, come before us, and for the space of twenty-five years past ! Far be it from us to intercept the compassion of the humane, towards the destitute of any nation under heaven ; but it will now be evident, that up to this hour, we have been expatiating chiefly on *the fairest portions of* what is called *the civilized World.* Those nations, whether Idolatrous or Mahometan, are yet, comparatively speaking, *to be* pitied. The Heathen have been permitted to draw upon our sympathy, only to a very small extent. But this becomes far more worthy of universal attention, if a single fact be only once understood and remembered. It is this. In our dealings with the more civilized nations of the West, we have incurred a debt, while the heathen have laid us under tribute ! In dispersing the Sacred Volume throughout Europe, the British Christian has never, for one moment, been impeded by the *debt*, or even thought of it, nor will he be impeded, in time to come ; but, at the same time, he is not at liberty to forget the *tribute.* That it should have come to this, is one of those arrangements which lay beyond all human anticipation or foresight. But with Asia, Africa, and North America, Britain is more or less immediately concerned and connected, rather than with her next door neighbour Europe. With the Eastern World there is a connexion which has no parallel, nor ever had. Thus, for example, at the close of *forty* years, in which something has been effected for these Eastern Nations, putting the advantages and luxuries of commerce with them entirely out of the question, all that has been sent or spent there upon the Divine Record, in their several tongues, has not been more than a *fifteenth* part of what accrues to this country from India in pure money, in *one* year ! If it should be said that those Gentlemen

at home, who derive pecuniary benefit from our governing India, or those who have returned to spend their fortunes in their native land, take no interest in the subject before us ; this would, by no means, be correct. But suppose they did not, nay, that not one of them did, never let it be forgotten that both classes entire are spending their means upon British ground, among those who are, or profess to be, interested. And that happens to be in a Land where there is not now one single *county*, which is not deriving pecuniary advantage, in consequence either of India being governed from home, or of gentlemen having returned to end their days in Britain, and then leave their wealth to others.

Independently, it is granted, of the British and Foreign Bible Society, another hundred thousand pounds may have been spent upon Asia in Oriental translations, most of which we have already mentioned.[29] But what is three or four hundred thousand pounds in *forty* years, compared with our *annual* obligations, or even with the sums we have reported as spent at home, and elsewhere ?

At the same time, our local position on the coast of Europe is never to be forgotten, as either unimportant or without a meaning. It is one which, in reality, only the more augments our responsibility, both to God and man. Living, though detached, in the neighbourhood of an ancient, subtle, and pernicious power, which has so long beguiled these western nations, we owe it the more to mankind at large, to go out and preserve the World from being led away to its ruin, by her delusive influence. No other nation having such command of the sea, the duty appears to be specially delegated to us. The duty, certainly not of conveying to other nations *protestations* against her errors, which would be by far the most likely mode of spreading them, but the high and imperative duty of filling the earth with truth, or " the incorruptible seed of the Word."[30]

Thus, whether we look to the favour already bestowed on Britain, to her insular position, or prodigious dominion, all this her believers in Divine Revelation appear as though they had been very specially selected, and were now enjoined, to do. Yes, and British Christians may be so far favoured as to take the lead in this high calling, though apparently only upon one condition. Laying aside all narrow, all party considerations, they must abide faithful to that simple but sublime ensign, which was first raised to the eye of the world forty years ago. Justice, has by no means, ever been done to it, and it is well if too many who, but a few years since, professed flaming zeal in its favour, have not grown weary in the right direction. Yet still that ensign or standard, round which so many have warmly rallied, has more to do with our stability as a people, than some who live around us may be willing to allow. It can never again

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[29] We now include AMERICA, which has been acting so nobly and so well, as to the Scriptures, and where she has no dominion, or revenue in return, whether in Burmah, the Sandwich Islands, or elsewhere.

[30] Nor need it ever be imagined that there is so much danger from the Nations in our immediate vicinity. In the volume so wonderfully and richly conferred upon us, there is much to encourage the very opposite conclusion. For though the following instance may seem peculiar, the Divine procedure, in ancient time, may well be observed by this distant Island, in its present momentous condition, as He is the same God still. Three times a year he charged his people to resign their native land to his own invincible protection. Then they had to leave the defenceless—the aged—the women—the children, behind them. They were far from compliant in many things, yet frequently they put this Divine care to the proof; and throughout the entire history, there is not one instance of their enemies, or the neighbouring nations, ever invading the land, when they had left home for JERUSALEM. Indeed, the Almighty had assured them that while *thus* engaged no man should even *desire* their land, and no man did. See a beautiful analogous proof under the reign of Jehoshaphat, 2 Chron. xvii. 7-10. If engaged, according to our ability, in conveying the Oracles of God to other lands, we shall not be forsaken by Him at home; where there is a remedy for every evil, *except the loss of the Divine favour*.

be lowered *with safety to the nation*. Ever since the year 1804, "The Bible, without note or comment," has been by way of eminence a BRITISH motto, one which her Christians as a body have proclaimed to the ends of the earth, as of infinite moment to all nations; and though the people who did this, had not possessed one rood of land beyond their own shores, they would have been held bound to fulfil their often solemnly promised purpose and engagement. Our native Island, however, stands before the world, in very different circumstances, and fully committed. With arms extended by navigation on either hand, both east and west, to a degree never granted to any human power, all that she holds, is held only by one imperative condition—that of fulfilling, as an instrument, the sovereign purpose of Heaven. The sceptic, indeed, may smile in scorn; her selfish sons, regarding all these foreign climes as only so many incumbrances, may wish that their native Island had never been Mistress of the Seas, and so never been connected with them; her covetous and narrow-minded may shrink from all vital obligations; and the great mass scarcely know, or care to know, what these things mean; but if regions so linked to this richly favoured kingdom be neglected, especially in that point for which the Sovereign Ruler has lent them to its sceptre, nothing can insure the stability of the ruling State. Even the tree now growing within our own dominions may serve as a monitor. In the Eastern World the branches of the Peepul tree, or Banian, striking into the ground, have been known, in process of time, to unsettle the original stem from whence they grew. And certainly there have been possessions by conquest long before now, which have passed away like a dream, the season granted for securing them by *moral* dominion having, through criminal neglect, closed for ever.

With regard then to far more being effected in future throughout the world in general, in this the highest path of Christian duty, and particularly within the vast and extensive domains of heathenism; after observing the facts already explained, it may, before this time, have been presumed, that our attempt to promote the diffusion of the Sacred text in foreign countries cannot as yet have occupied its natural or appropriate, that is its *incumbent* channels. To speak in the gentlest terms, the disproportions pointed out, shewing the defect of zeal as to foreign lands, may have been the result of oversight. There may have been some defect in the manner of operation. Were there only *one* mode of action, *one* mode of bearing upon distant nations, there might be less hope of great increase; but be this as it may, up to this period, only one mode has been chiefly pursued. A Parent institution was formed, having then a number of affiliated societies throughout the kingdom, which, we have seen, constitute its strength. When these come to observe the present state of things, they may at first begin to think of the Parent institution, or those whom they had deputed to *act* for them abroad. But this is a crisis calling for the consideration not of any one society, but of every one, or rather of every subscriber throughout the kingdom. The subject invites personal reflection. The principle of centralization, as far as Britain is concerned, which was adopted in the infancy of this attempt, in order to secure unity of design, has been pursued; but since it

has produced no more for the destitute foreign nations, room is now left, and abundant reason presented, for reconsideration. Hitherto, the parent society alone being in direct correspondence with all other parts of the world, through that one channel, have all, or almost all, communications been received and transmitted, at certain times, to their constituents throughout the kingdom. But it is known to every one, that a great internal alteration has come over the face of this country, which is still in rapid progress. Our native Island already is no longer what it was, when the present mode of action, and these efforts, commenced. Britain, considered as the seat or centre of benevolent operations, is not in 1845 what it was even in 1815. A change of the most beneficial and benign character has overtaken us, which admirably fits every City in the land for *direct* benevolent exertion to the ends of the earth. Now, if our field of action be indeed the *world*, as it is professed to be, and if the power of steam be changing the whole Island into one vast city; ought not the world generally, in more ways than one, to be made to feel the benefit thus bestowed on ourselves? At this time also, after such a fall in the *price* of our own Scriptures, the call upon British Christians is imperative. This event alone, speaks so directly to every Reader as to evoke but one natural expression—"*What can be effected now for the benighted, and the many yet unvisited, parts of our earth?*"

If, therefore, much more is to be done, and certainly ought, by British Christians, still it would be preposterous that the great majority should continue to be comparatively inactive, and only a very small minority busy; or that other men should be eased, and those in London or elsewhere burdened. It cannot harmonize with the benign purpose of Heaven, that "the same *earnest* care" for the state of the world around us, as to Divine Revelation, which is incumbent upon *all*, should press upon the shoulders of only a few individuals, and these few located in one spot of the kingdom. On the part of the country at large, this would be exacting a vast deal too much from two or three square miles, where too much has been exacted already, and some will say, too long. Over the broad surface of our land, British Christians are transacting other business daily and directly with foreign parts; although to this moment, generally speaking, every thing relating to the Volume of Inspiration itself, they have left to be done by a few other individuals in their name. In this course, as there is something so unnatural, that it would not be tolerated for one day, with regard to the perishable commodities of this life, some great and beneficial improvement is most probably at hand.

Take an illustration of our present position, from commerce itself in general. At this late hour, what would be thought of a proposal that Britain should return to the days of the "coasting trade?" To the days when communications with all foreign parts, and all returns, were confined to the Thames? But if such a proposal would seem absurd; if the men of Manchester and Birmingham, of Liverpool and Glasgow, of Edinburgh and Newcastle, of Dundee and Aberdeen, of Dublin and Belfast, would smile and say—

"We would rather not. We remit to, and receive returns from foreign parts. Already we trade direct with India and China, the Cape, and North America. Nay, feeling our strength, we at least wish to do so with all the world. It is our interest thus to act, and it is a duty which we owe, not to ourselves alone, but to our families. Meanwhile, beside the mental gratification enjoyed in thus acting, we find an hundred ways of getting forward, and doing business in foreign lands, which might not have occurred to a deputed agency, but more especially to only one outlet from this kingdom, for years to come. Much in the same strain it was that one of our best poets sung, more than sixty years ago—

> 'Tis thus reciprocating, each with each,
> Alternately the nations learn and teach;
> While Providence enjoins to every soul
> A union with the vast terraqueous whole.'"

And is there then nothing whatever in all this, urging to similar exertion in a higher walk? The friends and professed believers of Divine Truth are in the rear of the sons of commerce, more than a century; though but for commerce, let us never forget it now, how should our own ancestors, above three hundred years ago, have come into the possession of the Sacred Volume in their vernacular tongue? How had England, for years together—how had Scotland, for more than a century, been supplied? Or America, for more than a century and a half? No Christians upon earth are so bound, in common gratitude, to avail themselves of such a medium, and to its utmost extent.

To all it must now be evident, that there is an additional mode of action ready to our hand, and of a character extremely favourable to greater accuracy in translation, as well as dispatch of business. Were the British and Foreign Bible Society from this moment, to be relieved from a burden, and rising from the humble ground of merely turning over, and over again, a mass of English Scripture, from year to year; to bend all its strength, as now in duty bound, and in a manner beyond all exception whatever, towards *foreign* enterprise; still, in the *present* position and peculiar circumstances of this Country, there is a loud, an imperative call for the opening of other channels of conveyance. Individuals throughout the provinces, residents in our various cities and seaports, will not continue much longer to sit down, satisfied that they have fulfilled their duty in this cause, towards foreign lands, by simply transmitting a little money to the Metropolis.

With regard to such a mode of action, in which, however, great prudence and perseverance are equally demanded, it is material to observe that there *is* an energy, as yet almost *dormant* in this country, which is to be associated with great simplicity of procedure. This is its charm. It seeks not for public favour, it declines patronage. It thirsts not for the applause of any. It undertakes no more than it can accomplish, and what it does, it does well and kindly, with a warm heart. Its progress, without precipitation, and no tumult, is not marked by discussion or dispute, for these it alike repudiates.[31] However urgent, therefore, we may appear to some readers to have been, now that we

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[31] In other days of foreign Christian enterprise, about forty years ago, said an intelligent man at home, engaged in fostering a distant cause—"When our friends meet for business, and any matter demands counsel and deliberation, we allow of no *motions*." "Why so, Sir?" "Because you know, Sir, a motion is always a signal for a debate, and we have no debating." "But how then do you ever get through your business?" "Why, Sir, in such a case, with us, no one speaks except he has *something* to say, and then we talk over the matter till we agree, *and we do agree*."

have come to the close of all, we have actually nothing of what is called splendid, nothing grand or imposing, nothing operose to suggest. We can propose no new Societies, no additional Boards, no large Committees. It would be nothing short of going in the face of the entire previous history, did we now sink so low as to believe only in the charm of associated numbers. All along our narrative has been reading to us a very different lesson. It has been pressing on our notice one great historical truth—

> "Not to the many doth the earth,
> Owe what she hath of good—
> The many would not stir life's depths,
> And could not, if they would.
> It is some individual mind—that moves the common cause;
> To single efforts Britain owes—her knowledge, faith and laws."

But this is all in favour of the course of action at which we have hinted, and no slight encouragement. Tenfold more energy is now greatly to be desired, and the cause before us calls for more; but energy here, if we are to be guided by the past, is not to be found only in the parade of mere official arrangements. We deprecate new social trammels. They are far too numerous already. In the present artificial state of Society, reliance must be upon principles, not plans—upon individual men of fixed principle, acting, and *continuing* to act, not from any external or foreign impulse, not from mere sympathy with a crowd. "In all probability," no common observer has said, "in all probability the improvement of mankind is destined, under Divine Providence, to advance just in proportion as good men feel the responsibility for it, resting on themselves, *as* individuals, and are actuated by a bold sentiment of independence (humble, at the same time in reference to the necessity of celestial agency) in the prosecution of it." But when two such minds meet in harmony, what may not be expected?

Now, only two such men in our various Cities, having easy access to the outports, (and which of them have not?) is all that is requisite for incalculably more being accomplished. If there should happen to be *three*, they need not inquire for a fourth. Already they are a specified, a *sacred* number, coming within the express intimation of the Divine presence and co-operation. It is a moving, a sublime assurance, of the most wonderful condescension in Sacred writ. Matthew, xviii., 19, 20.

Having once read this immutable promise, and in possession of a Sacred Volume, which we hold under an imperative Law of Diffusion, who will say that there is any thing of the mere ideal, any thing romantic, in supposing that two such men are to be found in all our cities? Two men, eager that all other nations should possess, in their several tongues, the boon which they enjoy, so plentifully, in their own? In these times especially, and should these pages have met their eye, we can very easily conceive of two or three men of enlarged philanthrophy, in Manchester, Birmingham, and Liverpool; in Glasgow, Dublin, and Belfast; in Edinburgh, Newcastle, and Dundee, nay, and other places; men who are in frequent or almost daily intercourse with foreign lands, being stimulated by the examples already recorded. Nor is it any great stretch to suppose them all smitten with the admiration of such a character as that of Richard Harman, the Merchant Adventurer of *Antwerp*, in the sixteenth century; or of their resolving, like him and his partner in life, to attempt something for the world, similar to what these two did for our own ancestors, and, like them, prove the intermediate agents of enlightening the mind, and gladdening the hearts, of those they never saw, till they met in a better world.

In such a mode of action, perhaps it is none of the least recommendations, that the last thing of which one should hear any notice is money, if, indeed, it were ever mentioned. These men would undertake no more than as much as they could accomplish. They might accept, but would never, on any account, *solicit* aid from any one, and the consequence would be, that others, conscious of their inactivity, would go and do likewise. Men of such minds would first institute inquiry for themselves, first interest themselves in the particular foreign parts to which they have access, and with which they transact other business. Direct personal inquiry, not what is called official, or individual heart-felt interest in the people of distant lands, is what is wanted at home; and once employed, many an echo would be heard in return. There are now even English parties all over the world with whom to correspond first; and should that day of calm reflection on our highest privilege and incumbent duty, *the Sabbath of the English Bible* be borne in mind, and be improved as it deserves to be, a thousand hearts, though far apart, would soon be drawn into co-operation.

In this manner, not to specify other benefits, why might not many translations of the New Testament, at least, or of the entire Bible, in *foreign* languages, be now printed upon British ground, as the *Malay* was, so long ago, by the Dutch in Holland, or as the *Persian*, which is now printing in this country? No sight could be more gratifying to the Christian at home; and thus, as our English Scriptures *first* came to us in bales of flax and other merchandize, what could be more appropriate than that our men of commerce should have it in their option to do for many distant lands, without the slightest risk, that which was so dexterously, and with such hazard, effected for their own?

Such has been the history of our English Bible, and such appears to be the paramount duty imposed upon all, who have so long and so richly possessed it. If to thousands around them that Sacred Volume be of no more utility than a sundial in the dark,—if others esteem those lines not worth reading, which God himself deemed worthy of his inspiration, and if many more are eager after the adjustment of merely certain local interests upon British ground; all this only forms a more powerful proof of the necessity for invoking the Divine Spirit, and, in present circumstances, a stronger argument need not, perhaps cannot, be adduced. But nothing whatever can weaken our obligations to go forward in this high path, or justify the hands hanging down, in a single instance. The all-sufficiency of the Divine Record, and now, especially the Ministration of the Spirit, form the *two* great themes, calling for universal and supreme regard throughout our native land; but, at the same time, not unmindful of the beneficial reflex influence of *foreign* operations, before the commencement of this century, and during a season of great national peril, we have thus written; as well as from a full persuasion that the permanent interests of this country, her surest protection and best de-

fence against all aggression, are now in a state of dependance upon the general diffusion of Divine Truth, properly so called. Separate from all systems of human opinion, removed from the din of disputation and the strife of tongues, this appears to be the pre-eminent duty to which the Christians of Britain are now invited, as by a voice from above. They have been favoured beyond those of any other nation, but this should only lead them the more to remember that there *is* a favour higher still than that of being blessed, nay, blessed by God himself. It consists in their being made a blessing to others. His object, in the first instance, is to be adored, but let us beware, above all things, of forgetting his intention, or, as it were, retarding the flow of the Divine benignity to mankind. His fixed purpose, uttered again and again, in the face of open rebellion, dissension among his professed followers, and even the people at large labouring in the fire, or wearying themselves for very vanity, is still the same,—"*The earth shall be filled with the knowledge of the glory of the Lord, as the waters cover the sea.*" The Divine Record, therefore, by itself considered, must visit every land. In the various languages of our world, here is the highest object to which the human mind should address itself; and were the collective zeal in this kingdom, now, at last, to awake and take this one direction, through all our principal sea-ports, it would be nothing more than the very extraordinary procedure of the Almighty towards this nation, for more than three hundred years, and the aspect of these times, demand.

At a moment when, in every other walk pursued by British Christians, the seeds of mutation are so thickly sown,—a season, in which Divine Providence is in the act of bringing down the self-importance of all collective bodies,—drawing with unwonted solemnity, over the entire kingdom, and to be more deeply venerated, the line of distinction between his own revealed Word, and all the opinions of men respecting it; and demonstrating to the humblest capacity that no Church, yet in existence, is to prove the *ark* of this nation.—Even at such a period, whatever these signs portend, or come what may, what is the actual state of this greater cause? Its prospects were never, by half, so encouraging, its claims never so imperative! Thus strikingly, by every calm intelligent observer, may this undertaking be seen at present, rising far above the regions of party, or of mere party zeal.

Meanwhile, if every thing in the condition of mankind indicates the approach of some great crisis, is it not more than observable, that in this our eminently favoured land, all things else appear as though they had conspired, chiefly to render more conspicuous or glaring, and certainly far more inviting, *one* solitary path, left open by God to British Christians as such? A path, indeed, to which, as far as they regard their common standard, they appear to be now very nearly hedged up, just as they were above forty years ago, by the fear of infidelity. A path, however, in which they may proceed in the largest body, and by the smallest groups, or rather by *both* methods, in perfect harmony. That path, in which those who revere Divine Revelation as their common charter to the skies, or their sheet-anchor in every storm, can still meet; and meeting with success their common foe, however divided on some points, can only the more triumphantly repel the charge of sectarianism. That path, where, as the asperities of discordant sentiment can have no place, so every accrimoneous or noxious controversy is left to wither down to its root; and where, though they confute no heresies, they may effect what is better still, cause them all to be neglected or forgotten. In that plain path, where *diffusion* seems to be the one idea that cometh out from the Divine throne daily; dispensing with a bountiful hand "the sovereign balm for every wound," through other and distant climes, the parties so engaged are in the way of being twice blessed: and there, while working in the rear of the Almighty's most determined purpose and highest end, ultimate success is no less certain, than in the course of nature. "For as the rain cometh down, and the snow from heaven, and returneth not thither, but watereth the earth, and maketh it bring forth and bud, that it may give seed to the sower and bread to the eater: So shall my Word be that goeth forth out of my mouth: it shall not return unto me void, but it shall accomplish that which I please, and it shall prosper in the thing whereto I sent it."

What, then, although many things around us say, or seem to say, Trust not in man? Let the heart of no Christian fail him for one moment. With more profound reverence for the Divine Word as the appointed instrument, a clearer perception of its adaptation to its end, a firm reliance on the Divine veracity, and a habitual reference to the Holy

Spirit of God, let this path only be pursued as its supreme importance demands, it must end in consequences which are not left to human conjecture, and such as the earth we inhabit has yet to enjoy.—" For ye shall go out with joy, and be led forth with peace; the mountains and the hills shall break forth before you into singing, and all the trees of the field shall clap their hands. Instead of the thorn shall come up the fir tree, and instead of the brier shall come up the myrtle tree: and this shall be unto Jehovah for a memorial, for an everlasting sign, which shall not be abolished."

APPENDIX.

The Family of Tyndale. *See Vol. I., p.* 18-20.

From the history already given, it must have been evident that the name of Tyndale was not uncommon. We have met with four contemporaries, named William Tyndale, but not one of them appears to have had any connexion by family ties with our martyr. One of these was a merchant in Bristol, and the other three were members of the dominant Church, two of whom are mentioned in Kennet's MSS. Thus, on 21st April 1493, by the Buckden Reg. James Mallet succeeded to the Church of Irby in the Marsh, diocese of Lincoln, by the death of William Tyndall, the former incumbent. Again, another William Tyndale of Lambley Abbey, in the diocese of Carlisle, was ordained in London as a presbyter or priest to the Benedictine Nunnery of Lambley-upon-the-Tyne, according to Warham's Reg. on the 11th March 1503, *i. e.* 1504. Dr. Bliss happening to insert this last appointment at the close of Anth. Wood's account of our Tyndale, in the Athenæ, it has led others astray. We have read also in St. Paul's Library a memorandum on the Sermons of Herolt, signifying that one John Tyndale, the owner of that volume, had given it to the Monastery of Greenwich on the same day that his son William entered it as a Brother in 1508. Although our Martyr had not told Sir T. More that before he went over the sea he had sworn no oath, neither had any man required an oath of him, it is evident from his writings that he had held monkery in abhorrence. See also Vol. I., p. 137, *note* 3. There is, in short, no traceable evidence of any one of these men being in the slightest degree related to the family in Gloucestershire. The following appears to have been the family of our Translator.

Thomas Tyndale, the son of John, and grandson of Hugh Tyndale of Stinchcombe, married Alicia Hunt, daughter and sole heiress of Thomas Hunt, of Hunt's Court, North Nibley, Gloucestershire, and by her had five sons, viz., Richard, William, Henry, Thomas, John, and one daughter, Elizabeth. The father died some time about 33d of Henry VIII., (1541,) as appears by a *deed* of that date, to which Edward Tyndale of Pull Court in Worcestershire was a witness. See Rudder's Gloucestershire, p. 695, and for this witness, see Burke's Commoners, IV., p. 547.

Richard, the eldest son of Thomas, had a son and heir of his own name.

Richard, married, and had a family of eight sons and four daughters. Besides Thomas, the eldest son and heir, we can name three others, Richard, his fourth son, born 6th September 1585; Arthur, born October 1591; Samuel, born November 1593, and one of the daughters, Katharine, born February 1597.—From *Stinchcombe P. Reg.* In 1561, or 3d Elizabeth, the father had purchased *Melksham's Court*, Stinchcombe, of Lord Wentworth.

Thomas, married Catharine, daughter and sole heiress of John Harris, Gent., by whom he had a son and heir of the same name, and two daughters, Sarah and Lydia. The father was born in June 1582, and

died in 1638; the probate to his will being dated 12th October 1637. Catharine, his wife, having died in 1631.—See *Stinchcombe Reg.* where Thomas is designated *clothier*. Sarah, his daughter, married Robert Theyer in 1637, and died 1698. Lydia married *John Roberts* of Siddington, near Cirencester, in 1646, of whom more afterwards.

Thomas, son of the last, had one son, William, born 1668, and one daughter, Esther, born earlier in 1662. The father, who now lived at Stinchcombe, under Charles I., was not in favour of the King's cause. He fled from his house at the approach of the Royalists, and hid himself for three days and nights in a large yew tree at the top of Stinchcombe wood (standing in 1779,) whence he saw his house, and that of a Mr. Pinfold, burnt to the ground. He then sold his estate in *North Nibley* and purchased Bobbing Court in Kent.—See Hasted's Kent, II., 637-8, "Col. Robert Crayford, Governor of Sheerness, under King William, sold to Thomas Tyndale of North Nibley, in the Co. of Glo'ster, Bobbing Court, Milton-hundred, Kent; whose son, William Tyndale, Esq., dying on the 20th Aug. 1748, aged 80, left no issue." See the next paragraph. Esther, his sister, had removed to Dursley, where she died in 1742, in her 82d year.

William Tyndale, son of Thomas, married —— daughter of Sir Thomas Seabright, by whom he had an only child, a daughter, who died before him. Dying in 1748, in his 80th year, he was buried in the south chancel of Bobbing Church, leaving this manor in *taille mail* to his collateral kinsman, the Rev. William Tyndale, Rector of Cotes, Gloucestershire. Thus the family of our Martyred Translator became extinct in the direct *male* line. But how was this Rector the collateral kinsman? See below.

Richard Tyndale, fourth son of the last Richard, born in 1585, married, and had a son named Daniel. He married Katharine, daughter and heiress of John Wilkins, by whom he had two sons, Richard, who died unmarried, and John. This John Tyndale, born in 1697, married Mary, daughter of Thomas Lodge, Rector of Newington Bagpath, Glo'stershire, by whom he had four sons, *William*, of whom presently, John, Richard, and Daniel. The father having died 3d March 1746, the property of Bobbing Court was left to his son William, the rector of Cotes, which he enjoyed till his death in 1765. His son, who succeeded, was designated

Thomas Tyndale, Esq. of North Cerney, Glo'stershire and Bobbing Court, in Kent. In 1791 we find him styled *present* proprietor of Bobbing Manor. Upon his death, North Cerney was sold to Lord Bathurst. We can proceed no farther.

But the descendants of Tyndale in the *female* line are not even yet extinct. Thus—JOHN ROBERTS married Lydia Tyndale, already mentioned, in 1646. That ornament of his country, Matthew Hale, the Lord Chief Justice of England, was *her* kinsman, and drew the marriage-settlement. They had five sons and one daughter. John Roberts died in 1683; and *Daniel*, his youngest son, married to Rebecca Axtell, died in 1726. *Axtell*, their son, who married Hanna Loveday of Painswick, died 1759. *John*, their son, married Mary Oliffe, daughter and sole heiress of Thomas Oade, Esq. of Bristol, and merchant in London. Daniel, their son, married Ann Thompson of Nether Compton, Dorset. They had two sons, John, Oade, and one daughter. Oade, the youngest, the correspondent of Lysons, as mentioned in our History, died in 1821. The surviving descendant, therefore, is John Roberts, Esq. Temple, London.

Tyndale's Fixed Determination to Translate the Scriptures.

In the preceding history, vol. i. p. 33, we have quoted Tyndale's own language in proof of his earliest intention of translating the Scriptures into English, and especially the New Testament; nor is there yet upon record any evidence of a previous date. There is, indeed, a manuscript, with an ornamented border, having the initials W. T. upon it, and dated 1502, two specimens of which have been given by Mr. Offor, one in fac simile, and one in print; but such a translation, at a date so early, very soon excites suspicion. It is well known, that to serve some sinister purpose, manuscripts have been antedated; and as connected with the Scriptures, even in print, we must not forget the notorious instance of one Thornton imposing upon the Duke of Lauderdale an entire Bible with marginal notes and cuts, as if printed in 1520, which was no other than Matthew's edition of 1537! Of this very book, or its remains, we believe Mr. Offor is now in possession, and it appears as if his predecessor in possession of this MS., the Rev. H. White of Lichfield, had also been imposed upon, if he imagined that he owned such a version actually drawn out in the year 1502. Even the orthography of certain words evinces a much later period; but another circumstance is fatal to the date affixed. This is a translation not from the Vulgate, and, to a certainty, no man in all England, so early as 1502, had passed a single thought of any version in English taken from the Greek original. One may judge of the entire manuscript by the brief specimen given, viz. Luke vii. 36-50. In this single passage of only fifteen verses, it conforms, in seven places, to the Greek against the Vulgate, and accords with the latter only in three. Whether the date may ever have been 1562, it is not for us to say, but the MS. would better correspond with that year.

At a later period, it is true, any man might amuse himself by copying extracts from Tyndale, and affix his initials in honour of his name; though, if these letters were intended to mark the writer himself, they would harmonize far better with William Tracy, Esq. of Toddington, or with Dr. William Turner, both of whom had ample reason for offering such a supplication as that which is inter-woven with one of the marginal ornaments.—"Defend me, O Lord, frome all the that hait me."

The mind, therefore, naturally recurs to the interesting discussions upon Little Sodbury Hill, which led to the expressive terms employed by our first translator:—"Which thing only *moved* me to translate the New Testament."

TYNDALE'S COMMENCEMENT WITH THE NEW TESTAMENT.

No. I.—Fac Simile of his Prologue.

If there be a peculiar charm in contemplating the veritable origin of a great undertaking, by many readers the following page in black letter cannot fail to be valued. It is the more worthy of inspection as being a pleasure denied to most of our ancestors, the edition to which it is the prologue or preface having fallen into utter oblivion for more than three hundred years. We need only refer to its history, (see Vol. I., p. 74, &c.) in proof that this was the page immediately following the title, with which Tyndale commenced his Testament, in quarto, at the press of Peter Quentell in Cologne, anno 1525.

No. II.—Fac Simile of the New Testament in quarto.

Cochlæus having artfully interrupted Tyndale at Cologne in 1525, and got into the same printing-office; in the large wood-cut of the Evangelist Matthew, the Reader has now one curious proof before him. Cochlæus having left Cologne early in 1526, one of the first works he engaged Quentell to print was "Ruperti in Matthæum," &c. a folio volume of 325 pages. At the *end* of this we find him addressing Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, as early as 20th April, and the work was finished at press on 12th June 1526. But at the very commencement of this folio, on p. 2, we find this identical wood-cut which Quentell had formerly used for Tyndale's Testament; only there, it will be observed, the block has been pared down, two-eighths at the bottom, and left side, so as to deprive it of the white ground below, and at the side to encroach upon the angel's wing. This was to fit it for his folio page; and it being a work on Matthew, and this a favourite device, he inserted again on the title-page. Consequently, the cut, as it is now to be seen, entire, must have been the *prior* publication, or in 1525. Again the same block, as thus cut down, was used by Quentell in printing the Latin Bible of Rudelius in 1527, at the beginning of *Matthew;* and in the beginning of *John* we have his letter Y, with which this prologue commences, which letter in fact first led to the discovery of what this fragment is, and where it was printed. *See the History*, Vol. I. pp. 52-64, 112-119.

No. III.—Fac Simile of the smaller New Testament.

The first two pages of the New Testament commenced and finished at Worms, in the same year, is here exhibited. The only perfect copy in existence, now at Bristol, it will be observed, has manuscript notes, neatly written on the margin by a former possessor. It is scarcely necessary to add, that the word "married" in the second page, Tyndale altered to "betrothed," the term which was adopted by Beck, by Whittingham, in 1557; the Genevan translators, in 1560; and Parker in 1568. Coverdale, who had used the first term, never altered it, at least it is in his Bible of 1550, 1553, and Cranmer had followed Coverdale. Taverner adopted *espoused* from Wickliffe, the term preferred by our last revisors, though in point of perspicuity Tyndale's corrected term has been considered the best. *See the History*, Vol. I. pp. 67-74, 112-119.

The.prologge.

Haue here translated (brethern and ſuſters moſt dere and tenderly beloued in Chriſt) the newe Teſtament for youre ſpirituall edyfynge/conſolacion/and ſolas: Exhortynge inſtantly and beſechynge thoſe that are better ſene in the tongis then y/ and that have hyer gyftis of grace to interpret the ſence of the ſcripture/and meanynge of the ſpyrite/then y/to conſydre and pondre my laboure/ and that with the ſpyrite of mekenes. And yf they perceyve in eny places that y have not attayned the very ſence of the tonge/ or meanynge of the ſcripture/ or haue not geven the right englyſſhe worde/ that they put to there handis to amende it/remembrynge that ſo is there duetie to doo. For we have not receyved the gyftis of god for oure ſelues only/or forto hyde them: but forto beſtowe them vnto the honouringe of god and chriſt/and edyfynge of the congregacion/wchich is the body of chriſt.

¶ The cauſes that moved me to tranſlate/y thought better that other ſhulde ymagion/then that y ſhulde rehearce them. Moreover y ſuppoſed yt ſuperfluous/for who ys ſo blynde to axe why lyght ſhulde be ſhewed to them that walke in derckenes/where they cannot but ſtomble/and where to ſtomble ys the daunger of eternall dammacion/ other ſo deſpyghtfull that he wolde envye eny man (y ſpeake nott his brother) ſo neceſſary a thinge/ or ſo bedlem madde to affyrme that good is the naturall cauſe of ynell/and derkenes to procede oute of lyght/ and that lyinge ſhulde be grounded in trougth and verytie/and nott rather clene contrary/ that lyght deſtroyeth derckenes/and veritie reproveth all manner lyinge.

The gospell of S. Mathew.

The fyrst Chapter.

Hys ys the boke of the generacio of Jesus Christ the sone of David/The sonne also of Abra ¶Abraham begatt Jsaac: Jsaac begatt Jacob: Jacob begatt Judas and hys bre= Judas begat Phares: (thren: and Zaram of thamar: Phares begatt Esrom: Esrom begatt Aram: Aram begatt Aminadab: Aminadab begatt naasson: Naasson begatt Salmon: Salmon begatt boos of rahab: Boos begatt obed of ruth: Obed begatt Jesse: Jesse begatt david the kynge: ¶David the kynge begatt Solomon/of her that was the Solomon begat roboam: (wyfe of vry: Roboam begatt Abia: Abia begatt asa: Asa begatt iosaphat: Josaphat begatt Joram: Joram begatt Osias: Osias begatt Joatham: Joatham begatt Achas: Achas begatt Ezechias: Ezechias begatt Manasses: Manasses begatt Amon: Amon begatt Josias: Josias begatt Jechonias and hys brethren about the tyme of the captivite of babilon ¶After they were led captive to babilon/Jechonias begatt

(hã.

* Abraham and David are fyrst rehearsid/ because that christe was chefly promysed vnto them.

Saynet mathew leveth out certeyne generacions/ and describeth Christes linage from solomõ/after the lawe of Moses/ but Lucas describeth it accordyng to nature/frõ nathan solomõs brother. For the lawe calleth them a mannes childrẽ which his broder begatt of his wyfe left behynde hym after his dethe. deu. xxv. c.

The First Chapter.

Tys is the bo=
ke off the generacion off
Jhesus christ the sonne of Da=
vid/ the sõne also of Abraham.
Abraham begat Jsaac:
Jsaac begat Jacob:
Jacob begat Judas and hys
brethren:
Judas begat phares and zarã
off thamar:
Phares begat Esrom:
Esrom begat Aram:
Aram begat Aminadab:
Aminadab begat Naasson:
Naasson begat Salmon:
Salmon begat Boos of Rahab:
Boos begat Obed of Ruth:
Obed begat Jesse:
Jesse begat David the kynge:
David the kynge begat Solomõ/ of her that
was the wyfe of Vry:
Solomon begat Roboam:
Roboam begat Abia:
Abia begat Asa:
Asa begat Josaphat:
Josaphat begat Joram:
Joram begat Osias:
Osias begat Joatham:
Joatham begat Achas:
Achas begat Ezechias:

Luce tercio.

Ezechias begat Manasses:
Manasses begat Amon:
Amon begat Josias:
Josias begat Jechonias and hys brethren about the tyme of the captivete of Babilon.

4. Regum. 24. After they wer ledd captive to Babilon/ Jechonias begat Salathiel:

1. Esdre. 2. Salathiel begat Zorobabel:
Zorobabel begat Abiud:
Abiud begat Eliachim:
Eliachim begat Azor:
Azor begat Sadoc:
Sadoc begat Achin:
Achin begat Eliud:
Eliud begat Eleasar:
Eleasar begat Matthan:
Matthan begat Jacob:
Jacob begat Joseph the husbãde off Mary/ of whome was borẽ that Jhesus which is called Christ.

All the generacions from Abrahã to David ar fowrtene generaciõs. And from David vnto the captivete of Babilon/ are fowrtene generacions. And from the captivete of Babilõ vnto Christ/ are also fowrtene generacions.

Luce primo. The byrthe off Christe was on thys wyse/ When hys mother mary was maryed vnto Joseph/ before they cam to dwell togedder/ she was founde with chylde by the holy goost. Thẽ her husbande Joseph beinge a parfect man/ ãd loth to defame her/ was mynded to put her awaye secretly. Whill he thus thought/ behold the ãgell of the lord apered vnto hĩ in slepe saĩge: Jo

Chronological Index List

OF

ENGLISH BIBLES AND NEW TESTAMENTS.

EXPLANATORY NOTE.

The best account of English Bibles and Testaments, with their proprietors, which has ever been published, is that which was printed at the Clarendon press, Oxford, in 1821, by the Rev. Henry Cotton, D.C.L. In the following Index-List will be found about an hundred editions not there specified. Under the description column, the quotations marked are taken verbally and literally from the title page or colophon, which may assist other possessors to identify their imperfect copies. More proprietors might have been added to some books, but these are sufficient to authenticate all the editions mentioned, and put an end to a degree of uncertainty respecting these precious volumes, which has too long prevailed. The number, on the whole, will be found to corroborate, and even strengthen, the statements in the preceding History.

In the following pages *Ty.* denotes the translation of Tyndale—*Co.* that of Coverdale—*Ma.* that of Rogers, *alias* Matthew, or that of Tyndale's, left for publication—*Cr.* denotes Cranmer's—*Ta.* that of Tavernor's—*Ge.* the Genevan version—*Bps.* that of the Bishops, and *To.* that of Laurence Tomson.

CORRIGENDA.

Vol. I. The New Testament mentioned p. 133, with leaves uncut, is not that of 1526, but that of Zurich in 1550. The book of 1526, after witnessing such a battle respecting it, remains to be identified, and it may even yet be found.

P. 553, for the misprint 1537, *read* 1837.

Vol. II. p. 25, for George *read* Edward Whitchurch.

VARIOUS EDITIONS

OF

THE NEW TESTAMENT AND THE BIBLE

In English,

WITH CERTAIN PUBLIC LIBRARIES AND INDIVIDUAL PROPRIETORS

IN POSSESSION OF COPIES.

SERVING AS AN

INDEX TO THE PRECEDING HISTORY.

Henry the Eighth.

FIFTY-FOUR EDITIONS, VIZ. THIRTY-NINE OF THE NEW TESTAMENT AND FIFTEEN OF THE BIBLE,

Printed in twenty-two years, or from 1525 *to the* 28*th January* 1547.

DESCRIPTION.		PRINTER.	PLACE.	
MATTHEW and MARK—printed "as written by the Evangelists," with marginal notes, stitched together and separately. See the preceding History, Vol. I. pp. 51, 153, 156, 183, 189.		——	*Hamburgh*	1524
1. T. The New Test. with glosses and a prologue,—only one fragment remains, and that not discovered till 1834. See pp. 52-64. Now in the Library of the *Right Hon. Thomas Grenville.*		P. Quentall P. Schoeffer	*Cologne* *Worms*	4o. 1525
2. T. The New Test. wanting only the title, and the only copy in this state now known. See pp. 67-69. Bequeathed, with many other volumes, by Dr. And. Gifford, to the *Bristol Museum*	Ty.	P. Schoeffer	*Worms*	18o. ——
3. T. The New Test., the first surrep. ed., of which no copy has yet been properly identified in any collection. See pp. 127-133	Ty.	Endhoven	*Antwerp*	1526
4. T. The New Test. the second surreptitious ed. See pp. 163-165	Ty.	Ruremund	*Antwerp*	1527
5. T. The New Test. the third surreptitious edition. See p. 240	Ty.	——	*Antwerp*	1528-9
6. T. The New Test. supposed reprint by Tyndale himself, with his prologue to the Romans. See pp. 265, 297 and 305, *note*	Ty.	Hans Luft	*Marburg?*	1530
GENESIS, DEUTERONOMY, in separate books. See pp. 209, 235	Ty.	Hans Luft	*Marburg*	——
PENTATEUCH, with a general preface, and a second edition of Genesis, dated 17th Jan. 1530, *i.e.* 1531. See p. 242,—a perfect copy in the *Grenville Lib.* Imp. *British Mus. Bristol Mus.*	Ty.	Various printers	Different places	1531

DESCRIPTION.		PRINTER.	PLACE.	YEAR.
7. T. "The New Test. as it was written," &c., altered by Geo. Joye, with only the Vulgate before him, dated "M.CCCCC.XXXIIII., in August." The only copy certainly known to exist is in the *Grenville Library.* See History, pp. 393-399, and 415, *note*	Ty.	Widowe of Christoffel of Endhoue.	*Antwerp*	16o. 1534
8. T. The New Test. dylygently corrected and compared with the Greke, by Willyam Tindale,—fynished in MD.XXXIIIJ., in Nov. See p. 394. *British Museum. St. Paul's. Bristol Museum. Lea Wilson, Esq. Chr. Anderson.*	Ty.	Marten Emperowr	*Antwerp*	12o. ——
9. T. Unique copy on vellum. "Anna Regina Angliæ." Simply the sacred text. See the History, p. 413. *British Museum* JONAH, with a prologue. See pp. 288-289	Ty.	Emperowr	*Antwerp*	12o. ——
10. T. New Test. anno. MD.XXXIIII. surrept. p. 415. *E. of Pembroke*	Ty.	G. H.?	*Antwerp*	12o. ——
11. T. New Test. anno. MD.XXXIIII. sur. p. 415. *Lea Wilson, Esq.*	Ty.	——?	*Antwerp*	12o. ——
12. T. New Test. dated on the back 1534, p. 415. *Bristol Museum* PENTATEUCH, corrected. *St. Paul's. Bristol Museum*	Ty.	——? ——	*Antwerp* *Marburg*	4o. —— 12o.——
13. T. New Test. from Tyndale's corrected ed. p. 455. *Bodleian Lib.*	Ty.	——?	*Antwerp*	12o. 1535
14. T. "The New Testament dylygently corrected,"—peculiar orthography, p. 455-456. Perfect. *Camb. Un. Lib.* Imp. *Ex. Col. Ox.*	Ty.	——?	*Antwerp?*	12o. ——
15. T. The Newe Test.—but imperfect—date wanting. Cotton's list	Ty.	——	——	fol. ——
1. B. BIBLIA. The Bible, that is, the holy Scripture of the Olde and New Testament, faithfully and truly translated out of Douche and Latyn in to English. See the Hist. p. 553-563. *Earl of Leicester's*—title 1535. *Bodleian. British Museum. Cambridge University Library. Bristol Museum. Lea Wilson, Esq. Earl of Jersey's*, dated 1536	Co.	—— —— —— ——	Not *Zurich* *Frankfort?* *Cologne?* *Lubec?*	fol. 1535
16. T. "The Newe Testament yet once again corrected." Fine copy. Duke of Newcastle's, 1676, *Earl Spencer. Lea Wilson, Esq.*	Ty.	——	*Antwerp*	12o. 1536
17. T. The Newe Testament, in many points similar, but quite distinct. The second title is MD.XXXVI. *Lea Wilson, Esq.*	Ty.	——	*Antwerp*	12o. ——
18. T. The Newe Testament, also similar, but evidently on collation a different edition—same year. *Lea Wilson, Esq.*	Ty.	——	*Antwerp*	12o. ——
19. T. The Newe Test. quite distinct from the 3 last. *Bristol Mus.*	Ty.	——	*Antwerp*	12o. ——
20. T. "The Newe Testament, yet once agayne corrected by William Tyndale. *Lea Wilson, Esq.*	Ty.	Vosterman?	*Antwerp*	4o. ——
21. T. "The Newe Testament yet once agayne corrected,"—longer paper and distinct edition. *Lea Wilson, Esq.*	Ty.	Vosterman?	*Antwerp*	4o. ——
22. T. "The Newe Testament yet"—a block in the cut of the Apostle Paul, preceding the Epistles, is only *one* distinguishing mark of these three editions. *Lea Wilson, Esq.*	Ty.	Vosterman?	*Antwerp*	4o. ——
23. T. New Test. by W. Tindale. A thick pocket vol. smaller than any of the preceding—a fragment possessed by *G. Offor, Esq.*	Ty.	——	*Antwerp?*	12o. ——
24. T. "THE NEWE TESTAMENT yet once agayne corrected by W. Tyndale," &c. This is from the last corrected edit. and the first Sacred Volume printed on English ground. See p. 549. *Bodleian Library. John Fenwick, Esq.*	Ty.	T. Berthelet Printer to the King	*London*	fol. ——
25. T. The Newe Testament, with Tyndale's prologue to the Romans only, but Coverdale's version. The first edition separate from the Bible? *Lea Wilson, Esq.*	Co.	——	*Antwerp?*	12o. ——
2. B. "The Byble. that is, the Holye Scrypture of the Olde and New Testamente, faythfully translated in Englysh, and newly ouersene and correcte, MV.XXXVII." Dedicated "to Henry VIII. & his Queen *Jane.*"—"Myles Couerdale unto Christen reader." Correcting p. 565. *Earl Spencer. Lea Wilson, Esq.*	Co.	J. Nycolson	*Southwarke*	4o. ——

DESCRIPTION.	PRINTER.	PLACE.	YEAR.
3. B. "The Byble, that is, the oulde and newe Testamet, faithfully Traunslated into English, and newly ouerseen and corrected, MD.XXXVII." Dedicated as before, and both "Sett forth with the Kynges most gracious license. See p. 565. *Bristol Museum. Lincoln Cathedral. Lea Wilson, Esq.*	Co. J. Nycolson	*Southwarke*	fol. 1537
4. B. "THE BIBLE, WHICH IS THE HOLY SCRIPTURE, IN WHICH ARE CONTAYNED THE OLDE AND NEWE TESTAMENT, TRUELY AND PURELY TRANSLATED INTO ENGLYSH. By Thomas Matthew." Dedicated to Henry VIII. "Set forth with the Kinge's most gracious license." The basis of all subsequent editions. See p. 576-587. *British Mus. Lambeth Lib. Bodleian. Bristol Mus. Earl of Pembroke.* On yellow paper, *Earl of Bridgewater. Lea Wilson, Esq.*	Ty. Grafton and Whitchurch Ma.	*Antwerp? Lubec? Hamboro?*	fol. 1573
26. T. In Latin after Erasmus, and in English after Matthew, "under the King's most gracious license." See the History, Vol. II., pp. 34, 35. *note. Royal Institution. Exeter Coll. Oxon.*	Ma. Redman	*London*	4o. 1538
27. T. New Test. of Coverdale, but with *all* Tyndale's prologues, by Crom *or* Cromer. *Bristol Museum. St. Paul's Library.*	Co. M. Cromer	*Antwerp*	12o. ——
28. T. "of our Sauioure Jesu Christe,—in to Englysshe." *Library of the late Duke of Sussex. Mr. G. Mason*	Ma. Treveris	*Southwark*	4o. ——
29. T. "The newe Testament, both Latin and Englyshe, after the vulgar texte, by Myles Couerdale." See p. 35-37. *Bodleian. Lea Wilson, Esq.*	Co. Nicolson	*Southwarke*	4o. ——
30. T. "The newe testament both in Latine and Englyshe"—"Faythfullye translated by Johan Hollybushe." See p. 38. *St. Paul's. Lea Wilson, Esq. Chr. Anderson*	Co. Nicolson	*Southwarke*	4o. ——
31. T. "The new Testament both in Latin and English,"—title red and black. Dedicated to Lord Cromwell, by Couerdale. *St. Paul's. Bristol Museum. Lea Wilson, Esq.*	Co. Regnault	*Paris*	8o. ——
32. T. "The new Testament"—with a true concordance in the Margent—printed in the yeare of our Lorde MCCCCCXXXVIII. *Herbert*, p. 1549.	Co. ——	*London?*	16o. ——
33. T. The Paris edit. with Ded. and new title. *C. C. College, Oxford*	Co. ——	*London?*	8o. 1539
34. T. "of our sauiour Jesu Chryst—for Thomas Berthelet," p. 82. *St. Paul's Library*	Ta. T. Petyt	*London*	4o. ——
35. T. "after the Greeke Exemplar"—for T. Berthelet. *Herbert*, p. 553, 1550.	Ta. T. Petyt	*London*	8o. ——
36. T. Rep. of 1538, very incor. See p. 35. *Herbert*, p. 1549, 1550.	Co. Cromer	*Antwerp*	8o. ——
5. B. "The Byble"—an undertaking of Crumwell's, with Coverdale as corrector of the press. See pp. 23-32, 43, 44, and 79. *British Museum. St. Paul's. Lambeth Library. Bristol Museum.* perfect copy—*Lea Wilson, Esq.*	Ma. Grafton and Whitchurch	*Paris* and *London*	fol. ——
6. B. "The most sacred Bible," by Taverner. See p. 80-82. *British Museum. St. Paul's. Bristol Museum. Cambridge Un. Library. Balliol Col. Oxon. Lea Wilson, Esq.*	Ta. J. Byddell	*London*	fol. ——
7. B. "The most sacred Bible," by Taverner. See p. 82. But no third edit. by Nycolson, as stated by Herbert and Dibdin. See Bible, No. —— *Cotton's List*	Ta. J. Byddell	*London*	4o. ——
8. B. "The Byble in Englyshe"—"Fynisshed in Aprylł MCCCCCXL." See p. 86-92, 127-130. The first of Cranmer's. Vellum, *British Museum.* perfect copy—*Lea Wilson, Esq.*	Cr. Edward Whytchurche	*London*	fol. 1540

	DESCRIPTION.	PRINTER.	PLACE.	YEAR.
9. B.	"The Byble in Englyshe"—"Finisshed in Apryll, ANNO MCCCCCXL." Reprint of 1539, correcting p. 131. See p. 132. *British Museum. Emman. Col. Camb. Lea Wilson, Esq.*	Petyt and Ma. Redman	*London*	fol. 1540
10. B.	"The Byble in Englyshe"—"Fynished in July, anno. MCCCCCXL." See p. 133. The second of Cranmer's. a perfect copy—*Lea Wilson, Esq.*	Richard Cr. Grafton	*London*	fol. ——
11. B.	The Bible, in five parts or volumes—no where complete	Ma. Redman	*London*	16o. ——
37. T.	The Newe Testament in English, as in Cranmer, though said to be from the Latin of Erasmus. *Lambeth Library.* On yellow paper, in the *Bodleian.*	Grafton and Cr. Whitchurch	*London*	4o. ——
38. T.	The Newe Testament of Taverner's version. See Ames. 499, Cotton's List, p. 7. Introduction to Luke omitted. *Bodleian*	Ta. ——	*London*	4o. ——
12. B.	"The Byble in Englyshe,"—"Fynyshed in Nouember, Anno MCCCCCXL. not pub. till 1541. Overseen and perused at Henry's command, by Tunstal and Heath. See p. 133. 134. *Edin. Univ. Lib.* perfect copy—*Lea Wilson, Esq.*	Edward Tu. Whitchurch	*London*	fol. 1541
13. B.	"The Byble in Englysh,"—"Finished the XXVIII daye of Maye, ANNO DOMINI MDXLI. See p. 140. Third of Cranmer. perfect copy—*Lea Wilson, Esq.*	Edwarde Cr. Whitchurch	*London*	fol. ——
14. B.	"The Byble in Englyshe,—Fynyshed in Nouember, anno MCCCCCXLI.," the second with Tunstal and Heath's names on the title, and Cranmer's prologue in both edits." See p. 145, 209. perfect copy—*Lea Wilson, Esq.*	Richard Tu. Grafton	*London*	fol. ——
15. B.	"The Byble in Englyshe, An. do. MDXL.—Finysshed in December MCCCCCXLI. A domino factum est istud. This is the Lordes doynge." See p. 145. perfect—*Lea Wilson, Esq.*	Richard Cr. Grafton	*London*	fol. ——
39. T.	The New Test. with wood-cuts in the Gospels, Acts, and Revelations. Harleian Cat. No. 428,—imperf. *Lea Wilson, Esq.*	Ty. Van Loe?	*Antwerp*	32o. 1544

Edward the Sixth.

FORTY-NINE EDITIONS, VIZ. THIRTY-FIVE OF THE NEW TESTAMENT & FOURTEEN OF THE BIBLE.

Issued in the course of six years and a half, or from 29th Jan. 1547 *to 6th July* 1553.

40. T.	The Newe Testament according to Cranmer's edits. See Hist. p. 241. *note.* Dated "the ix day of October MDXLVI." *Bristol Museum*	Cr. R. Grafton		12o. 1546
41. T.	The Newe Testament in Englishe (Matthew) and Latin, according to Erasmus,—a reprint of edit. 1538. *St. Paul's. Lea Wilson, Esq.*	Ma. W. Powell		4o. 1547
42. T.	"The new Testament in Englyshe,"—of Cranmer's version, known by a noted omission in the text of Rev. i. 9, 20. *Geo. Offor, Esq.*	Cr. E. Whitchurch		8o. ——
43. T.	The New Testament,—the English of his edit. last year. *Lambeth*	Ma. W. Powell		4o. 1548
44. T.	"The newe Testamente in Englyssh, according to the translation of the great Byble." "Londini.—Ex officina Johann Herfordiæ, Anno Domini MDxlviii." *Lea Wilson, Esq.*	Cr. J. Herford		24o. ——
45. T.	"The new Testament of our Saviour Christ, after the best copie of William Tindale's Translation," with the notes of Matthew and others. *Eton College*	Ty. Day & Seres		16o. ——
46. T.	The New Testament, similar to the last. *Cotton's List*	Ty. Day & Seres		4o. ——

DESCRIPTION.	PRINTER.	YEAR.
47. T. "The Newe Testament of our Saviour Jesus Christ." 35 lines in a page. Perfect copy, Sussex sale £50. Imperfect.—*Chr. Anderson*	Ty. R. Jugge	24o. 1548
48. T. "The newe Testament of the last Translation by William Tyndale, with prologes and Annotacyons in the Margent." 34 lines in a page. Herbert, p. 556. *Lincoln College, Oxford*	Ty. T. Petit	4o ——
49. T. "The Newe Testament in Englishe and in Latin. Novvm Testamentvm Anglice et Latine, Anno Dni 1548." *Lea Wilson, Esq.*	Ty. W. Powell	4o. ——
50. T. The newe Testament of the last Translation by William Tyndale. Printed for Thomas Berthelet, without date. *Herbert*, p. 556.	Ty. T. Petit	16o. ——
51. T. "The new Testamente by William Tindale, with the Annotations of Thomas Matthew." In black letter, with wood-cuts. *Geo. Offor, Esq.*	Ty. ——	8o. ——
52. T. The Newe Testament, a rare edit. imper. "Vvillia Tindal vnto the Chrystyan Reader," with wood-cuts in Revelations. *Lea Wilson, Esq.*	Ty. Day & Seres?	18o. ——
53. T. The New Testament, with Erasmus' paraphrase, vol. i. *Bodleian. New College. Oxon. Bristol Museum*	var. Whitchurch	fol. ——
——————, the same,—the Epistles, vol. ii. *Sion College. New College, Oxon. Bristol Museum*	var. Whitchurch	fol. 1549
54. T. "The New Testament of our Saviour Christ—after the best Copie of William Tindale's trans. with notes of Matthew's." *Bristol Mus.*	Ty. Jhon Day	16o. ——
55. T. The Newe Testament by William Tyndale. *Cotton's List*	Ty. W. Seres	8o. ——
56. T. "The new Testamente of our Sauyoure Christ, set forth by Willyam Tyndale, with the annatacion of T. Matthew," 23 of Maye. *British Museum. Bristol Museum*	Ty. Wm. Copland	8o. ——
57. T. "The newe Testament of the last translacion. By Wylliam Tyndale." Colophon dated also 1549. This is *not* Coverdale's Translation, as stated in Herbert, p. 764. *Bristol Mus. Lea Wilson, Esq.*	Ty. Wm. Tylle	4o. ——
58. T. "The newe Testament, by Miles Coverdale, and conferred with the translacion of Willyam Tyndale." Wood-cuts. *Lambeth Library. Bristol Museum. Lea Wilson, Esq.*	Co. R. Wolfe	12o. ——
59. T. "The Newe Testament," as in 1547, but the Latin here in Roman type. "Imprinted MCCCCCXLIX. God save the Kynge." *St. Paul's. Earl of Bridgewater. Lea Wilson, Esq.*	Ma. W. Powell	4o. ——
60. T. "The Newe Testament of oure Saueour Jesus Christ, by M. Wil. Tindall," an earlier foreign print, though now only put forth. *Lea Wilson, Esq.*	Ty. Day and Seres	12o. ——
61. T. The New Test. similar to the Bible following. *Lambeth & Cotton Lists*	Cr. Cawood	4o. ——
62. T. "The Newe Testamente," similar to Bible following. *Lownde's List*	Ty. Day and Seres	fol. ——
16. B. "The Byble, that is to say all the holy Scripture," *not* Taverner's, but very slightly varied from Matthews, by Ed. Becke. Ded. to Ed. VI. "17 day August." *Bodleian. Cambridge University Library. Lambeth. Lea Wilson, Esq. Chr. Anderson*	Ma. Day and Seres	fol. ——
17. B. "The Byble, which is all the Holy Scripture,"—reprint of Matthews 1537, but very faulty in composition,—"finyshed the laste daye of Octobre." *St. Paul's. Exeter Col. Oxon. Lambeth. Bristol Museum. Lea Wilson, Esq.*	Hyll and Reynaldes Ma.	fol. ——
18. B. "The Byble in Englishe, after the translacion appoynted to bee read in the churches," dated the 29th day of December MDXLIX. *Bodleian. Exeter Coll. Oxon.* yellow paper. *Bristol Museum. Lea Wilson, Esq.*	Grafton *or* Whitchurch Cr.	fol. ——
19. B. The Byble, after Cranmer's version. *Lambeth and Cotton List*	Cr. Cawood	4o. ——

	DESCRIPTION.		PRINTER.	YEAR.
20. B.	The Byble in Englishe, a reprint of 1541. Being a joint concern, some titles have "Grafton and Whitchurch." *Bristol Mus.*	Cr.	Grafton	4o. 1549
21. B.	in five vols. dated 1549, 1550, 1551. "Printed in sundry partes for these pore—that they which ar not able to bie the hole, may bie a part." This copy wants only the first vol. *Lea Wilson, Esq.*	Ta.	Day and Seres	12o. ——
63. T.	The Newe Testament, "Imprinted the XII. Daye of January. ANNO Do. MCCCCCL. At worceter by Jhon Oswen," Cum gratia, &c. *Balliol College, Oxon. Lea Wilson, Esq.*	Ty.	Oswen	4o. 1550
64. T.	"The New Testament of our Sauiour Christ,—after the best Copie of William Tindale's Translation—the VI. day of February." *All Souls College, Oxon. Lea Wilson, Esq.*	Ty.	Day and Seres	12o. ——
65. T.	"The Newe Testament,—by Miles Couerdale, conferred with the translacion of Willyam Tyndale," dated "ANNO 1550, in June." *Lambeth Library. Lea Wilson, Esq.*	Co.	R. Wolfe	12o. ——
66. T.	"The Newe Testament of our Sauiour Jesus Christ." Should have a port. of Edw. VI. A full page 34 lines. *St. Paul's Library.* A copy imperfect. *Lea Wilson, Esq.*	Ty.	R. Jugge	24o. ——
67. T.	"The newe Testament faythfully translated by Miles Coverdal, anno. 1550." First *so* "Imprynted at Zurich, by Christoffel Froschouer"—by unaccountable mistake for William Tyndale. *British Museum. Zurich Library. British Museum. Lea Wilson, Esq.*	Ty.	Froschover	18o. ——
68. T.	"The new Testament in Englishe after the greeke traslation," &c. Red and black title, "in officina Thomæ Gaultier pro I. C." *i.e.* for John Cawood. "Pridie Kalendas Decembris anno MDL." *Lambeth. Bodleian. Bristol Museum. Lea Wilson, Esq.*	Cr?	Gualtier	8o. ——
22. B.	"The Bible in Englishe—the translacion that is appointed to be rede in the churches." *St. Paul's Library. Lea Wilson, Esq.*	Cr.	Whytchurche	4o. ——
23. B.	"The whole Byble,—by *Mayst. Thomas Matheive!*" First *so* "Imprinted in Zurych by Chrystoffer froschower—finished "the XVI daye in the moneth of August," by strange mistake for *Coverdale*. The correct London title,—"Prynted *for* Andrewe Hester." *British Mus. Bodleian. St. Paul's. Bristol Mus. Lea Wilson, Esq.*	Co.	Froschover and A. Hester	4o. ——
69. T.	The New Testament, with Erasmus' paraphrase, i. volume. *Sion College. All Souls College, Oxon.*	var.	Whitchurch	fol. 1551
70. T.	The Newe Testament, by William Tyndale. *Bristol Museum*	Ty.	Day and Seres	12o. ——
71. T.	"The Newe Testament, with certayne Notes folowynge the chapters." Preface by Tyndale, and margin references, MDLI. *St. Paul's Lib.*	Ty.	J. Daye	fol. ——
24. B.	"The Byble, that is to saye all the holy Scripture,"—Printed by Nicolas Hyll, VI. May MDLI. and for eight "honest menne." See the explanation given p. 242. Besides the issues here identified there are other copies in the *British Museum. St. Paul's. Lambeth. Trinity College and All Souls College, Oxford. Christ's Church, Canterbury.* *Bristol Museum*	Ma.	Jo. Wyghte	fol. ——
		Ma.	Wm. Bonham	fol. ——
	Lea Wilson, Esq.	Ma.	Th. Petyt	fol. ——
		Ma.	T. Raynalde	fol. ——
		Ma.	R. Kele	fol. ——
	Bristol Museum	Ma.	J. Walley	fol. ——
	Bristol Museum	Ma.	Ab. Veale	fol. ——
	Bristol Museum	Ma.	Ro. Toye	fol. ——
25. B.	"The Byble, that is to say al the holy Scripture." Revised by Becke. Mostly Taverner's, with the New Testament of Tyndale, dated XXIII. of Maye MDLI. *British Museum. Lambeth Library. St. Paul's. Bodleian. Bristol Museum. Lea Wilson, Esq.*	Ta. Ty.	Jhon Day	fol. ——

	DESCRIPTION.		PRINTER.	YEAR.
72. T.	"The Newe Testament of our Sauiour Jesu Christe." Port. of Edw. and large wood-cuts, with a license, dated 10 June, forbidding others to print. See the Hist. p. 240. Note 8. *British Museum. Lambeth. St. Paul's. Wadham C. Oxon. Bristol Museum. Lea Wilson, Esq.*	Ty.	R. Jugge	4o. 1552
73. T.	The Newe Test. in Englyshe,—sep. copies of the following Bible,—	Cr.	Nich. Hyll	4o. ——
	26. B. The Byble, &c. "London, by Nycholas Hyll, for Abraham Veale, anno. MDLJJ." Has been ascribed to Nicolson of Southwark by mistake. See Dibdin's Ames, vol. iii., p. 57. *Lea Wilson, Esq.*	Cr.	Nich. Hyll	4o. ——
74. T.	"The newe Testament of oure Sauiour Jesus Christe." This and the edition of 1552 fixed by the King to be sold for 22d. = 22*s.* NOW. *British Museum. St. Paul's. Bristol Museum. Lea Wilson, Esq.*	Ty.	R. Jugge	4o. 1553
	27. B. "The byble in English—the translacio—to be read in churches. MDLIII." *St. Paul's. Worcester Col. Oxon. Earl of Bridgewater. Lea Wilson, Esq.*	Cr.	Whytchurche	fol. ——
	28. B. "The whole Byble," by Coverdale,—a new issue of the Zurich edition, with new title. *St. Paul's. Balliol College and Exeter College, Oxon. Bristol Museum*	Co.	Froschover Ri. Jugge	4o. ——
	29. B. "The Bible in Englishe, according to the translacion of the great Byble." Very small skeleton Saxon letter. Some copies have Grafton and Whitchurch. *St. Paul's Library. Bristol Museum. Lea Wilson, Esq.*	Cr.	Grafton	4o. ——

Queen Mary.

ONE EDITION OF THE NEW TESTAMENT, PRINTED ABROAD.

Under this reign of five years and four months, from 19th July 1553 to 17th November 1558.

75.	"The Nevve Testament of our Lord Jesus Christ." 10 June. The translation of William Whittingham, in exile at Geneva. See the History, p. 305-312. *British Mus. Lambeth Lib. Bodleian. Bristol Mus. Balliol College, Oxford. Lea Wilson, Esq. Chr. Anderson.*		Geneva by Conrad Badius	18o. 1557

Queen Elizabeth.

ONE HUNDRED AND FORTY-TWO EDITIONS, VIZ. FORTY-EIGHT OF THE NEW TESTAMENT AND NINETY-FOUR OF THE BIBLE.

Printed during forty-four years and four months, from 17th November 1558 to 24th March 1603.

	30. B. "The Bible and Holy Scriptvres." The first Genevan, the first in *Roman* letter, and first *Bible* in verses, 10th April 1560. Ded. to the Queen, and addressed to "the brethren of ENGLAND, SCOTLAND, and IRELAND. See the Hist. p. 318-324, 356, 357. *Lambeth. Balliol College, Oxon. Rev. Dr. Cotton. Lea Wilson, Esq.*	Ge.	Rou. Hall	4o. 1560
76. T.	The New Test.—the same version. No printer's name. *Lambeth.*	Ge.	Geneva	16o. ——
77. T.	"The newe Testament, Faythfully translated out of the Greke." Dedicated to Edward VI. forbidding all others to print, and by his former privilege still! *All Souls, Oxon. Lambeth. Lea Wilson, Esq.*	Ty.	R. Jugge	12o. 1561
78. T.	"The Newe Testament," same version, but perfectly distinct dated edition. Both books perhaps kept up in safety during Mary's reign. *Lea Wilson, Esq.*	Ty.	R. Jugge	12o. ——

	DESCRIPTION.	PRINTER.	YEAR.
79. T.	The New Test. without license—fined 8*s*. See Herb. 883. *Cotton's List* Cr.	R. Harrison	4o. 1561
	31. B. "The Bible." Second Genevan. Dedicated as before, but dated 10th April 1561. The New Test. in 1561, the first title 1562, Bodley's edition, *Roman*. See p. 324-327. *Brazen Nose College. Oxford. Geo. Offor, Esq. Lea Wilson, Esq.* Ge.	No name	fol. ——
	32. B. "The Bible," in small black letter. "Imprinted at London, in Povvles Churche-yarde, by Jhon Cawoode. Prynter to the Quenes Maiestie, Anno MDLXJ. Cum priuilegio Regiæ Maiestatis." *British Museum. Lambeth. Lea Wilson, Esq.* Cr.	J. Cawoode	4o. ——
	33. B. "The bible in Englishe—apointed to be read in churches." "Imprinted at London, in white crosse strete, by Richarde Harrison, Anno Domi. 1.5.6.2." *Roman*. See Hist. p. 328, and *note*. *Bristol Museum. Earl of Bridgewater. Lea Wilson, Esq.* Cr.	Harrison	fol. 1562
80. T.	"The Newe Testament of our Sauiour," in red and black. Still forbidding others to print. *Balliol College, Oxford. Bristol Museum. Lea Wilson, Esq.* Ty.	R. Jugge	4o. 1566
	34. B. The Bible in Englyshe—"At Roven, (*Rouen*,) at the coste and charges of Richard Carmarden," by Hamillon, *not* Hamilton, as in the History, p. 331. *British Museum. Bodleian. Lambeth. Worcester College, Oxford. Bristol Museum. Lea Wilson, Esq.* Cr.	Hamillon	fol. ——
	35. B. The Bible "In officina R. Grafton." The first edit. in *one* vol. 8vo. and the last he printed, probably sent to Ireland. See Hist. p. 331. *Herbert*, p. 533. Cr.	R. Grafton	8o. ——
	36. B. "The Bible," third edit. printed at Geneva, by John Crispin. See Herbert's Ames, p. 1624, and the previous History, p. 330. Ge.	J. Crespin	4o. 1568
81. T.	The Newe Test., printed to sell separately. *Bodleian. Geo. Offor, Esq.* Ge.	J. Crispin	4o. ——
	37. B. "The . holie . Bible . conteyning the olde Testament and the newe." The first edit. of Parker's, with 143 cuts and engravings. See the Hist. p. 332-334. *British Museum. Bodleian. Bristol Mus. St. Paul's. Cambridge University Library. Lea Wilson, Esq.* Bps.	R. Jugge	fol. ——
	38. B. The Bible, by R. Jugge and J. Cawood. *Trinity College, Cambridge. All Souls College, Oxon.* Cr.	Jo. Cawood	4o. ——
	39. B. "The Bible in Englyshe. Imprinted—Cum privilegio Regiæ Majestatis." See the Hist. p. 334. *Lambeth. Bristol Museum. Lea Wilson, Esq.* Cr.	Cawood	4o. 1569
	40. B. The Bible,—another edit. It may be distinguished by "THE NEVVE TEStament in ENGLISH."—Cum priuilegio." *Lea Wilson, Esq.* Cr.	Cawood	4o. ——
	41. B. "The Bible. Entirely distinct edition, though the same year. Like an effort to uphold Cranmer's version. *Lea Wilson, Esq.* Cr.	Cawood	4o. ——
	42. B. "The holi Bible." Portrait of Elizabeth, and the Archbishop below, preaching. See Strype's Annals and Lewis, p. 254. In two columns, the verses intermingled with the text. *Late Duke of Sussex Library. T. Thorpe, Esq. Lea Wilson, Esq.* Bps.	R. Jugge	4o. ——
	43. B. "The Bible and Holy Scriptvres conteyned."—"At Geneva, printed by John Crispin, MDLXIX." The New Test. is MDLXVIII. —*Roman*. *Lea Wilson, Esq.* Ge.	Crispin	4o. ——
	44. B. The very same book as the last, though styled *second* edition. It was, however, a second or fresh issue this year,—*Roman*. *Bodleian. Lea Wilson, Esq.* Ge.	Crispin	4o. 1570
	45. B. "The Holie Bible,"—second edit. in *quarto* of the Bishop's ver. Once in Herbert's collection, but at present we know not where. Bps.	R. Jugge	4o. ——

DESCRIPTION.	PRINTER.	YEAR.
82. T. The New Testament, very similar to Nos. 77, 78, but a different edit. evident from the wood-cuts in the Revelation, and other marks,—black letter. *Lea Wilson, Esq.*	Ty. R. Jugge	12o. 1570
83. T. The New Testament,—title wanting,—extremely small black letter,—not paged. The letter-press measures two inches by three and a quarter. Printed in 1570 or 1571. *Lea Wilson, Esq.*	Bps. R. Jugge	24o. 1571
46. B. "The Holie Bible." Second folio edit. with only 30 cuts and engravings, many ornamental initials, wildly taken from Ovid's Metamorphoses! A double version of the Psalms. *British Mus. Bodleian. Exeter College, Oxon. Bristol Mus. Lea Wilson, Esq.*	Bps. R. Jugge	fol. 1572
47. B. "The Holie Bible." The third in quarto. A splendid copy, bound in five volumes, is in *Lambeth Library*. See the Hist. p. 334, and *note*. *St. Paul's. Lea Wilson, Esq.*	Bps. R. Jugge	4o. 1573
48. B. "The Holy Byble, conteyning the olde Testament and the newe. Set forth by auctoritie," *i.e.* of the bishops. See the Hist. p. 338. The third folio, with cuts, dated "the fifth of July 1574." *Bristol Museum. Lea Wilson, Esq. Chr. Anderson.*	Bps. R. Jugge	fol. 157
84. T. "The Newe Testament," Genevan version, with Epistle of Calvin, as in the edit. of 1557. Imprinted at London, by Tho. Vautroullier, for Christopher Barkar. *Lea Wilson, Esq.*	Ge. Vautroullier	12o. 157[illegible]
85 T. "The Newe Testament," the same, in quarto. *Herbert*, p. 1067	Ge. Vautroullier	4o. ——
49. B. "The Holy Byble, conteyning," &c. "Set foorth by auctoritie," *i.e.* of the bishops. 1575. Thin paper, and not well printed, as if he needed capital. Hence the next edition. *Lea Wilson, Esq.*	Bps. R. Jugge	4o. ——
50. B. "The holy Byble, conteyning, &c. Set foorth by auctoritie," as before, "finished the XXIIII. day of Nouember." For *five* others, besides himself, as in the History, p. 334, 335. *Earl Spencer.*	Bps. R. Jugge	fol. ——
The same, but titled, "Imprinted at London, by RICHARD KELE." *The Bodleian.*		
The same, ——— "Imprinted at London, by LUCAS HARISON." *Lea Wilson, Esq.*		
The same, ——— "Imprinted at London, by JOHN WALLEY." *King's College, Cambridge.*		
The same, ——— "Imprinted at London, by JOHN JUDSON." *Mr. Herbert.*		
The same, ——— "Imprinted at London, by WILLIAM NORTON." *Lea Wilson, Esq.*		
51. B. "The Bible." Genevan. The *first* printed on English ground, and by Tho. Vautroullier, for Christopher Barkar. *Bristol Mus.*	Ge. Vautroullier	4o. ——
52. B. "The Bible," of the same version, for the same, in small size.	Ge. Vautroullier	8o. ——
86. T. The New Test. of the Bishop's version,—no date. *St. Paul's Library.*	Bps. R. Jugge	18o. 1576
87. T. "The Nevv Testament," the first edition said to be from Beza, but simply a revision of the Genevan version, with Notes by Beza, Camerarius, &c. by Laurence Tomson, under secretary to Sir Francis Walsingham, differing in some parts from subsequent edits. *Dr. Cotton. Sion College. Wadham Col. Oxon. Lea Wilson, Esq. Chr. Anderson.*	To. C. Barkar	8o. ——
53. B. "The Bible." The text in long primer, Roman, the arguments in Italic letter. "Imprinted at London, by Christopher Barkar—Cum priuilegio. In the late *Sussex Library*. *The Earl of Bridgewater. Lea Wilson, Esq.*	Ge. C. Barkar	fol. ——
54. B. "The Holy Byble, conteyning." In a very small type, very		

DESCRIPTION.	PRINTER.	YEAR.
well printed, and on a thick fine paper, running title Roman, contents in Italic. *Not* Cranmer's, as has been stated. *Lea Wilson, Esq.*	Bps. R. Jugge	4o. 1576
55. B. The Bible. Genevan version, neatly printed, in long primer Roman and Italic arguments. *Herbert*, p. 1077. *Cotton's List.*	Ge. C. Barkar	4o. ——
88. T. "The Newe Testament of our Saviovr Jesvs Christe." Small quarto. *Lea Wilson, Esq.*	Bps. R. Jugge	4o. 1577
89. T. "The Nevv Testament of ovr Lord." Tomson's version. *G. Offor, Esq. Lea Wilson, Esq.*	To. C. Barkar	8o. ——
56. "B. The Bible. That is, the Holy Scriptvres conteined," &c. Dedicated and Addressed to "the Brethren," &c. See the Hist. p. 346. *Lea Wilson, Esq. Oriel College, Oxford. William Pickering, Esq.* The last is the copy presented to Q. Eliz. once in the *Sussex Lib.*	Ge. C. Barkar	fol. ——
57. B. "The Holie Bible," the last printed by him, in large 8vo. See Hist. p. 346. *St. Paul's Library. Lea Wilson, Esq.*	Bps. R. Jugge	8o. ——
90. T. "The Newe Testament of our Sauiour.—Cum privilegio—*solum*," between the privilege of Jugge, and the patent of Barker. Not in 1600, as in Herbert, nor 1565, as in Cotton. *Cambridge Univ. Lib.*	Bps. Ri. Watkins	4o. ——
91. T. "The Nevve Testament of our Sauiour," in black and red, same version. Rich. Jugge, now deceased. *Lea Wilson, Esq.*	Bps. Vautroullier	12o. ——
92. T. "The Newe Testament of ovr Lorde." Extremely small type, by Barker, NOW printer to the Queen. *Lea Wilson, Esq.*	Ge. *C. Barker*	24o. 1578
58. B. "The Bible." Two versions of the Psalms. Gen. and the Bps'. Ded. to Eliz. and the address *now* "to the diligent and Christian reader." The verses by Greshop, in many editions, here first appeared,—"Here is the spring where waters flowe." See Hist. p. 357, where for 1579 *r.* 1578. *British Museum. Bodleian. Lambeth. Bristol Museum. Lea Wilson, Esq.*	Ge. C. Barker	fol. ——
59. B. "The Holy Bible, conteyning," &c. "Imprinted—by the assignement of Christopher Barker, printer to the Queenes Majestie, 1578." *Merton College. Lea Wilson, Esq.*	Bps. C. Barker	fol. ——
93. T. "The Newe Testament." The Bishops' version. *Earl Spencer.*	Bps. C. Barker	16o. 1579
60. B. "The Bible," with double Psalms again. "Imprinted at London, by Christopher Barker, Printer to the Queenes most excellent Majestie." *The Zurich Library. Lea Wilson, Esq.*	Ge. C. Barker	4o. ——
61. B. "The Bible." Entirely different edit. The New Test. and last leaf are dated 1580, besides other distinctions. *Lea Wilson, Esq.*	Ge. C. Barker	4o. ——
62. B. "The Bible and Holy Scriptvres conteined," &c. The *first* Bible printed in *Scotland*. See the Hist. p. 537. *Roman* letter. Finished at press in July this year. *Earl of Morton. Advocate's Library, Edinburgh. Earl Spencer. Lea Wilson, Esq.*	Ge. Bassenden and Arbuthnot	fol. ——
94. T. "The Newe Testament." Tomson's revision. *Lea Wilson, Esq.*	To. C. Barker	8o. 1580
95. T. "The Newe Testament." The same version. *Lea Wilson, Esq.*	To. C. Barker	24o. ——
63. B. "The Bible," with Dedication, and the address "To the Christian reader." Large paper. See Hist. p. 357. *Lea Wilson, Esq.*	Ge. C. Barker	4o. ——
64. B. The Bible, no Dedication, & a distinct edit. *Lea Wilson, Esq.*	Ge. C. Barker	4o. ——
65. B. "The Bible." The Genevan version. *Cotton's List.*	Ge. C. Barker	fol. ——
96. T. The Newe Testament of our Sauiour Jesus Christ." A clean black letter, *Italic* contents, notes in *Roman*. *Lea Wilson, Esq.*	Bps. C. Barker	12o. 1581
97. T. "The Newe Testament," of Tomson's revis. *Herbert. Cotton's List.*	To. C. Barker	12o. ——

	DESCRIPTION.	PRINTER.	YEAR.
66. B.	"The Bible." Genevan ver. *Geo. Offor, Esq. Lea Wilson, Esq.*	Ge. C. Barker	4o. 1581
67. B.	"The Bible," of the same version. *Cotton's List.*	Ge. C. Barker	fol. ——
68. B.	"The Bible," of the same, bound in four vols. *Earl Spencer.*	Ge. C. Barker	8o. ——
98. T.	"The Newe Testament of our Lord Jesus Christ." Tomson's revision. *Lea Wilson, Esq. Earl of Bridgewater.*	To. C. Barker	8o. 1582
69. B.	"The Bible." Genevan version, with the customary Dedication to Queen Elizabeth, and once more still—"To the brethren of England, Scotland, and Ireland." See pp. 356-7. *Lea Wilson, Esq.*	Ge. C. Barker	fol. ——
70. B.	"The Bible." The Genevan version. *Geo. Offor, Esq.*	Ge. C. Barker	4o. ——
71. B.	"The Bible." The same version.	Ge. C. Barker	8o. ——
99. T.	"The Newe Testament." Tomson's revision, best edition, with the royal arms, large 4o. *Exeter College, Oxford. Rev. Dr. Cotton's* is yellow paper. *Lea Wilson, Esq.*	To. C. Barker	4o. 1583
100. T.	The Newe Testament of our Sauiour. In the late *Sussex Library.*	Bps. Bynneman	4o. ——
101. T.	"The Newe Testament." Tomson's revis. l. 4o. *Lea Wilson, Esq.*	To. C. Barker	4o. ——
102. T.	The New Testament. Genevan version. *Herbert. Cotton's List.*	Ge. C. Barker	12o. ——
103. T.	The New Testament. Tomson's revision. *St. Paul's Library.*	Ge. C. Barker	32o. ——
72. B.	Portion, entitled "the third part of the Bible." *St. Paul's Lib.*	Ge. C. Barker	16o. ——
73. B.	"The Bible and Holy Scriptvre," in red and black, splendidly printed in large folio, margin nearly three inches broad, and paper emulating vellum. *Bodleian. Lambeth. St. John's Coll. Oxon. Pembroke College, Oxon. Bristol Museum. Lea Wilson, Esq.*	Ge. C. Barker	fol. ——
74. B.	"The Bible and Holy Scripture." The Same version. *Lea Wilson, Esq.*	Ge. C. Barker	4o. ——
75. B.	"The Holy Bible, conteining the Olde Testament and the Newe," in a fine new black letter: contents in *Roman.* Frequently mistaken for the Genevan version. *Lea Wilson, Esq.*	Bps. C. Barker	fol. 1584
76. B.	"The Holy Bible." This and the last edition contain the Psalms of Cranmer's version, "to be sung or said in churches." *Lea Wilson, Esq.*	Bps. C. Barker	4o. ——
77. B.	"The Holy Bible." This and the last edition, "*a bigger and a less,*" printed by order of Whitgift, as the translation "authorised by the Synod of Bishops." See Hist. p. 338. *Lambeth. Sion College. Bristol Museum. Earl Spencer. Lea Wilson, Esq.*	Bps. C. Barker	fol. 1585
78. B.	"The Bible and Holy Scripture." Genevan version. *Lea Wilson, Esq.*	Ge. C. Barker	4o. ——
104. T.	The Newe Testament. Tomson's revision. *Cotton's List. Lea Wilson, Esq.*	To. C. Barker	12o. 1586
79. B.	"The Bible." Genevan version. *Exeter College, Oxford. Lea Wilson, Esq*	Ge. C. Barker	4o. ——
80. B.	"The Bible." Same version. *King of Wirtemberg. Lea Wilson, Esq.*	Ge. C. Barker	8o. ——
81. B.	"The Bible." Same. *Roman.* With Tomson's New Testament. *Lea Wilson, Esq.*	Ge. C. Barker	4o. 1587
82. B.	"The Holy Bible." Black and red title, the *first* "Imprinted by the Deputies of Christopher Barker," or G. Bishop and R. Newbery. See the Hist. p. 350, 383. *Lea Wilson, Esq.*	Bps. D. of Barker	fol. 1588
83. B.	"The Bible." Genevan. *Geo. Offor, Esq. Lea Wilson, Esq.*	Ge. D. of Barker	4o. ——

DESCRIPTION.		PRINTER.	YEAR.
105. T. "The New Testament." The *first* printed at *Cambridge;* and by John Legate, son-in-law of C. Barker, and printer to the University, from 2d Nov. 1588.	*Cotton's List. Mr. T. Bradley.* Ge.	J. Legate	24o. 1589
106. T. The New Testament. Genevan version.	*Lambeth Library.* Ge.	D. of Barker	12o. ——
107. T. The New Testament, the Bishops' and Rhemish version, in columns, by W. Fulke.	*Christ's Church College, Oxon. Bristol Museum.* Bps.	D. of Barker	fol. ——
84. B. "The Bible." The Genevan version.	*Lowndes's List.* Ge.	D. of Barker	fol. ——
85. B. "The Bible." The same version.	*Lea Wilson, Esq.* Ge.	D. of Barker	4o. ——
86. B. "The Bible." Same version, distinct edit.	*Geo. Offor, Esq.* Ge.	D. of Barker	4o. ——
108. T. "The Newe Testament of our Lord Jesus Christ." Roman pearl type, at *Cambridge* again.	*Lea Wilson, Esq.* Ge.	J. Legate	48o. 1590
109. T. The Newe Testament. Genevan, in 8vo.	*Cotton's List.* Ge.	D. of Barker	8o. ——
87. B. "The Bible." On yellow paper. Imperfect.	*Sussex Lib.* Ge.	D. of Barker	4o. ——
110. T. The New Testament. Genevan version.	*Cotton's List.* Ge.	D. of Barker	12o. 1591
88. B. "The Holy Bible." Large folio.	*Sion Col. Lea Wilson, Esq.* Bps.	D. of Barker	fol. ——
89. B. "The Bible: That is, the Holy Scriptvres—Anno do. 1591, Maij. 29." The first Bible known to have been printed at *Cambridge,* and in a beautiful *Roman* letter.	*Lea Wilson, Esq.* Ge.	J. Legate	8o. ——
90. B. "The Bible," of the Genevan version, with Tomson's revision of New Testament.	*Lea Wilson, Esq.* Ge.	D. of Barker	fol. 1592
91. B. "The Bible." Genevan version throughout. There is said to be a copy of this at *Stuttgard.*	*King of Wirtemberg.* Ge.	D. of Barker	4o. ——
111. T. The New Testament of the same version.	*Rev. Dr. Lee* Ge.	D. of Barker	4o. 1593
112. T. The New Testament.	*Cotton's List.* Ge.	D. of Barker	24o. ——
92. B. "The Bible." Genevan version.	*Rev. Dr. Lee.* Ge.	D. of Barker	4o. ——
93. B. "The Bible." Gen. ver.	*Geo. Offor, Esq. Lea Wilson, Esq.* Ge.	D. of Barker	8o. ——
113. T. The New Testament. Same version.	*Brazen Nose College, Oxford.* Ge.	D. of Barker	4o. 1594
94. B. "The Bible." Same version.	*Cotton's List. Lea Wilson, Esq.* Ge.	D. of Barker	4o. ——
114. T. The New Testament.	*Library of the late Granville Sharp, Esq.* Ge.	D. of Barker	8o. 1595
95. B. "The Holie Bible."	*British Museum. Lambeth Library. St. John's College, Oxford. Lea Wilson, Esq.* Bps.	D. of Barker	fol. ——
96. B. "The Bible."	*Lambeth. Bal. Col. Oxford. Lea Wilson, Esq.* Ge.	D. of Barker	fol. ——
97. B. The Bible, with Tomson's revision, *Roman* letter.	*Brazen Nose College, Oxford. Lea Wilson, Esq.* Ge.	D. of Barker	4o. ——
115. T. "The Newe Testament," of Tomson's revision.	*Lambeth. Bristol Museum. Lea Wilson, Esq.* To.	D. of Barker	4o. 1595
116. T. The New Testament. Same version. Printed abroad.	*Cotton's List.* To.	Holland?	fol. ——
98. B. "The Bible." Genevan version.	*St. Paul's Library. Bristol Museum. Lea Wilson, Esq.* Ge.	D. of Barker	4o. ——
117. T. The Newe Testament. Tomson's revision. *Roman* letter.	*Pembroke College, Oxford.* To.	D. of Barker	4o. 1597
118. T. The Newe Testament, of the same version.	*Lea Wilson, Esq.* To.	D. of Barker	12o. ——
99. B. "The Bible," printed at Middleburgh.	*Geo. Offor, Esq.* Ge.	Schilders	8o. ——
100. B. "The Bible," with Tomson's revision of N. T. but even this has the Ded. and address—"To the brethren of England, Scotland, Ireland, &c."	*British Mus. All Souls, Oxon. Lea Wilson, Esq.* Ge.	D. of Barker	fol. ——

DESCRIPTION.		PRINTER.	YEAR.
101. B. "The Bible." Gen. ver. entire. *Roman* type. *Lea Wilson, Esq.*	Ge.	D. of Barker	4o. 1597
The Bible, printed by R. Field, son-in-law and successor of Vautroullier, in *Cotton's List*, was the "Biblia Sacra."			
119. T. The New Testament. Printed by John Windet, for the assignees of Richard Day. *Sir John Hawkins. Cotton's List.*	Ge?	J. Windet	24o. 1598
120. T. The Newe Test. Genevan version. *Cotton's List. Geo. Offor, Esq.*	Ge.	D. of Barker	4o. ——
102. B. "The Holy Bible." *Harleian Lib. No.* 184. *Cotton's List.*	Bps.	D. of Barker	fol. ——
103. B. "The Bible." Genevan version. *Roman* let. *Geo. Offor, Esq.*	Ge.	D. of Barker	4o. ——
104. B. "The Bible," with Tomson's revision of the New Test. *Pembroke College, Oxford. Lea Wilson, Esq.*	Ge.	D. of Barker	4o. ——
105. B. "The Bible." Genevan version. *Geo. Offor, Esq.*	Ge.	D. of Barker	8o. ——
106. B. "The Bible." Genevan version. *Bodleian. Lambeth. Lea Wilson, Esq.*	Ge.	D. of Barker	4o. 1599
107. B. "The Bible," with Tomson's revision of New Testament. This edition may be distinguished by a black line round the page. *Lea Wilson, Esq. Chr. Anderson.*	Ge.	D. of Barker	4o. ——
108. B. *Six* other *distinct* edit. exist, dated, *i.e.* *Lea Wilson, Esq.*	Ge.	D. of Barker	4o. ——
109. B. *antedated*, 1599, though printed above *Lea Wilson, Esq.*	Ge.	D. of Barker	4o. ——
110. B. *thirty* years later! The Colophon of one *Lea Wilson, Esq.*	Ge.	D. of Barker	4o. ——
111. B. —"*Amsterdam*, for *Thomas Crafoorth*, *Lea Wilson, Esq.*	Ge.	D. of Barker	4o. ——
112. B. 1633," with our History, pp. 389, 390, *Lea Wilson, Esq.*	Ge.	D. of Barker	4o. ——
113. B. and 536, *note*, solve the mystery. *Lea Wilson, Esq.*	Ge.	D. of Barker	4o. ——
114. B. "The Bible," as before, without date, place, or printer's name. Figure of a *goose* on the title of the psalms. Supposed from the *Dort* press. *Lea Wilson, Esq.*	Ge.	Dort	4o. 1600?
115. B. "The Bible." Genevan version. C. Barker, now dead, after printing by deputies for twelve years. His son's name first appears. See the History, pp. 383, 384, where for 1601 *r.* 1600. *King of Wirtemberg. Lea Wilson, Esq.*	Ge.	R. Barker	4o. ——
121. T. The New Testament. The Bishops and Rhemish versions, by W. Fulke. *Lincoln, Worcester, Queen's Coll. Oxon. Bristol Museum.*	Bps.	R. Barker	fol. 1601
116. B. The Genevan version, with Tomson's revision of New Testament. *King of Wirtemberg. Lea Wilson, Esq.*	Ge.	R. Barker	4o. ——
117. B. The Genevan version, entire, black letter.	Ge.	R. Barker	4o. ——
118. B. "The Bible," of the Genevan version. *Lea Wilson, Esq.*	Ge.	R. Barker	8o. ——
119. B. "The Bible," of the same version, "Imprinted by Isaac Canin, at the expenses of the aires of Henrie Charteris and Andrew Hart in Edinburgh." *Rev. Dr. Lee.*	Ge.	I. Canin at Dort	8o. ——
122. T. The Newe Testament. Genevan version. *Cotton's List.*	Ge.	R. Barker	4o. 1602
123. T. The Newe Testament, of Tomson's revision. *Lea Wilson, Esq.*	To.	R. Barker	8o. ——
120. B. "The Bible," with Tomson's revision. *Roman* type. *Bodleian. Lea Wilson, Esq.*	Ge.	R. Barker	fol. ——
121. B. "The Bible." In *Roman* type. Genevan version. *King of Wirtemberg. Lea Wilson, Esq.*	Ge.	R. Barker	4o. ——
122. B. "The Bible," of the same version. *King of Wirtemberg.*	Ge.	R. Barker	8o. ——
123. B. "The Holy Bible." *Christ's Church Col. Trinity Col. Worcester Col. Queen's Col. Oxford. Lea Wilson, Esq. Bodleian.* This last has MS. corrections in reference to the intended revision of the Sacred text, forming our present Version.	Bps.	R. Barker	fol. ——

King James.

THIRTY-TWO EDITIONS, VIZ. EIGHT OF THE NEW TESTAMENT, AND TWENTY-FOUR OF THE BIBLE.

Printed from 1603 *to the year of our present version* 1611.

DESCRIPTION.	PRINTER.	YEAR.
124. T. "The Nevv Testament of our Lord Jesus Christ." Tomson's revision. "At Dort, printed by Isaac Canin, 1603." *Duke of Wirtemberg. Lea Wilson, Esq.* To.	J. Canin	12o. 1603
N.B.—The New Test. by Simon (Strafford) Stafford, in the Cotton List, seems to be the British or *Welsh* New Testament, corrected by Morgan, Bishop of St. Asaph.		
124. B. "The Bible." Genevan. *Cotton's List. Tho. Harris, Esq. Lea Wilson, Esq.* Ge.	R. Barker	4o. ——
125. B. The same, with Tomson's revision of New Testament. *Lea Wilson, Esq.* Ge.	R. Barker	4o. ——
126. B. "The Bible." Genevan version, entire. *Geo. Offor, Esq.* Ge.	R. Barker	4o. ——
127. B. "The Bible." The same, in *Roman* letter. *Canterbury Library. Lea Wilson, Esq.* Ge.	R. Barker	8o. ——
125. T. The New Test. of Tyndale, as by Jugge, with port. of Edward VI. printed by the assignee of Robert Barker. *St. Paul's Library.* Bps.	D. of Barker	12o. 1605
128. B. "The Bible." Genevan version. *King of Wirtemberg. Lea Wilson, Esq.* Ge.	R. Barker	4o. ——
129. B. "The Holy Bible." The Bishops' version. Late *Sussex Lib.* Bps.	R. Barker	fol. 1606
130. B. "The Bible." The Genevan version. Late *Sussex Library.* Ge.	R. Barker	fol. ——
131. B. "The Bible." Genevan version. *King of Wirtemberg. Lea Wilson, Esq.* Ge.	R. Barker	4o. ——
132. B. "The Bible," with Tomson's revision. *Lea Wilson, Esq.* Ge.	R. Barker	4o. ——
133. B. "The Bible." Genevan version, entire. *Lea Wilson, Esq.* Ge.	R. Barker	8o. ——
134. B. "The Bible." *Roman* type. Tomson's revision of New Test. *Oriel College, Oxford. Sion College. Lea Wilson, Esq.* Ge.	R. Barker	fol. 1607
135. B. "The Bible." The Genevan, entire. *Cotton's List. Lea Wilson, Esq.* Ge.	R. Barker	4o. ——
136. B. "The Bible." Genevan. Distinct edit. *Geo. Offor, Esq.* Ge.	R. Barker	4o. ——
137. B. "The Bible." Genevan version. *Balliol College, Oxford.* Ge.	R. Barker	8o. ——
126. T. The New Testament. Bishops' version. *Cotton's List.* Bps.	R. Barker	8o. 1608
127. T. The New Testament. Genevan version. *Rev. Dr. Lee.* Ge.	R. Barker	12o. ——
138. B. The Bible. The Genevan. *Balliol College, Oxford. Bristol Museum. Lea Wilson, Esq.* Ge.	R. Barker	4o. ——
139. B. "The Bible," with Tomson's revision of the New Testament. *Lea Wilson, Esq.* Ge.	R. Barker	4o. ——
140. B. "The Bible," of the Genevan, entire. *Roman. Lea Wilson, Esq.* Ge.	R. Barker	8o. ——
128. T. The New Testament, Genevan, this year, but dated also at the *end* 1610. *Cotton's List. Earl of Bridgewater.* Ge.	R. Barker	4o. 1609
129. T. The New Testament. Tomson's revision. *King of Wirtemberg.* To.	R. Barker	8o. ——
141. B. "The Bible." *Roman* letter, with Tomson's revision of New Testament. *Lea Wilson, Esq.* Ge.	R. Barker	4o. ——
130. T. The New Testament. Tomson's revision. *British Museum. Lea Wilson, Esq.* To.	R. Barker	12o. 1610

DESCRIPTION.	PRINTER.	YEAR.
142. B. "The Bible. That is, the Holy Scriptvres. At Edinburgh, Printed by Andro Hart, and are to be sold at his Buith, on the North side of the gate, a litle beneath the Crosse." *Roman.* See before, pp. 538, 539. *Queen's Col. Oxford. Lea Wilson, Esq.* Ge.	A. Hart	fol. 1610
131. T. The New Test. of this edit. sold separately? *Geo. Chalmers, Esq.* Ge.	A. Hart	fol. ——
143. B. "The Bible," with Tomson's revision. *Earl of Bridgewater. Lea Wilson, Esq.* Ge.	R. Barker	fol. ——
144. B. "The Bible," *Roman* type, but the same version. *All Souls Col. Oxford. Lea Wilson, Esq.* Ge.	R. Barker	4o. ——
145. B. "The Bible," of the Genevan, entire. *Lea Wilson, Esq.* Ge.	R. Barker	8o. ——
146. B. "The Bible." The Genevan, with Tomson's revision of the New Testament. *Bodleian. Lambeth. Sion College. All Soul's College, Oxford. Lea Wilson, Esq.* Ge.	R. Barker	fol. 1611
147. B. "The Bible." The Genevan version, entire. *British Museum. Lambeth. Lea Wilson, Esq.* Ge.	R. Barker	4o. ——

In the preceding List, it may have been observed, there are no questionable books, and yet in the course of eighty-six years, or up to the period in which our present Version was first published, there had been 278 editions of Bibles and New Testaments separately. This gives an average of more than *three* editions annually. Could, however, all the editions, particularly of Tyndale's New Testament, be verified, of which, to a certainty, a number exist, still unascertained, we are now fully persuaded that the average would, at the least, amount to *four* editions every year. All the volumes preceding the year 1560, must be contemplated as one would so many ancient Warriors, after a long and severe conflict. Even their mutilated remains are to be venerated, after having in their own day and generation, proved so many witnesses for the truth; but having sustained the loss of their title page, or colophon, they could not be called up to the present muster. Though, therefore, we have, with some research, brought about an hundred more into the field than ever were before, their number may yet be increased.

An average, however, is not the only view which should be taken of the *entire* period. Each reign is considered by the historian as having a character of its own. Thus, in the reign of *Henry*, from 1525 to 1541, after which he began to frown, the average of publication was fully three editions annually. Before ever he listened, or before he was over-ruled, of the New Testament there had been at least 24 editions! During the long reign of *Elizabeth*, the average was about the same, or above three issues annually. The brightest period was that of *Edward VI.*, when there were about eight editions for every year he reigned. For the striking disparity between this brief reign, and that of his sister Elizabeth, as to the New Testament, see the preceding history, vol. ii., pp. 355, 356.

We have ascertained a larger number of the Bishops' Version than has ever before been mentioned, or 32 distinct issues. But it may now be observed, that instead of *thirty* editions in folio, quarto, and octavo, of the Genevan Version, printed from 1560 to 1616, as Lewis reported, and Newcome, with many others, have repeated down to this day, we may now very safely assert that by that year there had been at least *one hundred and fifty* editions of Bibles and New Testaments, of which the reader has the proof before him of one hundred and twenty-nine editions, even by the year 1611.

The Bible of Parker, or the Bishops' Version, was never again printed after that year, though of the New Testament there were editions by Barker in 1614, 1615, 1617, and 1618. But the Genevan Bible still continued to be issued, and by the King's printer, as well as at Edinburgh and Amsterdam. Thus, besides four editions of the New Testament, we have the Genevan version in 4to. reprinted in 1613 both at London and Edinburgh. Again at London in 1614, and two editions in 1615. Again in folio, and by Barker still, in 1616. In quarto, at Amsterdam, in 1633, and six other editions, all antedated, as if in London, and in 1599. Again in folio, at Amsterdam, 1640, and two editions in 1644. In 1649 the *present* Version was printed with the *Genevan* notes by way of pushing it into favour, but about this period it prevailed, and took the place it has occupied ever since.

The first edition of our present Version.

B. "The Holy Bible, Conteyning the Old Testament, and the New: Newly Translated out of the Originall tongues: and with the former Translations diligently compared and revised, by his Maiesties speciall Cõmandement. Appointed to be read in churches. Imprinted at London by Robert Barker, Printer to the Kings most Excellent Maiestie. Anno Dom. 1611."—N.B. It has been said that the British Museum has two editions of this year; but this is a mistake. The *title* of 1611 has been affixed to the editions of 1613, 1617, 1634, and even 1640, to make apparently fine copies of the first, but there certainly was no second edition in 1611.

T. "The New Testament of our Lord and Sauiour Jesvs Christ. Newly translated," &c. Our present version in the same year, very rare. An. 1611. 12mo.

The Translators to the Reader.

"We are so far off from condemning any of their labours that traveiled before us in this kind, either in this land, or beyond sea, either in King Henry's time—or Queen Elizabeth's—that we acknowledge them to have been raised up of God, for the building and furnishing of His Church, and they deserve to be had of us, and of posterity in everlasting remembrance."

Of the preceding volumes, the Reader may now trace above two hundred editions as having been translations of men who had fled beyond sea, remaining in exile from their country, and the rest to those who were resident in this land.

"Therefore, blessed be they, and honoured be their name, that brake the ice, and gave the onset upon that which helpeth forward to the saving of souls! Now, what can be more available thereto, than to deliver God's book unto God's people in a tongue which they understand."

"Truly, good Christian Reader, we never thought from the beginning, that we should need to make a new Translation, nor yet to make of a bad one a good, but to make a good one better; or out of many good ones, one principal good one, not justly to be accepted against; that hath been our endeavour, that our mark. To that purpose there were many chosen, that were greater in other men's eyes than their own, and that sought the truth, rather than their own praise."

It is well that these translators so expressed themselves, as they could not consistently have spoken otherwise. For whatever were the instructions given to them, such was their adherence to the language of the former Versions, that very happily, the translation is not in their own style. It is not the language of their own preface, nor of the reign of James I. The style they found in their prototypes, the diction and phraseology they adopted from their predecessors in translation.

For the origin and completion of this Version, the progress since, and the history in general throughout Scotland and America, see the preceding Volume from page 365.

THE END.

EDINBURGH: PRINTED BY T. CONSTABLE,
PRINTER TO HER MAJESTY.

Historical Index

TO

THE ANNALS OF THE ENGLISH BIBLE.

"It is a very striking circumstance, that the high-minded inventors of this great art tried at the very outset so bold a flight as the printing an entire Bible, and executed it with astonishing success. We may see, in imagination, this venerable and splendid Volume (though in Latin) leading up the crowded myriads of its followers, and imploring, as it were, a blessing on the new art, by dedicating its first-fruits to the service of Heaven."—*Hallam.* For its description, see our *Introduction,* liv, lv.

"Truth is the daughter of time, and time is the mother of truth. And whatsoever is besieged of truth, cannot long continue; and upon whose side truth doth stand, that ought not to be thought transitory, or that it will *ever* fall. All things consist not in painted eloquence, and strength or authority. For the Truth is of so great power, strength, and *efficacity*, that it can neither be defended with words, nor be overcome with any strength: but after she hath hidden herself long, at length she putteth up her head—and appeareth!" —EDWARD FOX, *the King's Almoner, and Bishop of Hereford, anno* 1536; this being the *first* diocese in England in which the daily reading of the *Scriptures in English* was enforced on the vicars and curates, through Dr. Curwen, the DEAN of that day, and afterwards Bishop of Oxford under Elizabeth. See vol. i. pp. 502, 367; vol. ii. *note,* p. 35.

PRELIMINARY NOTICE.

CERTAIN statements as to the English Scriptures have been given in past times by JOHN BALE, in his Centuries of Writers, and JOHN FOXE, in his Acts and Monuments; by Father SIMON, in his Critical History, and LE LONG, in his Bibliotheca Sacra; by STRYPE, in his Memorials of Cranmer, and ANTHONY JOHNSON, in his Historical Account of Translations. To these may be added the accounts given by LEWIS and NEWCOME, by MACKNIGHT and HERBERT MARSH, by CRUTTWELL, in his preface to Wilson's Bible, and GRAY, in the introduction before his Key to the Old Testament. Not to mention others, an eye has been kept on them all; but their statements, on the whole, are so defective and contradictory, that they, and those who refer to them as authority, require to be read with caution. The confusion and inaccuracy which have reigned throughout the whole, may be traced to one cause. The respective authors had not the Books before them, and probably not one had ever seen, much less inspected, the tenth part of the volumes at which he pointed. In the preceding History and Index-List, on the contrary, all the books have been seen and examined. No reliance has been placed on any loose previous statement, since there occurred such frequent reason to distrust every one of them; and as yet, from all that the Author has learned or read, he has had no occasion to question the general accuracy of either the History or the List of Bibles. No authentic addition has been discovered to the latter, but in the following Index, advantage is taken to insert several items, illustrative or confirmatory of both. It may be added, that in the *last* edition of "The Introduction to the Study and Knowledge of the Scriptures," by Mr. Hartwell Horne, he has corrected his notices of the English Scriptures by the preceding Annals.

Another subject, by way of addition to this history, has been suggested, but the Author has abstained, on principle, from all verbal criticism as to the English Bible. As

far as man is concerned, imperfection attends him at every step, and the shamefully incorrect manner in which the Scriptures were too often printed, especially in former days, as well as the tardiness to correct remaining minor imperfections in the Sacred text itself, greatly illustrate the forbearance of Heaven: but in these volumes we have the past and present state of Britain, and British Christians with the Scriptures in their hands, before us, such as they have been, and now are; and these, for the present, demand deliberate and exclusive respect. One very important *result*, indeed, as far as the general Reader is concerned, and never to be forgotten by him, will be glanced at below;[1] but to have entered on the verbal differences, whether in the English Bible, from Tyndale's down to our present version, or those which have been observed in manuscripts of the Sacred text since examined, would have been only diverting away the mind to a subject altogether foreign to the nature and design of this work.

Here, the *past* will be allowed, as in some other histories, to form the best indication or discoverer of the *future*. Now in tracing out a series of authenticated events, extending over more than three Centuries, the writer was early struck with a *vein* in the history peculiar to itself, and the more so, as it firmly continued to exhibit this characteristic down to the present day—a species of commanding supremacy, amidst various attempts to control, and peculiar to this Kingdom. On the whole, therefore, it is presumed, the mind cannot escape from frequently observing a distinguishing feature, which, at the close, among other reflections or inquiries, leads so forcibly to one—What does this history *portend?* So secretly imported from abroad, as these Scriptures were, into England and Scotland, at the beginning, (vol. ii. pp. 229-231,) and since preserved so independent of control from every section of the British community, (pp. 636, 637,) multiplied as they have been, (pp. 609-620,) and now so widely dispersed, (pp. 657-662,) the entire narrative carries every appearance of steady and determined approach—but it is to some one point, *never yet gained*. Has then some great moral lesson, not yet learned, been thus patiently held up to view, from age to age, but especially to the present? Has some cardinal principle, not yet understood, been waiting for adoption? Whatever that be, as it is not, for a moment, to be imagined now, that such a cause as this, is ever to wear the aspect of an *abortive* enterprise; it remains for reflection, whether the History itself be not pressing forward, irresistibly, towards a period, when Sacred Scripture will have become the only authoritative source of Christian knowledge, faith, and practice?—a period when the old principle, hitherto little else than the boast of Chillingworth and of Hurd, as well as of many others, respecting "the Bible and the Bible alone," will be held consistently and with a tenacious grasp—or in other words, when the Sacred Volume will have gained that throne of Supremacy, to which many incidents in every stage of its providential history have been pointing so long?

Meanwhile, in the history of the *transmission* of ancient Books to modern times, there is absolutely nothing, in our language, to be placed in comparison with the introduction and conveyance of the English Scriptures to our times; thus lending not only deep interest to all the past, but such ample ground for anticipation as to the future.[2] In all ages, according to the magnitude and importance of its ultimate object, has been the compass fetched by the all-wise providence of God.

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[1] See page 1.

[2] *For the vast dispersion of the Scriptures in English, especially from the commencement of the present century up to January* 1848, *see the concluding Article.*

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> "Hah! 'twas a priestly fallacy, to think
> That burning flesh could burn out heresy,
> Whereas in truth they only burnt it *in;*
> And like experienc'd enamellers,
> By this encaustic process so contriv'd
> To vivify the colours of their deeds
> As to perpetuate their own disgrace."—*Anon.*

The FIRST great conflict in England and Scotland, was simply for the *possession* and *perusal* of the Scriptures in our Native tongue, see vol. i. *passim.* The LAST and far more important contest for the *all-sufficiency* and *exclusive Supremacy* of Sacred Writ has yet to be fought and won. Demanding even greater mental energy, it hastens on apace. See before, under "War of Opinion."

The biographical, historical, and bibliographical memoranda, amounting to more than 1300 Notes, at the foot of the pages throughout this work, contain many incidents of curious additional interest. "To extract and group these," one Reviewer, at the distance of half the globe, has been pleased to say, "would be as gratifying as instructive, but our limits will not admit of this; while so minute and unbroken, though apparently fragmentary, so isolated and yet dependent are the features of this singular history, so striking in its details, and comprehensive in its bearings, that it is utterly beyond our reach to attempt it. We remit our readers to the Work itself."

To accommodate, therefore, an inquisitive Reader, the longest notes have been incorporated with the preceding Index; and any other fact or incident, once observed, whether in the text or margin, may easily be found again, by reference to the following INDEX OF NAMES.

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Testimonies of Adherence in Succession

to the power and all-sufficiency of the Vernacular Scriptures, during the preceding history, illustrative of the gradual progress towards a brighter day.

"I DO MARVEL GREATLY THAT EVER ANY MAN SHOULD REFUGN, OR SPEAK AGAINST THE SCRIPTURE TO BE HAD IN EVERY LANGUAGE, AND THAT OF EVERY MAN." BUT "IF ALL THE WORLD BE AGAINST US, GOD'S WORD IS GREATER THAN THE WORLD." TYNDALE.

Testimony of Tyndale to Fryth, then in England.

"I call God to record, against the day we shall appear before our Lord Jesus, to give a reckoning of our doings, that I never altered one syllable of God's Word against my conscience; nor would I this day, if all that is in the earth, whether it be pleasure, honour, or riches, might be given me." *See* vol. i. p. 349.

Tyndale on the eve of his apprehension and imprisonment.

"As concerning all I have *translated*, or otherwise written, I beseech all men to read it, for that purpose I wrote it: even to bring them to the knowledge of the SCRIPTURE. And as far as the Scripture approveth it, so far to allow it; and if in any place the Word of God disallow it, then to refuse it, as I do before our Saviour Christ, and his Congregation." *See* vol. i. p. 400.

ANNO 1530.—LATIMER TO HENRY VIII.,

in the fourth year of the New Testament circulation, and first of the Pentateuch.

"As concerning this matter, other men have showed your Grace their minds, how *necessary* it is to have the Scripture in ENGLISH. For what marvel is it that these worldly men, being so nigh of your Council, and so familiar with your Lords, should provoke both your Grace and them to prohibit these books, which before, by their own authority, have forbidden the New Testament, under pain of everlasting damnation? For such is their manner; to send a thousand men to hell, ere they send one to God: and yet the New Testament, and so I think by the other (the Pentateuch,) was meekly offered to every man that would and *could*, to amend it, if there were any fault—Wherefore I pray that your Grace may espy, and take heed of their worldly wisdom, which is foolishness before God—that your Grace may be found a faithful minister of His gifts, and not a defender of His faith; for He will not have it defended by man, or man's power, but by His WORD only, by the which He hath evermore defended it; and that by a way far above man's power or reason, as all the stories of the Bible make mention.

"Wherefore, gracious King, remember yourself. Have pity upon your soul, and think that the day is even at hand when you shall give account of your office, and of the blood that hath been shed by your sword." *See* vol. i. pp. 261, 262.

ANNO 1533.—FRYTH FROM THE TOWER OF LONDON,

before his martyrdom; and after the New Testament had been secretly imported and read in England, for seven, and the Pentateuch for three years.

"This hath been offered you, is offered, and shall be offered. Grant that the Word of God, I mean the *text of Scripture*, may go abroad in our English tongue, as other nations have it in their tongues, and my brother William Tyndale and I have done, and will promise you to write no more. If you will not grant th condition, then will we be doing while we have breath, and show in few words, that the Scripture doth in many; and so, at the least, save some." *See* vol. i. p. 363.

ANNO 1533.—ALESS, IN EXILE FROM HIS COUNTRY,

to James V.; after the New Testament translated by Tyndale, had been imported, and reading in Scotland, secretly, for seven years.

"They say that Alcibiades (Themistocles,) in I know not what contention, a certain old man, having lifted his staff, forbidding him to speak, answered—STRIKE, BUT HEAR ME. The same could I say to my enemies, that, if on that condition they pleased, as they

might *strike*, so they would also *hear* me."—"I have heard even the chief among our preachers declare, that this same version (of Tyndale) gave them much more light than the commentaries of many." *See* vol. ii. pp. 436, 461.

ANNO 1538.—STRYPE, THE HISTORIAN,

after the English New Testament had been importing into England fully twelve years, and the Bible at last came to be read openly.

"It was wonderful to see with what joy this book of God was received, not only among the more learned sort, but generally, all England over, among all the common people, and with what greediness God's Word was read, and what resort to places where the reading of it was! Every body that could, bought the book, or busily read it, or got others to read it to them, if they could not themselves." *See* vol. ii. p. 41.

ANNO 1543.—KNOX, AS HISTORIAN.

The Scriptures having been read for 17 *years in secret, and for* 17 *more, openly in Scotland, before his settlement there; thus, about* 1560, *he records the great event of* 1543.

"Then might have been seen the Bible lying on almost every gentleman's table. The New Testament was borne about in many men's hands. Thereby the knowledge of God wonderfully increased, and God gave his Holy Spirit to simple men in great abundance." So remarkable had been the previous *secret* importation! *See* vol. ii. p. 527.

ANNO 1597.—HOOKER.

"We do not think that in Sacred Scripture God hath omitted any thing needful to his purpose, and left his intent to be accomplished by our *devisings*."—"I would know, by some special instance, what one article of Christian faith, or what duty required necessarily unto all men's salvation, there is, which the very reading of the Word of God is not *apt* to notify."

ANNO 1641.—MILTON.

"We shall adhere close to the Scriptures of God, which He hath left us, as the just and adequate measure of truth, fitted and proportioned to the diligent study, memory, and use, of every faithful man; whose every part consenting, and making up the harmonious symmetry of complete instruction, is able to set out to us a perfect man of God. And with this weapon, without stepping a foot farther, we shall not doubt to batter and throw down Nebuchadnezzar's image, and crumble it like the chaff of the summer threshing-floors——And this is one depth of God's wisdom, that He could so plainly reveal so great a measure of it to the gross distorted apprehension of decayed mankind. Let others, therefore, shun the Scriptures for their darkness; I shall wish I may deserve to be reckoned among those who admire and dwell upon them for their clearness." *See* vol. ii. p. 643.

ANNO 1662.—STILLINGFLEET.

"Men might still have bewildered themselves in following the *ignes fatui* of their own imaginations, and in hunting up and down the world for a path which leads to Heaven; but could have found none, unless God himself, taking pity of the wanderings of men, had been pleased to hang out a light from Heaven, to direct them in their way thither; and by this *Pharos* of Divine Revelation to direct them so to steer their course, as to escape splitting on the rocks of open impiety, or being swallowed up in the quicksands of terrene delights."—"The things contained in Scripture do not so much beg acceptance as command it—That word is like a telescope to discover the great luminaries of the world, or the truths of highest concernment to the souls of men; and it is such a microscope as discovers to us the smallest atom of our thoughts, discerning the most secret intent of the heart. And as far as this light reacheth, it comes with power and authority, as it comes armed with the majesty of that God who reveals it—whose authority extends over the soul and conscience of man, in its most secret and hidden recesses."

ANNO 1698.—WHICHCOTE.

"This, for my part, I do believe, that the Scripture is clear and full of light, as to all matters of conscience, as to all rules of light, as to all necessary matters of faith; so

that any well-minded man, that takes up the Bible and reads, may come to understanding and satisfaction. And to this purpose, there is *the Divine Spirit* still, to wait upon this instrument of God."

Anno 1758.—Lowth.

Referring to "the hidden treasures of Divine wisdom contained in the Holy Scriptures"—"Much hath been done in this important work; and much still remains to be done. Those heavenly stores are inexhaustible: every new acquisition leads on to farther discoveries; and the most careful search will still leave enough to invite, and to reward the repeated searches of the pious and industrious to the latest ages. This is a work that demands our first and most earnest regard; the studies and assistance, the favour and encouragement of all. This is the most worthy object that can engage our attention; the most important end, to which our labours in the search of truth can be directed."

Anno 1758.—Edwards.

When every English Bible in America required still to be sent from Britain!

"It seems to be evident, that the Church is not as yet arrived to that perfection in understanding the Scriptures, which we can imagine is the *highest* that God ever intended the Church should come to. There are a multitude of things in the Old Testament, which the Church *then* did not understand, but were reserved to be unfolded in the Christian Church. So I believe there are now many subordinate truths that remain to be discovered by the Church, in the glorious times that are approaching. A Divine wisdom appears in ordering it thus. How much better is it to have Divine truth and light break forth in this way, than it would have been to have had it shine at once to every one, without any labour and industry of the understanding? It would have been less delightful, less prized and admired, and would have had vastly less influence on men's hearts, and would have been less to the glory of God.—It is the manner of God to keep his Church on earth in hope of a still more glorious state." *See* vol. ii. 568-570.

Anno 1762.—Taylor.

"You may rest fully satisfied that our English translation is a pure and plentiful fountain of Divine Knowledge, giving a clear and full account of the Divine Dispensations, and of the Gospel of our Salvation: insomuch that whoever studies the Bible, *the English Bible*, is sure of gaining that knowledge and faith, which, if duly applied to the heart and conversation, will infallibly guide him to eternal life."

Anno 1800.—Fuller.

"It might be proved, that every system of Philosophy is little in comparison of Christianity. Philosophy may expand our ideas of creation; but it neither inspires a love to the *moral* character of the Creator, nor a well-grounded hope of Eternal Life. Philosophy, at most, can only place us at the top of Pisgah: there, like Moses, we must die: it gives us no possession of the good land. It is the province of Christianity to add—ALL IS YOURS! When you have ascended to the height of human discovery, there are things, and things of infinite moment, too, that are utterly beyond its reach. Revelation is the medium, and the *only* medium, by which, standing, as it were, 'on nature's Alps,' we discover things which eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, and of which it never hath entered into the heart of man to conceive."

Anno 1815.—Chalmers.

"It is the office of a translator to give a faithful representation of the Original. Now that this faithful translation has been given, it is our part to peruse it with care, and to take a fair and faithful impression of it. We must bring a free and unfettered mind to the exercise. It must not be the pride or the obstinacy of self-formed opinions, or the haughty independence of him who thinks he has reached the manhood of his understanding. We must bring with us the docility of a child. There must be no garbling of that which is entire, no darkening of that which is luminous, no softening down of that which is authoritative. The Bible will allow of no compromise. It professes to be the directory of our faith, and claims a total ascendency over the souls and the under-

standings of men. There is no escaping after this. Now, we hazard the assertion, that, with a number of professing Christians, there is not that unexcepted submission to the authority of the Bible; and that its authority is often modified, and, in some cases, superseded by the authority of other principles."

This Author has recently left to his country one example, as powerful as it is attractive, in his "*Daily* Scripture Readings," which, if it were only followed, could not fail to produce great effects. "Perhaps the experience," says he, "which I have oftenest realized, is that of the Psalmist when he said,—My soul breaketh for the longing that it hath unto Thy Judgments at all times." And again, as the fruit of his own observation—"I fear that the effect of controversy and system in Theology has been to work a mal-adjustment between our minds and the representations of Scripture, which will not be compelled into an accommodation with the artificial compends or creeds of any denomination."

Anno 1830.—Douglas.

"Whatever is affirmed in the Sacred Volume is proved. *It is written*, is a decision which admits of no appeal. Every sentence in the Bible is as much sanctioned, by the place it occupies, as if, like the Law given upon Mount Sinai, it were ratified with all the thunders of the Heavens.—To determine the principal points of Religion, our *English Bible* affords every requisite aid. No translation was ever executed with more spirit than the standard version of England. It was done when the native language, as far as prose is concerned, was in the moment of projection, ready to run into any mould that should be given to it."

Anno 1832.—Van Mildert.

"Even upon the broadest principle of private judgment, no latitude is allowable to *indifference* to the truth. In many cases it may truly be said that the differences originate not with Scripture, but with the interpreters of Scripture. *There*, unquestionably the truth exists; there, and there *only*, it is to be found perfect."

Anno 1836.—Earl of Carysfort.

"We may fancy that we comprehend a scheme of Redemption, and we may doubtless comprehend it with sufficient clearness, for all its practical uses; but to pretend that we can *express* it in incontrovertible terms, *except those of Scripture*, is surely an absurdity too great for any man, capable of logical deduction, to entertain; for it must involve both the nature of man and the nature of God."—"God has been pleased to reveal to us, fully, the plan of salvation; and this, with regard to such subjects, is not only all that it concerns us to know, but probably all that our nature is capable of comprehending."—*Posthumous.*

"And hereby ye see that it is a plain and an evident conclusion, *as bright as the Sun shining*, that the truth of God's Word dependeth not of the truth of the Congregation."
—Tyndale in answer to Sir T. More, *anno* 1530.

Aphorism of the Seventeenth Century:

OBLIGATION TO DIVINE TRUTH IS RELIGIOUS FREEDOM.

Verbal Criticism and Various Readings.

The attestations now given proceed on the supposition of earnest attention to the *sense* expressed in the Sacred Volume. They prove, by very eminent witnesses, in succession, that it is of vital moment, in justice to our received Version, to pay supreme regard to the particular topic of which the inspired penman is treating, and to his scope or design, as well as to the connexion in which any passage or quotation occurs. These men will be understood to speak of the Sacred Scriptures as a *whole*, which never can be comprehended if merely consulted, nay, and however frequently, if read only in verses,

or even chapters; a practice which would not be doing justice to any human author, much less to the Divine. Such regard as the Book of God imperatively demands, will lead to the habit of perusing it, not in verses, but in paragraphs or sections, and occasionally, in an entire Epistle, or book, at one sitting. It is thus that, looking up to the ever-present Interpreter, the words will begin to breathe and burn. But the eye once turned aside from the Record itself—inattention to the thread of the narrative or the train of reasoning, the convincing argument, or ground of appeal, has been the fruitful source of all prolonged discussion.

The English Bible.

Though far from being insensible to the charms of Biblical Criticism, far from wishing, in the slightest degree, to depreciate the subject of Various Readings, either in the several revisions of our English Bible down to our present Version, or in the Manuscripts since examined; but, on the contrary, urging every student to their careful observation; still, at the close of such a work as the present, the *consequence* of minute attention to both these departments ought to be known to all.

With regard to verbal differences, for they are nothing more, in our English Bible, from Tyndale downwards, these are to be found noted in the Bible published by Wilson, the Bishop of Sodor and Mann, in 3 vols. quarto, 1785. But by far the best survey of the New Testament has but recently commenced, in a work of which the first volume only has yet appeared. It is rather quaintly entitled—"A Supplement to the Authorised English Version of the New Testament," &c., by the Rev. F. H. Scrivener, M.A. of Trinity College, Cambridge. It is intended to form a critical illustration of all the early English Versions, the present volume reaching to the end of Matthew. In the interesting and valuable Introduction, after stating that "a formal critique of our present Version, it is not his province to attempt," the Author adds—"It is enough if I have afforded to others the means of forming a more exact estimate of its *worth*, than can be gathered from the *vague* encomiums of our popular writers. Yet I should be acting wrongfully both to my theme and to myself, were I to suppress the conviction which the devotion of several years to this employment has fixed on my mind: that if faithfulness and perspicuity; if energy of tone, and simplicity of language, be the true tests of merit in a translation of Holy Scripture, our authorised Bible is in no wise inferior to the most excellent of the other versions with which I am acquainted."

Hebrew and Greek Original Scriptures.

It has been not unusual for some men, deeply read in these tongues, to dwell upon the great progress that has been made in Scholarship, since the days of our early Translators, and to depreciate their acquirements, though simply because of their not being in possession of those ample means that are now enjoyed for translating the Scriptures from the original. These languages, they have said, have been much more cultivated, and far better understood since the year 1600. The great acquisitions in literature, in respect not only of languages, but also of antiquities and criticism; as well as the varieties discovered in the Manuscripts of the original text, since our present translation was made, have all been reiterated; and that sometimes by men who have ventured on the attempt of only a single book, or a part of the Bible, in English.

The welcome, and very singular *result*, therefore, up to this hour, of many years of laborious attention paid to all the existing Manuscripts of the Scriptures, both in Hebrew and Greek, must not be withheld here even from the general Reader, as it is so well fitted to send him with double relish to his English Bible.

Modern scholars tell us that "the manhood of criticism" began with Mill's edition of the Greek New Testament, in folio, 1707. It was finished only fourteen days before his death, after thirty years of incessant application, and contains thirty thousand various readings! Happily, then lived "the greatest of English critics in this, or possibly any other age," Richard Bentley, who carefully dwelt on the result. Profoundly

acquainted, and almost literally with every *word* in the Hebrew, Chaldee, and Syriac Scriptures, though he did not succeed in publishing his intended edition of the Greek New Testament, he again and again gave to the world the fruit of all his own experience as far as he had gone. On one occasion, it was in these expressive terms :—

" The 30,000 various lections, then, are allowed and confessed; and if more copies yet are collected, the sum will still mount higher. It is good, therefore, to have more anchors than one; and another Manuscript would give more authority, as well as security. It is a good providence, and a great blessing, that so many Manuscripts of the New Testament are still among us; some procured from Egypt, others from Asia, others found in the Western Churches. For the very distance of the places, as well as numbers of the books, demonstrate, that there could be no collusion, no altering, or interpolating one copy by another, nor all by any of them. Not frighted, therefore, with the 30,000, I, for my part, and, as I believe, many others, would not lament, if out of the old Manuscripts yet untouched, 10,000 more were faithfully collected; some of which, without question, would render the text more beautiful, just, and exact; *though of no consequence to the main of Religion; nay, perhaps wholly synonymous in the view of common readers, and quite insensible in any modern version.*"

Since the days of Bentley, however, far greater progress has been made, and still ampler opportunities for examination have been enjoyed; and what, then, is the deliberate judgment at which our most distinguished Scholars have now arrived? The conclusion of the whole matter, we prefer, on several accounts, to give in the language of an Author recently presented to the public.

" We may well enquire," says he, " what has been the result of this laborious and acute research,—of this toilsome collation of Manuscripts of every age, of the many theories for classifying critical documents; in fine, of all the years which able and learned men have dedicated to the zealous task of amending and perfecting the Sacred Book? Why, truly, if we exclude the great and important conclusions which we have at present in view, the result is so trifling, that we should say there had been much unthrifty squandering of time and talents thereupon. Not, indeed, that there has been lack of abundant differences of readings; on the contrary, the number is overpowering. Mill's first effort produced 30,000, and the number may be said daily to increase. But in all this mass, although every attainable source has been exhausted; although the Fathers of every age have been gleaned for their readings; although the versions of every nation, Arabic, Syrian, Coptic, Armenian, and Ethiopian, have been ransacked for their renderings; although Manuscripts of every age, from the sixteenth upwards to the third, and of every Country, have been again and again visited to rifle them of their treasures; although, having exhausted the stores of the West, critics have travelled, like naturalists, into distant lands, to discover new specimens,—have visited, like Scholz, or Sebastiani, the recesses of Mount Athos, or the unexplored libraries of the Egyptian and Syrian deserts—*yet has nothing been discovered—no, not one single various reading which can throw doubt upon any passage before considered certain or decisive in favour of any important doctrine.* These various readings, almost without an exception, leave untouched the essential parts of any sentence, and only interfere with points of secondary importance, the insertion or omission of an article, or conjunction, or the forms rather than the substance of words.

" This result is precisely the same as has been obtained from the critical study of the Old Testament.—But once more returning to the New, and the critical attention paid to its text, the advantages which this has procured to us are far from stopping at the assurance, that nothing has been *yet* discovered which should shake our belief in the purity of our Sacred books. This advantage was but the first step gained by it, in the earliest labours of Mill and Wetstein. Griesbach, with whose name I closed my list, went much farther; he gave us, in addition, a security for the *future*—and this important step has received important modifications, all tending to simplify it farther.

" Thus, may we say, that critical science has not only overthrown every objection

drawn from documents *already in our possession*, but has given us full security against any *that may be yet discovered;* and has, at the same time, placed in our hands simple and easy rules for deciding complicated points of difference. And these results will be still more within our reach, when a new edition (*the Codex Vaticanus,*) now preparing, shall have appeared, in which only select readings, examined with great care, and given with great accuracy, shall have been completed."

How memorable and confirmatory is this beautiful summing up of evidence from the lips of such a man! And yet why should we, by the same pen, be so painfully reminded of the ancient Bishop of Durham, RICHARD DE BURY, as far back as the fourteenth century, of whom an old Annalist has said, that "he is somewhat to bee remembred for example to other;" but who, while lamenting the total ignorance of the Greek language among his brethren, yet scrupled not to affirm—"*Laici omnium librorum communione indigni sunt*,"—regarding the laity as unworthy to be admitted to any commerce with books. To his select audience in London, it is true, and we are to presume in Rome also, our Lecturer concludes by presenting the following testimony :—

"The study of God's Word, and the meditation upon its truths, surely forms our noblest occupation. But when that study is conducted upon severe principles, and with the aid of deep research, it will be found to combine the intellectual enjoyment of the mathematician, with the rapture of the poet, and ever to open new sources of edification and delight."

This witness is true; nor is there one word of limitation here. Yet, alas! it appears elsewhere, that this noble satisfaction he would not, even in a humble degree, extend to all. But thus it is, and ever has been, that God rules and overrules all things and all men, even men of research, for his own glory. We have used the term overrule, as the Reader, if he be not already aware of the fact, will scarcely credit us when we tell him, that the testimonies last given are in the words of an Author, in a delightful work on "The Connexion between Science and Religion," who is opposed to the general circulation of the Bible in *any* tongue intelligible to the people! Recently, under the mistaken notion, that the present wide dispersion of the Scriptures has been the effect merely of men *combined* for that end; yes, and of men under the strange impression that the *mere* distribution of the Bible is God's appointed way of conversion; he regards the entire procedure as altogether in vain, if not unwarrantable!! Of course no such impression exists, as our readers have been perfectly aware, nor has any combination, any united body of men, effected the dispersion of the Sacred Volume, at least in English, to its present extent. To this mistaken idea we must again allude presently; but who can suppress the sincere and earnest wish, that this Writer may be induced to reconsider the *entire* movement of our age, *as a movement*, in all its bearings, and be led at last to adopt the motto inserted at the close of some of our ancient folio Bibles—"*A Domino factum est istud.*" Few such able men existed in the days of our first Translator, though if there had, this would have only increased his astonishment over those who spoke against the Bible "to be had in EVERY tongue, and *that of* EVERY *man.*"

In regard to the Hebrew and Greek original Scriptures, we formerly glanced at the memorable fact—that no Government on earth, however absolute, has ever been permitted to restrain them! But when to this we now join the result of all the deep research into both texts, and remember, as Bentley has insisted, that the same thing cannot be asserted of *any other* species of ancient Manuscript, may we not exclaim—"*Who is so great a God as our God!*" When the quantity of writing contained in every single manuscript is considered, this conclusion becomes not only wonderful in itself, and greatly welcome to the general Reader, but it may lead him to look with still greater veneration on the Divine Word so providentially watched over, and of which so many myriads now possess such an excellent translation in their hands—beyond conception the most weighty and valuable of all deposits.

VERBUM DOMINI MANET IN ÆTERNUM.

Dispersion of the Scriptures in English
up to January 1848.

Though no reliance can be placed on the *mere* dispersion even of the Divine Word, except as the mean to an end, nearly three years ago the Author of this work presumed that a more accurate review of the past and present state of our vernacular Scriptures was due to the Sacred Volume itself, and to all who were interested in it. As it then appeared that the more recent and unprecedented dispersion in our native tongue was not the fruit of any human purpose or device, nor even of anticipation, and that as no individual had ever contemplated, so no united body of men had effected it, the obligation to consider the subject seemed to be imperative. That dispersion had become an event—an event by itself—if not the leading one of the present age, and no longer to be disregarded. In all other cases, the *sale* of a book forms an index to the desire after it, and though this vast movement has by no means yet produced the benefits to be expected, still, the leading feature of the dispersion has been that of *sale*. Widely different views, indeed, have been taken of this "sign of the times." The enemy of all circulation has been labouring hard, and in this country, to prove that as to any moral or beneficial effect to be anticipated, the dispersion itself is already mocking expectation. Others there are who look no higher than to what are called Bible Societies, and the competition of trade, but to all who have duly considered the subject, an unseen hand is apparent, an influence superior to man may be contemplated.

The last great movement, which properly belongs to the present century, has been going on with accelerated speed. As already reported up to 1845, (vol. ii. 609, 617-620,) it was perhaps imagined to have reached its meridian, and must decline. But so far from this, the culminating point seems to be more distant than ever. The last three years have been, above all, remarkable. The dispersion of Bibles and New Testaments in *English*, which had then amounted to fully Twenty-two, is now to be regarded as approaching with increased rapidity, to *Twenty-seven millions of Volumes!* Such is the provision made for Britain, as well as all her wide-spread Dependencies; and by this, the first half of the nineteenth century will remain distinguished in history. If the enemy is actually smiling upon all this as an empty *vision*, let every believer in his Bible both watch the progress, and look for the effect. The dispersion itself may be freely conceded at present as being but little more than "seed sown," or as "the preparation of the ground for the shower;" but every intelligent Christian, knowing that the instrument of regeneration is "the word of truth," and that the Volume cannot be sent where its Sacred and only infallible Interpreter is *not* present, to attend upon its devout perusal—he will not fail to mark this wide and growing dispersion, not only as the most important, but, in the proper sense of the terms, *infinitely the greatest* movement of our day. He will never, indeed, confound the word which is to be *read* with that which is to be *spoken*, or ever imagine that any thing can relieve from the imperative obligations involved in the Redeemer's last Commission to his Servants: but still it is not in him, with a vacant or indifferent eye, to behold such a dispersion of the Word of God. It is spoken of, too generally, only as a Book, but to him it is the *Voice* of the living God. He regards it as a Rule, in the sense both of a Law and a Standard —perfectly sufficient for its purpose—touching every principle of human action—and admitting of no appeal. "This dispersion, too," he says, "is altogether unprecedented —and therefore, certainly never before, since their English Bible was in existence, *never* were the Christian people of this language so loudly called upon, and individually, to mark the words of their common Mediator, and, on behalf of their Country and the world, to act accordingly." *Luke* xi. 13; *Matthew* vii. 7, 8, 12.

EDINBURGH: PRINTED BY T. CONSTABLE, PRINTER TO HER MAJESTY.